

THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF



TRAVEL
WRITING

EDITED BY
NANDINI DAS
AND TIM YOUNGS

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
TRAVEL WRITING

Bringing together original contributions from scholars around the world, this volume traces the history of travel writing from antiquity to the internet age. It examines travel texts of several national or linguistic traditions, introducing readers to the global contexts of the genre. From wilderness to the urban, from Nigeria to the polar regions, from mountains to rivers and the desert, this book explores some of the key places and physical features represented in travel writing. Chapters also consider the employment in travel writing of the diary, the letter, visual images, maps, and poetry, as well as the relationship of travel writing to fiction, science, translation and tourism. Gender-based and ecocritical approaches are among those surveyed. Together, the thirty-seven chapters underline the richness and complexity of this genre.

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Introduction

NANDINI DAS AND TIM YOUNGS

Travel narratives have existed for millennia: so long as people have journeyed, they have told stories about their travels. The two activities go hand in hand. In pre- or non-literate societies these stories were spoken or sung or depicted in visual art. Aboriginal Australians' Dreamtime stories, for example, preserve and transmit ancient tales of creation. Ceremonial songs are chanted as the singer moves through the landscape. Aborigines' alternative sense of history and of the sacredness of the land, which they see as animate, illustrates how different some other cultural stories of travel are from Western approaches. Dreamtime, Stephen Muecke and Adam Shoemaker have noted, is 'not a chronological concept ... but a focus on, and a vital connection with, ancestral beings who travelled the length and breadth of the continent, forming the natural features of the landscape and social relationships with humankind at the same time'.¹ Aboriginal people 'can be sure about their belonging *in places*; historical time becomes far less important'.² There is an implication in this statement that non-Aborigines cannot be sure about belonging in places, which is in itself a powerful trope in post-industrial writing, as well as being allied to a sense of loss and displacement that goes back to the story of the Fall.

Aboriginal conceptions of the land and of one's relationship to it also contrast with those of the West. There is an emphasis on being a custodian of the Dreaming, and of the land.³ The facets implicit here – of memory, orality, respect, harmony, preservation, community, non-linearity – that are associated with ancient cultures are present in many post-industrial critiques of modern attitudes. They are reintroduced into certain types of travel writing (including what has been labelled 'the new nature writing'), as we shall see below. In texts such as Bruce Chatwin's *The Songlines* (1987) they

¹ Stephen Muecke and Adam Shoemaker, *Aboriginal Australians: First Nations of an Ancient Continent* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

become an attractive counterpoint to the modern, commercially driven and industrial West.⁴

Yet despite differences of conception and approach, in most cultures narratives have returned repeatedly to tropes of travel. They appear in Gilgamesh and Enkidu's journey to the Cedar Forest in what is possibly the oldest surviving piece of literature in the world, the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh*. They are as much a part of the biblical stories of the Fall or the Exodus, as they are of Kālidāsa's fifth-century CE classical Sanskrit poem, *Meghadūta* (*The Cloud Messenger*), whose lyrical, secular chorography traces the contours of India as a stray cloud carries the message of an exiled nature spirit to his distant lover. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus's struggles to return home from Troy to Ithaca demonstrate how inextricably human movement, both individual and collective, factual and imaginative, was linked to literature and mythography. Even travel *writing*, as distinct from oral tales, has a history that goes back thousands of years. An Egyptian tomb records four journeys made by Harkuf, an emissary of the pharaohs, in the third century BCE. Harkuf has been called 'the first long-distance traveler whose name we know' and 'the first one to leave a written account, or narrative, of his journeys'.⁵ Maria Pretzler proposes that the early written travel accounts were 'probably . . . sea-farers' logs, preserving information about distances, landmarks and harbours to facilitate orientation for future voyages'. She suggests that these are probably the origin of the *periplous*, 'an ancient genre of texts describing coastlines'.⁶ Another type of text that may be seen as one of the antecedents of travel writing is the *stadiasmus* – a genre that lists places and distances along overland routes.⁷

One might already discern from this brief discussion what are often classified as the two main types of travel account: the mythological or supernatural on the one hand (which we might extend to or sum up as storytelling) and the documentary function on the other. Whether or how far these properties of travel writing may be accommodated within a single generic description rather than having their own labels is a matter of debate.

⁴ See Robert Clarke, "'New Age Trippers': Aboriginality and Australian New Age Travel Books', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13/1 (February 2009), 27–43.

⁵ Stephen S. Gosch and Peter N. Stearns, *Premodern Travel in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 14.

⁶ Maria Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2007), p. 48.

⁷ For this and Roman itinerary literature in general, see essays in Richard Talbert and Kai Brodersen (eds.), *Space in the Roman World: Its Perception and Presentation* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004).

As we shall see, some authors are keen not to confuse the documentary or journalistic ends of travel writing with storytelling and fiction. Of course, from another perspective the stories that some might dismiss as mythical are, to those who tell them, a way of seeing and understanding the world that is as legitimate as that promoted by Western science.

What inflects the nature of the travel text is frequently a matter of voice. Classical travel narratives are often third person accounts, descriptions of journeys undertaken by someone else, or treatises formed out of the information accumulated from such journeys. Medieval customs of pilgrimage, however, introduced a sense of individual experience as well as structure in such descriptions of travel.⁸ The overall emphasis would be very different from the forms of personal reflection that we tend to expect from travel writing today, but in both European and non-European traditions, the pilgrim's individual encounter with the world shaped the writing in particular ways. Exploring what is revealed of medieval conceptions of selfhood, as well as nuancing our understanding of medieval perceptions of the self and the other, therefore emerge repeatedly as themes in the study of medieval travel writing, often complicated by other markers of identity, such as gender, or race. One of the earliest medieval pilgrimage accounts is by a woman: the late fourth-century letter by the otherwise unknown Egeria or Aetheria is the first eyewitness account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land that we know of in the European tradition. Even Egeria's characteristic *contemptus mundi*, her self-effacement and avoidance of detail, is indicative of a particular form of engagement with the world. It heralds the tension that would emerge later in two strands of European travel writing: 'one of absolute interest in the external world, as in *Wonders of the East* or *Mandeville's Travels*, and one exploring the subjective and autobiographical capacities of the form – *The Booke of Margery Kempe* or *Robinson Crusoe*'.⁹

Elsewhere in non-European traditions, too, the ways in which individual and collective imperatives of the pilgrimage come together to shape travel writing are illuminating. Studies of Islamic travel, and in particular of the travel narrative called the *rihla*, which both created and enabled the fundamental concept of a connected Islamic world, *Dār al-Islām* ('House of Islam'),

⁸ Jonathan Sumption's survey in *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1975) and Christian K. Zacher's *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) provide useful starting points in the field. Other resources include Larissa J. Taylor et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁹ Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 31.

challenge earlier claims, put forth within Western historiography, of a lack of Muslim interest in the wider world. As Nabil Matar has pointed out, that strand of scholarship, epitomised by Bernard Lewis's influential work, represents not so much an absence within the Islamic world, as it demonstrates a telling disregard of the long tradition of Islamic travel within non-Islamic historiography.¹⁰ Similarly, a richly complex history of responses that interrogated the self, the home, and the world in various ways emerges in the accounts of Jewish travellers like Benjamin of Tudela (fl. 1173), or the classical Chinese negotiation of collective memory and tradition that shaped the resulting travel accounts into particular representations of sensibility as well as of place.¹¹

A growing awareness of this range of global narratives and of the potential comparisons and differences they reveal has emerged in present medieval historical and literary studies, influenced to some extent no doubt by the increasing availability of texts in translation and in digital form. One concurrent development that continues to draw attention to the rich potential of such accounts has been a 'global turn' in the field, which emphasises the connections and exchanges that existed across geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries globally, long before the early modern period of voyages and exploration.¹² Religious travelogues of course constitute only a part of the wide range of texts produced by that global mobility, which consists also of a substantial body of secular travel. In Europe, while the initial premise of the mid-fourteenth-century *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* was to provide a pilgrimage guide to the Holy Land, it was its inexorable appetite for the novelties that lay beyond that known territory, in the furthest corners of the medieval world, that made it one of the most influential and widely circulated travel texts of the period. Similarly popular was the *Travels of Marco Polo*, written down by Rustichello da Pisa and describing Polo's travels through Asia, Persia, China, and Indonesia between 1276 and 1291.

¹⁰ Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), and *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Nabil Matar (ed. and trans.), *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Nizar F. Hermes, *The [European] Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture, Ninth–Twelfth Century AD* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

¹¹ See, among others, Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Flora Li-tsui Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains: Grand Tour and Mingshan Paintings in Sixteenth-century China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2009); Xiaofei Tian, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2011).

¹² For a review of this developing scholarship, see K. M. Phillips, 'Travel, Writing, and the Global Middle Ages'. *History Compass*, 14 (2016), 81–92.

In various ways, such texts not only record a rapidly developing awareness of a world beyond Continental Europe, but also use their descriptions of foreign cultures to serve as a way of evaluating and commenting on one's own.

Despite that long history, travel writing, in its literary sense at least, is generally thought of as a more modern phenomenon, beginning in its informational guise in Europe with the colonial and mercantile expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Moveable print technology was a significant factor, not only helping to open up new directions for travel writing, but also offering authors a public voice and influence that would have been inconceivable in a pre-printing-press age. In Britain, that drive is epitomised by Richard Hakluyt and his foundational collection, the *Principall Navigations*. First appearing in 1589 at a length of 825 pages, and filling three folio volumes at around 2,000 pages by its second edition in 1598–1600, it is a triumph of the printer's as well as the travellers' and the editor's enterprise.¹³ The centrality of this body of texts in helping to define many of the political, cultural, and economic concepts that we associate with the early modern world has long been established. From New Historicism's attention to the negotiations of power, rhetoric, and representation, particularly in accounts of the New World, to a growing attempt to re-evaluate Old World encounters between Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, early modern travel writing has provided rich grounds for interdisciplinary discussions that range from art history to gender studies, postcolonialism and cultural studies.¹⁴ A third, more recent strand is dependent on the same rise of global history and history of globalisation whose influence has been noted

¹³ For discussions of Hakluyt, see for example Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁴ The following references are only indicative of the breadth of the field: Stephen Greenblatt, 'Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion', originally published 1981, revised in *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 21–65; Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (London: Routledge, 1990); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); John Michael Archer, *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford University Press, 2001); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion, 2000); Louis Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', *Representations*,

above in medieval studies. Attending to travel accounts as records of global crosscurrents of travel, transculturality, mediation, and conflict, explored variously as ‘connected histories’ and as part of a ‘global renaissance’, such scholarship often balances its focus on global movements with a renewed attention to the microhistory of individual lives marked by travel and human mobility.¹⁵

From Hakluyt to his successors like Samuel Purchas, English travel writing imagined and enabled the connections between travel, nation, commerce, and colonial expansion that have been evident in so much travel writing, and that would appear strongly again in the mid to late nineteenth century. It is a development that, perhaps unsurprisingly, is consanguineous with another significant narrative development in the history of literature – the rise of prose fiction and the modern novel in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Daniel Defoe’s *Moll Flanders* (1722), Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749), and Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67) and *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), are among the eighteenth-century fictions whose plots are structured around the travels of their heroes and that draw on the conventions of the picaresque. The misfortunes of their mock-heroic narrators are inherited by their descendants. The link between travel writing and these novels is close. The authors of the latter also wrote travel books, and ‘the eighteenth century . . . witnessed a new era in which non-fiction travel literature achieved an unparalleled popularity’.¹⁷ Defoe wrote *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–6), and Fielding, *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755). Indeed, many of the fictions are modelled on

33 (1991), 1–41; Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589–1642* (Manchester University Press, 2003); Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

¹⁵ See, for instance, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford University Press, 2004); and Jyotsna Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), among others. The contribution of biographies of travellers is illustrated by studies such as Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2006); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2011); Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh* (London: HarperCollins, 2007); John-Paul Ghobrial, ‘The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory’, *Past and Present*, 222/1 (2014), 51–93.

¹⁶ Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (1957; London: Hogarth Press, 1987).

¹⁷ Charles L. Batten, Jr, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 1.

varieties of the travel book. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726, 1735), have grown into powerful cultural myths. The former is often heralded by scholars as the first great capitalist novel, and modern travel literature's identification with the individual self is linked to the growth of capitalism in the eighteenth century. Nigel Leask explains that, "The eighteenth-century popularity of books of voyages and travels reflected the rise of European commercial and colonial expansion."¹⁸ At the end of that century, Mary Wollstonecraft writes that: 'I found I could not avoid being continually the first person – "the little hero of each tale."¹⁹

Nineteenth-century travel writing sees the continuation of the emerging literary self of travel, with the development of the Romantic figure (Mungo Park is a prominent travel author in this mode). According to Carl Thompson, Wordsworth and Byron are 'especially influential in terms of establishing new personae, and new patterns of travel, for subsequent generations of British travellers'.²⁰ Besides – or accompanying – self-dramatisation, 'the influence of romance, sentimentalism, and Gothic all have some part to play in the Romantic interest in travel as misadventure', as do the sublime, primitivism, and pedestrianism.²¹ Romantic poetry also incorporated images and motifs from earlier voyages and travels. Coleridge claims to have been reading Purchas's anthology of travels while composing 'Kubla Khan' and enjoyed Mandeville's *Travels*.²²

The nineteenth century saw British travel writing assume an unprecedented reach across the world as 'discoveries' and colonial and imperialist activity increased on a huge scale. Much anglophone and other European travel writing of the century is allied to a similar movement, accompanying and even facilitating it. In particular, the century is marked by a proliferation of exploration narratives. These often combine scientific and commercial interests, with the former including various branches of the physical and human sciences. Among the latter, quasi-scientific theories of race were tested in and popularised by explorers' texts, most notably in Central Africa and Australasia. In Africa, David Livingstone championed the spread of what

¹⁸ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840: 'From an Antique Land'* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 15.

¹⁹ Mary Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796; Fontwell: Centaur Press, 1970), p. xvii.

²⁰ Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²² Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 1–2.

became known as the three Cs: Christianity, commerce, and civilisation. Narratives of travel by missionaries, emigrants, colonial officials and their wives, soldiers, and hunters, joined those by explorers and scientists to be consumed by an expanding market as levels of literacy rose and urban audiences grew. Reflecting this and containing many of the elements above – scientific and quasi-scientific observations, imperialism, commerce – the travel books of Henry Morton Stanley embody several of the travel and narrative features of the age. In addition, their mixture of journalism, celebrity, adventure, and allusions to the Bible, the classics, earlier explorers, and popular stories show par excellence the melange of discourses that comprise travel writing.²³

It was Stanley's writings and journeys that influenced the troubled critique of British and European endeavour in the Congo in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899, 1902). That novella, picking up on Stanley's depiction of the dark continent, evident in the titles of his volumes *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) and *In Darkest Africa* (1890), expresses the doubts and questioning of empire but also examines the effects upon the self of penetrating what is perceived as a hostile region. This fictional treatment of 'going native' sets up a symbolic correlation between the interior of a country and that of the mind. It also reinforces such a strong association that more than a century later, texts on the Congo still turn to it as a reference point, whether to affirm or (infrequently) controvert it.²⁴

Although fictional, *Heart of Darkness* helps usher in travel texts that construct parallel journeys. Such narratives, propelled especially by the popularisation of Freud's ideas on the unconscious, link interior and exterior, psychological and physical journeys. Critics tend to regard the linking of these aspects as a feature of modern travel writing that distinguishes it from the texts of earlier centuries. Graham Greene's *Journey Without Maps* (1936), which quotes Conrad and conjoins Greene's experiences of West Africa with his childhood development in Britain, is seen as the classic example. Others include Jenny Diski's *Skating to Antarctica* (1997), in which the author's participation in a cruise to Antarctica combines with an inward journey into her troubled past. The whiteness of the Antarctic complements her wish for blankness during earlier periods of depression.

²³ On Stanley, see, for example, Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900* (Manchester University Press, 1994), esp. chaps. 4 and 5.

²⁴ See Tim Youngs, 'Africa/The Congo: The Politics of Darkness', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 156–73.

One argument has it that as the world becomes more mapped and there are fewer, if any, blank spaces left in it, so travellers turn inward into their psyche and memories, making their journey as much an interior as a physical one. Yet numerous accounts, particularly those of travellers often stretched to the limits of human endurance – whether on polar expeditions, or on mountain and desert treks – testify to the way travel has always offered the potential of an inward journey. Furthermore, the oft-expressed idea that there is nowhere left to explore in the modern world other than one's inner self overlooks some activities. Urban exploration, for example, is a thriving practice, and with it the vogue for ruined, abandoned places.²⁵ Suburban exploration is a linked endeavour. This is so in the sense of investigating underneath cities, as well as outside them.²⁶ The notion that modern travel writing is heading inwards because the outside world no longer has any unexplored places understates its continued external engagement. Travel is no less bound up now with economic expansion and with conflicts, for example, than it was in previous centuries.

It is tempting to claim that late twentieth- and twenty-first-century travel texts are more cognisant of and sensitive towards other cultures' beliefs and outlooks. The foot of the contents page of Muecke and Shoemaker's book on Australian Aborigines, for example, has a warning (similar to those in many Australian museums) that 'there are images of Aboriginal people now deceased in this book and that viewing those images could cause distress in some Indigenous communities'.²⁷ Yet travel writing, like travel itself, still depends largely upon the distinction between self and other. Often, that distinction continues to be made through the rehashing of crude stereotypes. Texts that empathise with the other or that experiment with alternative points of view are few and consumed by a minority. We must be wary of assuming that most contemporary travel texts are more enlightened in their outlook and even of believing that most travel accounts resemble those discussed here. Although prominent or significant for their counterpoints, our selections may not reflect dominant strains.

²⁵ On the former see, for example, Ninjalicious [John Chapman], *Access all Areas: A User's Guide to the Art of Urban Exploration*, 3rd edn (s.l., 2005); on the latter, Rebecca Litchfield, *Soviet Ghosts* written by Tristi Brownnett, Neill Cockwill, and Owen Evans (np: Carpet Bombing Culture, 2014).

²⁶ On beneath cities, see, for example, Tim Youngs, 'Urban Recesses: Memory, Nature and the City', in Françoise Besson, Claire Omhøvre, Héliane Ventura (eds.), *The Memory of Nature in Aboriginal, Canadian and American Contexts* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), pp. 31–42, and on outside or around them, Iain Sinclair, *London Orbital: A Walk around the M25* (2002; London: Penguin, 2003).

²⁷ Muecke and Shoemaker, *Aboriginal Australians*, p. 8.

Above, we have sketched something of the history of travel writing. One of the aims of the present volume is to provide a detailed overview of the origins and development of the genre. There have been single-volume surveys of and introductions to travel writing.²⁸ Multi-volume encyclopedias, as well as collections of criticism, also exist.²⁹ Previous historical studies of the genre tend to focus on particular periods, if not regions too, and consequently are not so likely to reach and inform readers with interests outside those boundaries. But there is now a need to take stock of and move beyond the tranche of guides to and surveys of travel writing, many of which, unavoidably, cover common ground. A real challenge for scholars who specialise in particular historical periods or in specific regions or societies is to reach non-specialists, within and outside the academy. Only by increasing our knowledge of travel writing can we test assumptions instead of taking them for granted. This *History* builds on the introductory and survey works that have been published since Paul Fussell's elegiac *Abroad* (1980) helped draw serious attention to travel writing, though we do not assume that our readers have prior knowledge of these titles.³⁰ Our range of essays ensures not only a range of expertise but multiple perspectives, too. It has become a truism that studies of travel writing admit to the difficulty of defining their object of study. For our purposes, we take travel writing to be the written record (usually in prose but sometimes in poetry) of travel that has actually been undertaken by the author-narrator. Our *History* does however include discussion of cognate forms and, at times, of fictional treatments of journeys.

The volume is intended to be more than a history: we wish also to introduce and examine critical approaches to travel writing since these are also part of the history of travel-writing scholarship. Thus we have organised it in the following way. The first part provides a historical overview, with

²⁸ See, for example, Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Hulme and Youngs (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011); Peter Whitfield, *Travel: A Literary History* (Oxford: Bodleian Press, 2011); Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²⁹ For example, David Buisseret (gen. ed.), *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press in association with the Newberry Library, 2007); Raymond John Howgego, *The Encyclopedia of Exploration*, 5 vols. (Potts Point, NSW: Hordern House, 2003–13); Jennifer Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003). For criticism, see Tim Youngs and Charles Forsdick (eds.), *Travel Writing: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 2012); and Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016).

³⁰ Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

eight chapters offering a chronological examination of travel writing from ancient times through to the current digital age. The second part presents travel writing in a global context and consists of ten chapters on different national and linguistic traditions, including from diasporas, and is designed to draw attention to the rich corpus of travel literature in non-anglophone literatures. They are not meant to be the final word on the subject, but their inclusion is meant to do more than redress the linguistic imbalance in scholarship. Concepts and metaphors of travel may be culturally specific rather than universal. Awareness of travel writing in languages other than English, and from those beyond Europe, increases our knowledge of precedents, alternative traditions, and possibilities.³¹

The third part of the volume is divided into three sections. The first focuses on place; that is, both on types of place and on specific examples. In its contributions on the city, the desert, rivers, mountains, polar travel, and the wilderness, it allows for a concentration on features that may have been remarked upon in the earlier essays but only in discussion of broader contexts. These subjects allow for an evaluation of particularity and commonality. The second section is on forms of travel writing. Critics often remark that travel writing is a mixed genre that includes letters, diaries, memoir, scientific modes and fictional forms of narrative. Michael Kowaleski refers to its 'dauntingly heterogeneous character', and notes that it 'borrows freely from the memoir, journalism, letters, guidebooks, confessional narrative, and, *most important*, fiction'.³² Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan remark that the genre is 'notoriously refractory to definition'.³³ Charles Forsdick describes 'the generic indeterminacy of the travelogue'.³⁴ Barbara Korte similarly states that 'the travelogue is a genre not easily demarcated'.³⁵ Carl Thompson observes that the term 'encompasses a bewildering diversity of forms, modes and itineraries'.³⁶ Such comments are so common in discussions of travel writing that they have come to constitute an orthodoxy. Yet

³¹ For an English-language collection of essays that does include a section on non-anglophone travel writing, see Carl Thompson's *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*.

³² Michael Kowaleski, 'Introduction: The Modern Literature of Travel', in Michael Kowaleski (ed.), *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 1–16 (at p. 7), our emphasis.

³³ Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. x–xi.

³⁴ Charles Forsdick, 'French Representations of Niagara: From Hennepin to Butor', in Susan Castillo and David Seed (eds.), *American Travel and Empire* (Liverpool University Press, 2009), pp. 56–77 (at p. 58).

³⁵ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p. 1.

³⁶ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp. 1–2.

while accepting that 'hybridity is constitutive' of travel writing, Guillaume Thouroude suggests that 'it is misleading to consider travel writing as a quintessentially hybrid genre *as opposed to* other presumably "pure" genres'.³⁷ The contributions to this section study a range of forms so that the traditions and techniques employed can be analysed more closely and the relationship between various types of writing considered in more depth. These include both the documentary and creative or fictional strands. The visual element is also considered.³⁸ The final section of our third part has four chapters on some approaches to travel writing. The genre is often and rightly hailed for its openness to inter- and multidisciplinary readings from literary critics and theorists, historians, geographers, linguists, anthropologists, area studies specialists, and so on. The chapters in this section address thematic concerns such as gender, ecocriticism, translation, and tourism, which are applicable to many travel texts besides those discussed in our volume.

Some Landmarks

The remainder of this introduction will present some of the prominent features of travel writing in order to help our readers plot a path through the volume. Commentaries on travel writing often suggest that it has developed from straightforward factual records, usually involving journeys undertaken for purposes of trade, politics, war, or discovery (or a combination of these), to a mode that incorporates more fictional devices. These include narrative considerations such as plotting, persona, symbolism, and character growth. Like most generalisations, there is much in this sketch that is true, but it does not tell the full story. Fictional, even mythological, travels coexist with scientific ones. The picture at any one time is more mixed than charting a general trajectory would suggest, and even more so once we start to make comparisons across cultures and languages.

There are various ways in which one might pursue a path through what on the face of it may seem wildly diverse texts across centuries and countries. First, the *type* of travel: whatever the period or society in which travel is narrated, there is always a purpose to it. People travel (and write about their

³⁷ Guillaume Thouroude, 'Towards Generic Autonomy: The *récit de voyage* as Mode, Genre and Form', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13/4 (2009), 381–90 (at pp. 389, 383).

³⁸ On illustrations see, for example, Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

travel) as pilgrims, missionaries, traders, scientists, doctors, soldiers, politicians, health workers, tourists, economic migrants, refugees, professional authors, and so on. Broadly speaking, people travel towards or away from something, or with elements of both flight and attraction, of escape and quest. Even to wander aimlessly is to have a purpose. Sometimes the motivation may be obscure, even perhaps to the traveller. That obscurity itself becomes an important trope: one of discovering a sense of meaning to the world or of self-revelation, which may overlap with the figure of transformation. The quest is a common motif that seems to be at the heart of many travel narratives through the millennia, especially if pilgrimage is also viewed in this way. ‘*Homo viator*, man the pilgrim, life as pilgrimage, is deep-engrained in Western thought’, writes Ruth Padel, but not only in Western.³⁹ Indeed, two of the most popular travel-themed books of the last quarter of the twentieth century, Robert Pirsig’s *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974) and Peter Matthiessen’s *The Snow Leopard* (1978), are influenced by and enact versions of Buddhist thought. Beyond its more literal reference to pilgrimage, the quest stands in travel writing as a large metaphor: the object of the search or mission can be almost anything. It may be spiritual or material, peaceful or military, individual or group, external or internal; for disinterested knowledge or commercial or political gain.

The second feature is *transport*. The mode of travel has as much bearing on the journey and its narration as does the motivation for it. How one travels affects the pace and even the route of the journey, thus influencing, too, the travellers’ perception of the landscape and of themselves in relation to it. The pace not only of travel but of the narrative itself can be determined or modified accordingly. In particular, what Wyndham Lewis called ‘the Petrol Age’ has changed people’s sense of speed, their engagement with the landscape and their relationship with one another.⁴⁰ New technologies of travel made people more aware of how their experiences were affected by the means of transport. This is often reflected in a narrative self-consciousness about changes in travel. Sometimes texts even comment on the appropriateness of the literary vehicle itself. For example, J. E. Vincent’s *Through East Anglia in a Motor Car* (1907) informs its readers that ‘A new method of travel . . . brings . . . the need for a new species of guide-book.’⁴¹ Most existing guide-books, we are told,

³⁹ Ruth Padel, *The Mara Crossing* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2012), p. 2.

⁴⁰ Wyndham Lewis, *Filibusters in Barbary* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932), p. 115.

⁴¹ J. E. Vincent, *Through East Anglia in a Motor Car* (London: Methuen, 1907), p. xix.

[e]xcept a small number of accounts of tours by horse-drawn carriages . . . were compiled by men who travelled by train from place to place, obtaining no view of the country often – for deep cuttings destroy all joy of the eye for the railway passenger – and at best only a partial view, for the use of men and women condemned to the like method of travel. In them it is vain to seek for any appreciation of the pleasure of the road itself. The motor-car has changed all that.⁴²

It is not just a question of chronological improvement. The reverse is just as true: each innovation seems to provoke reactions against it and a nostalgic preference for that which is threatened with displacement. A remark by aviator Anne Morrow Lindbergh captures her awareness of being at a perfectly poised moment of transition. Writing of being the first white woman to arrive at Baker Lake after only three hours of flight from the modern port of Churchill, of flying over wild wastes south of Victoria Land but hearing through her earphones the ‘noisy chatter of big cities over the edge of the world’, and of flying out of northernmost Point Barrow and seeing its supply ship stuck in ice, she senses that this magic can occur only around this time: ‘A few years earlier, from the point of view of aircraft alone, it would have been impossible to reach these places; a few years later, and there will be no such isolation.’ She writes her story ‘before it is too late’.⁴³ In recent years, a vogue for pedestrianism, allied with an appetite for slow travel, has returned.⁴⁴ Rebecca Solnit’s statement epitomises this when she writes that she likes walking because it is slow and she suspects that the mind works at about the pace at which we walk, around three miles an hour. It is but a step from this to her judgment that if her observation is true, then modern life moves faster than our thinking.⁴⁵ There are affinities here with the green or ecocritical movement that has as one of its influences Henry David Thoreau.

Technologies of print reproduction must also be considered. These affect distribution and price but also the content of the text, including the type, number, and quality of illustrations.⁴⁶ Since the late twentieth century, digital technology has had a huge effect on the representation and circulation of

⁴² Ibid., p. xx.

⁴³ Anne Morrow Lindbergh, *North to the Orient* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1935), pp. 4, 6.

⁴⁴ On pedestrianism and travel, see Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Viking, 2000).

⁴⁵ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, p. 10.

⁴⁶ For one case study, see Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa*.

travel experiences. Anyone with an internet connection can post their travel stories and pictures nowadays, making for a more democratic situation than before, when access to publication and audiences was restricted. There is also more opportunity today for pluralism, with a greater variety of travellers able to make their stories heard, and with possibilities available for indigenous peoples to represent themselves and their regions. Whether the result has been a radical change in or rather a continuation of existing narrative practices is a moot point.

In addition to the factors listed above, another that may be considered in discussions of influences on travel texts is their relationship to earlier and contemporary *literary models*. If they are to be published, travel writers, like any authors, have to meet audience expectations. These are generated by exposure to prior and contemporary conventions and models. Writers repeat these. Even attempts to depart from them retain them as their point of reference. The availability (or absence) of models has an impact also on who writes travel. The black British writer Gary Younge and African American Colleen J. McElroy are among those who have pointed to the lack of non-white models as a disincentive and who encourage others to find their own way.⁴⁷ Other writers have attempted to experiment with new forms in an effort to alter the ways in which travel and the land are represented, aiming to accommodate local perspectives. Anthropologist Hugh Brody wrote his *Maps and Dreams* (1981) with alternate chapters describing his own travels and those of the Beaver people of northwest Canada. In *Reading the Country* (1984), Australian academic Stephen Muecke collaborated with Aboriginal Paddy Roe and Moroccan Berber artist Krim Benterrak in order to present different views of the country around Broome in Western Australia and to invest the book with qualities of movement, akin to the animated world of the Aborigines.⁴⁸

There is also the issue of approach. Critics and general readers debate the degree to which travel writing is or can be objective. The position one takes on this will also shape one's definition and understanding of the genre. Those who insist that travel writing can or even should be objective mainly have in mind the journalistic, informational, and scientific functions of it. For adherents of this view, the compact of truthfulness between author and reader is

⁴⁷ Tim Youngs, 'Interview with Gary Younge', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 6 (2002), 96–107; Tim Youngs, 'Pushing Against the Black/White Limits of Maps: African American Writings of Travel', *English Studies in Africa*, 53/2 (2010), 71–85.

⁴⁸ Krim Benterrak, Stephen Muecke, and Paddy Roe, *Reading the Country: Introduction to Nomadology* (Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1984).

vital.⁴⁹ To those who think otherwise, travel writing can never be objective for it is always written from a perspective that reveals something of the traveller's culture and ideology, which are apparent even in supposedly straightforward guidebooks. These two views are not necessarily exclusive: ethnographic theorists have led the way in using techniques of narrative fiction to write up and reflect on fieldwork, and have employed in their reading of ethnographies interpretive tools more akin to those found in literary theory and criticism.⁵⁰

A final consideration is that of *tradition*, both literary and lived by generations of travellers. Certain types of travel writing serve as bridges to the past. Pilgrimages, such as the Santiago de Compostela, have their subjects travelling (usually by foot) in the paths trodden by predecessors centuries before.⁵¹ Thus journeys through space are also movements through time. Peter Matthiessen's celebrated *The Snow Leopard* has him describing Himalayan villages as though they and their inhabitants belonged to the Middle Ages. Similarly, but on a more individual basis with named forebears, the footsteps genre offers a motif for the traveller-author's connection with earlier travellers. This subgenre is one of the most visible of contemporary travel forms. It supplies a ready formula for authors, granting their travels a deeper justification while also facilitating their own identity distinct from the earlier travellers whose routes they follow.⁵²

Rather like the places and people it visits, travel writing is open to multiple interpretations, each of which will reflect something of the beholder's position. It is fitting that the future shape of this fluid genre is impossible to predict with any confidence other than that as long as there is life there will be travel and writing. We hope that the *History* will go some way towards showing the variety and multifacetedness of travel writing. It is designed to offer perspectives on the evolution of the genre as well as to give snapshots of it at particular moments in specific places. We intend it as a detailed introduction; not the final word. Like its object, travel writing studies are not fixed, and those in the field are akin to travellers regarding the terrain.

⁴⁹ See Tim Youngs, 'Interview with William Dalrymple', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 9/1 (2005), 37–63.

⁵⁰ The classic work here is James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

⁵¹ See, for example, Paul Genoni, 'The Pilgrim's Progress Across Time: Medievalism and Modernity on the Road to Santiago', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 15/2 (2011), 157–75.

⁵² On the footsteps motif see, for example, Maria Lindgren Leavenworth, *The Second Journey: Travelling in Literary Footsteps*, 2nd rev. edn (Umeå University, 2010).

PART I

★

TRAVEL WRITING BY PERIOD

Travel Writing and the Ancient World

JONATHAN S. BURGESS

Paul Fussell claims that ‘If travel can be defined as an activity which generates travel books, in antiquity there is little, or perhaps strictly speaking, none at all.’¹ However, while ancient writers rarely engaged in travel simply to chronicle it, they certainly produced numerous ancient texts that resulted from movement through space. These works often involve cultural conflict, and some focus on the experience of travel. This chapter will explore aspects of Greco-Roman literature that are characteristic of travel writing.

War and trade were always prime causes of mobility in the ancient Mediterranean world. In the Hellenistic Age, following the military campaigns of Alexander the Great, the spread of Greek culture and language throughout the eastern Mediterranean facilitated travel. During the Roman empire, the *Pax Romana* enabled relatively safe transportation throughout the Mediterranean. Individuals had long travelled for various reasons, but increasing numbers sought out ruins, religious centers, and spectacle.² Egypt, Troy, and Olympia were popular site-seeing destinations, and in later antiquity Christian pilgrimage to the Near East commenced.³

Ancient travel led to literature that often contained geographical or ethnographical material. From its beginnings, Greek literature displayed a dim

¹ Paul Fussell (ed.), *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), p. 21. Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) surveys ancient travel and its literary evidence, including ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian material (pp. 21–57).

² See Silvia Montiglio, *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

³ See Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 76–85, 229–329; Tony Perrotet, *Route 66 A.D.: On the Trail of Ancient Roman Tourists* (New York: Random House, 2002). Jonathan S. Burgess, *The Death and Afterlife of Achilles* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 116–26, covers visitation to Troy. See also Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

awareness of faraway places. The Homeric world revolves around the eastern Mediterranean, but the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (probably seventh century BCE) mention mare-milking nomads to the north and Pygmies to the south.⁴ Ethiopians ('burnt-faced', apparently in reference to skin colour) were located variously at the edges of the earth.⁵ Hesiod's *Theogony*, roughly contemporaneous with the Homeric epics, refers vaguely to inhabitants of Italy.⁶ A passage in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* lists many exotic or fabulous peoples: Hyperboreans ('beyond-Northers'), Scythians, Libyans, Ethiopians, Pygmies, 'black' men, 'subterranean' men, 'Half-dogs', and 'Long-heads'.⁷

Expanding Greek knowledge encouraged further literature about the nature of the world and its inhabitants. Hecataeus of Miletus (sixth century BCE), reportedly an experienced traveller, produced a geographical work that references travel in its very title, *Ges Periodos* (literally, 'way around the world'). The work ambitiously attempted to give a comprehensive sense of the known world (Europe, Africa, and Asia, vaguely conceived), with specific information about local myth, customs, flora, and fauna. Following in the wake of Hecataeus was Herodotus (later 5th century BCE), whose history of the Persian invasions of Greece (early 5th century BCE) includes ethnographical description of lands subsumed into the expanding Persian empire.⁸ For example, Herodotus distinguishes in a somewhat schematic manner a wide variety of Scythian and other native tribes north of the Black Sea. He indicates that he visited the area, but much of what he reports is second-hand information – Greek traders and colonists had been present in the region since the beginning of the 6th century BCE.⁹ For the far north he refers to fantastic humans and creatures in a poem by Aristeas, who disappeared after his apparent death and claimed to have travelled to the Black Sea while possessed by Apollo.¹⁰ The historian can find such second-hand information incredible, but Herodotus confidently provides ethnographic details about some native tribes:

⁴ *Iliad*, 13.4–6, 3.6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.423, 23.206; *Odyssey*, 1.22–3 (peripheral east and west), 4.84, 5.282, 287.

⁶ Lines 1011–18.

⁷ Fragment 150 Merkelbach-West, with fragments 151–6.

⁸ Herodotus and travel: James Redfield, 'Herodotus the Tourist', *Classical Philology*, 80 (1985), 97–118; Montiglio, *Wandering*, pp. 118–46; Rachel Friedman, 'Location and Dislocation in Herodotus', in Carolyn Dewald and J. Marincola (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 165–77.

⁹ Brief remarks of personal travel: *The Histories* 2.1–4, 4.81, 85–86; reference to Greek and Scythian traders: 4.24.

¹⁰ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 4.13–16. On Aristeas, see J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford University Press, 1962).

Though it sounds incredible to me, the bald men say that goat-footed men live on the mountains, and that if one goes beyond them, one will find other people who sleep for six months at a time. This latter claim I do not accept at all. But it is known for certain that to the east of the bald men is a region inhabited by Issedones. Of what lies beyond the bald men and the Issedones, towards the north, nothing is known, except what they themselves tell us.¹¹

Herodotus thus attempts to provide a rational account of peoples north of the Black Sea by means of his personal travel and the reports of others.

Ancient authors routinely culled marvels from Herodotus and other authors. The Roman Aulus Gellius (second century CE) in *Attic Nights* retails wonders from a number of Greek works that he has bought, including by Aristaeus and Ctesias (discussed below).¹² He also refers to the Roman Pliny the Elder (first century CE), who like Gellius availed himself of exotic material from numerous sources. In his *Natural History*, Pliny surveys fantastic variants of humankind, including dog-headed humans, a (swift) backward-footed people, single-legged hoppers, and a headless race with eyes on their shoulders.¹³ Thanks to Pliny's influence, such monsters would persist into post-antiquity, for example in Mandeville's *Travels*.

A particularly strong tradition placed exotic humans and wondrous plants and animals in South Asia. Herodotus could not travel so far, but reported amazing phenomena such as gold-digging giant ants there.¹⁴ Especially influential was Ctesias, a Greek physician employed at the Persian court in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE. Testimony about his lost *Indika* indicates that it described gigantic fauna, wondrous birds (the speaking parrot), amazing animals (the dart-shooting, man-eating manticore), and exotic humans (dog-headed cavemen clothed in animal skins). Though his veracity was often doubted, Ctesias claimed to have seen some things and to have been informed about others.¹⁵ It may be that while residing in the

¹¹ Ibid., 4.25; Trans. Andrea L. Purvis, in Robert B. Strassler (ed.), *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories* (New York: Random House, 2007).

¹² *Attic Nights*, 9.4. For ancient wonder books, see Kris Delacroix and Guido Schepens, 'Ancient Paradoxography: Origin, Evolution, Production and Reception', in Oronzo Pecere and Antonio Stramaglia (eds.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo Greco-Latino* (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 1996), pp. 373–460 (with comments on the Gellius passage at pp. 411–25).

¹³ Book 7. Translation and commentary: Mary Beagon, *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal: Natural History: Book 7* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ 3.98–109. See Grant Parker, *The Making of Roman India* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁵ Translation, with commentary, of ancient testimony and summaries: Andrew Nichols, *Ctesias on India, and Fragments of his Minor Works* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011). See Parker, *Making of Roman India*, pp. 28–33.

Persian empire he viewed items brought by visiting merchants and diplomats, who spoke of other phenomena.

Lands far east of the Mediterranean had been explored earlier by a late sixth-century expedition led by the Greek explorer Scylax of Caryanda, who under the employ of the Persians sailed down the Indus River, returning westward through the Red Sea.¹⁶ Herodotus provides our earliest information on Scylax and also reports attempts to circumnavigate Africa, notably by Persians and Carthaginians.¹⁷ It is suspected that Carthaginians repressed sailing outside of the Pillars of Hercules for much of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, but towards the end of this period, the Greek explorer Pytheas of Massalia (Marseilles), sailed to the British Isles and beyond to 'Thule' (where he reported frozen ocean water and arctic light) and continued to the Baltic.¹⁸ Later scholars found his reports incredible, and Thule became legendary (as in the lost novel of Antonius Diogenes, *The Wonders Beyond Thule*).¹⁹

Ancient Travel Writing

If we put to one side Fussell's problematically exclusive definition of travel with which this essay began, it is obvious that there was much movement about and beyond the ancient Mediterranean world, which in turn inspired various types of literature concerned with travel. We might think of these as 'travel literature', but do they constitute 'travel writing'? Much depends on the definition of the term. One usefully concise description of travel writing states that it 'consists of predominantly factual, first person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator'.²⁰ Measured in these terms, many of the examples surveyed above do not qualify as travel writing. Early Greek epics may vaguely reflect knowledge of the periphery of the Mediterranean world,

¹⁶ Parker, *Making of Roman India*, pp. 14–18.

¹⁷ *Histories*, 4.42–4; see also 1.163, 4.152.

¹⁸ See Barry Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek* (London: Allen Lane, 2001); Duane W. Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic* (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁹ See Strabo, *Geography*, 2.4.1–2 on Herodotus's credibility. On Thule, see James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, Fiction* (Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 215–22; Heinz-Günthe Nesselrath, "'Where the lord of the sea grants passage to sailors through the deep-blue mere no more": The Greeks and the Western Seas', *Greece and Rome*, 52 (2005), 153–71.

²⁰ Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 3. Cf. Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 9–33; Grzegorz Moroz, *Travellers, Novelists, and Gentlemen: Constructing Male Narrative Personae in British Travel Books* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2013), pp. 19–66.

but they are not authorial accounts of actual travel. The works of Hecataeus and Herodotus contain geographical and ethnographical material derived from travel, but they are not memoirs of travel experience. Authors like Ctesias, Gellius, and Strabo essentially compiled information about other lands from various sources.

But some ancient texts focused directly on travel, if not on personal experience. The genres of the *periodos* ('way about') and *periegesis* ('leading about') provided practical directions for a route over land, whereas a *periplus* ('sailing about') gave navigational instruction by listing harbours and landmarks.²¹ These genres provided information for potential journeys, not memoirs of specific trips. The beginning of the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Red Sea) provides an example:

Of the designated ports of the Red Sea and market-towns on it, first there is a bay of Egypt, Mussel Haven. And beyond it, after sailing 1800 stades, on the right is Berenice. The bays of both are on the periphery of Egypt and gulfs of the Red Sea. From these places on the right, next after Berenice, is barbarian land. The area by the sea is inhabited by Fish-eaters, in scattered huts built in ravines, while inland are barbarians and beyond them Beast-eaters and Calf-eaters, organised by chiefs.²²

Pausanias (second century CE) is sometimes described as a travel writer for his description of the Greek mainland.²³ The title of his work, *Periegesis Hellados*, 'guide to Greece', references the *periegesis* genre that provided instructions to potential travellers. The monumental work of Pausanias is certainly much more than a practical guidebook, full as it is of all kinds of learned information about material culture, literature, and myth.²⁴ Yet though it is a first person account based on knowledge acquired by experiential autopsy, it does not describe the experience of travel. Here are the opening words of the text:

²¹ Daniela Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 51–67. As noted above, Hecataeus's geographical work was metaphorically called a *periodos* (and sometimes a *periegesis*) of the world.

²² Lionel Casson (ed.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text, with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton University Press, 1989). The translation used here is mine.

²³ Cf. Christian Jacob, 'The Greek Traveler's Areas of Knowledge: Myths and Other Discourses in Pausanias' Description of Greece', *Yale French Studies*, 59 (1980), 65–85; Susan Alcock, John F. Cherry, and Jaś Elsner (eds.), *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford University Press, 2001); Maria Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2007).

²⁴ On Pausanias's employment of wonder material, see Jody Ellen Cundy, 'THEAS AXION: Wonder, Place, and Space in Pausanias' Periegesis', PhD thesis (University of Toronto, 2016).

On the Greek mainland facing the Cyclades Islands and the Aegean Sea the Sunium promontory stands out from the Attic land. When you have rounded the promontory you see a harbour and a temple to Athena of Sunium on the peak of the promontory. Farther on is Laurium, where once the Athenians had silver mines, and a small uninhabited island called the Island of Patroclus. For a fortification was built on it and a palisade constructed by Patroclus, who was admiral in command of the Egyptian men-of-war sent by Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to help the Athenians, when Antigonos, son of Demetrius, was ravaging their country, which he had invaded with an army, and at the same time was blockading them by sea with a fleet.²⁵

And so on: historical, ritual, and artistic data tend to overwhelm any sense of personal experience.

The *periegesis* tradition otherwise survives only in fragments, notably three extensive ones from the third-century BCE *On the Cities of Greece* by Heraclides Criticus. In vivid prose embedded with choice quotations from poetry, Heraclides notes the topography, monuments, and culture of mainland Greek cities:

Oropus is a nest of hucksters. The greed of the custom-house officers here is unsurpassed, their roguery inveterate and bred in the bone. Most of the people are coarse and truculent in their manners, for they have knocked the decent members of the community on the head. They deny they are Boeotians, standing out for it that they are Athenians living in Boeotia. To quote the poet Xenos: 'All are custom-house officers, all are robbers. A plague on the Oropians!' Thence to Tanagra is a hundred and thirty furlongs. The road runs through olive-groves and woodlands: fear of highwaymen there is none at all. The city stands on high and rugged ground. Its aspect is white and chalky; but the houses with their porches and encaustic paintings give it a very pretty appearance. The corn of the district is not very plentiful, but the wine is the best in Boeotia. The people are well-to-do, but simple in their way of life. All are farmers, not artisans.²⁶

Though the work's breezy style is more entertaining than the discursive narrative of Pausanias, this also is a guide for travel, not an account of personal experience.

²⁵ Trans. W. H. S. Jones, *Pausanias. Description of Greece*, Loeb Classical Library, 5 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1918–35).

²⁶ Paraphrase by James G. Frazer, *Pausanias, and Other Greek Sketches* (London: Macmillan, 1900), pp. xlii–xlix. See Jeremy McInerney, 'Heraclides Criticus and the Problem of Taste' in Ineke Sluiter and Ralph M. Rosen (eds.), *Aesthetic Value in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 243–64.

A number of ancient works focus directly on the experience of specific journeys. Xenophon's *Anabasis* ('journey inland'; also known as 'March of the Ten Thousand') recounts the story of Greek mercenaries fighting their way out of the Persian empire.²⁷ Xenophon only emerges as a significant character well into the third person story, but the narrative certainly centres on his perspective. As an adventure story written in a clear prose style, it was once favoured for the teaching of Greek.²⁸ For students of travel writing, it provides a fascinating demonstration of how travel can challenge conceptions of identity and culture. The Greek army is composed of soldiers from different Greek city-states, and after their Persian employer and Greek commanders are killed, the surviving Greeks must maintain a fragile alliance while harassed by both Persians and local inhabitants. At one point the marching army achieves a truce with a hostile tribe after a soldier suddenly recognises their language as his native tongue:

At this moment one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, a man who said that he had been a slave at Athens, saying that he knew the language of these people; 'I think,' he went on, 'that this is my native country, and if there is nothing to hinder, I should like to have a talk with them.' 'Well, there is nothing to hinder,' said Xenophon, 'so talk with them, and learn, to begin with, who they are.' In reply to his inquiry they said, 'Macronians.'²⁹

Communication having been established, the Macronians offer supplies and escort the Greeks through their territory. But even after the Greeks reach the Black Sea, the sight of which elicits the famous cry 'Thalatta! Thalatta!' ('The sea, the sea!'), they find themselves in a complex world of Greek and non-Greek cultures, and the Greek army eventually splinters and embarks on separate journeys. A comparable military travel narrative is Caesar's *Commentary on the Gallic War*, which recounts the Roman commander's military incursions against natives to the north of Italy in the 50s BCE.

²⁷ See Jim Roy, 'Xenophon's *Anabasis* as a Traveller's Memoir', in Colin Adams and Jim Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), pp. 66–77.

²⁸ Modern reception: Tim Rood, *The Sea! The Sea! The Shout of the Ten Thousand in the Modern Imagination* (London: Duckworth, 2004).

²⁹ 4.8.4–9. Trans. John Dillery, *Xenophon, Anabasis*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998). For discussion of this passage, see John Ma, "'You Can't Go Home Again': Displacement and Identity in Xenophon's *Anabasis*", in Robin Lane Fox (ed.), *The Long March: Xenophon and the Ten Thousand* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 330–45; Noreen Humble, 'Xenophon's *Anabasis*: Self and Other in Fourth-Century Greece', in Patrick Crowley, Noreen Humble and Silvia Ross (eds.), *Mediterranean Travels: Writing Self and Other from the Ancient World to Contemporary Society* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2011), pp. 14–31.

As with the *Anabasis*, the deceptively objective third person narration makes the author look good, and some sections, like the incursions into Britain (Books 4–5), read as coherent travel stories embedded with ethnographical descriptions.

It is unfortunate that authorial accounts by explorers like Pytheas (fourth century BCE) are lost. But a fascinating brief narrative of a sea journey along the coast of Africa is ascribed to the Carthaginian Hanno.³⁰ Its date and authenticity have been disputed, but the text may be a fifth-century BCE Punic document translated into Greek before the razing of Carthage by the Romans in the second century BCE. Though the work is conventionally called a *periplus*, it is not a practical guide. The text recounts a specific journey in the past, a large colonising expedition through the Pillars of Gibraltar. After a third person beginning, the concise first person (plural) narrative notes direction, duration of sailing, and topography, with occasional observation of fauna, animals, and natives. But then the expedition seems to wander into an increasingly supernatural world. At night pipes and drums are heard, and the blazing fires seen on the mountain called ‘Chariot of the Gods’ seem to touch the stars. Eventually the sailors come upon ‘wild people’, later assumed by modern naturalists to be primates:

Most of them were women, with hairy bodies, which the interpreters called Gorillai. Chasing them, we were unable to capture the men, since they all escaped by climbing cliffs and defending themselves with rocks, but we obtained three women, although they bit and scratched those taking them and did not want to follow them. Thus we killed and skinned them and brought their hides to Carthage.³¹

This episode, whether involving primates or aboriginals, disturbingly displays the bewildered entitlement characteristic of this colonising expedition.

For a sophisticated example of travel writing with a stronger authorial presence, we can turn to Horace’s description of a first-century BCE journey from Rome to Brundisium (modern Brindisi).³² He travels with deputies of Augustus to a meeting with representatives of Antony, but the story focuses on his personal experience of the trip. Though the narrative fails one criterion of our working definition of travel writing – it is composed in verse – its tone is comparable to modern travel writing that documents humorous or unpleasant aspects of travel. No sooner is the trip begun than Horace is complaining about transportation, his

³⁰ See Roller, *Pillars of Herakles*, pp. 29–43, with text and translation at 129–32.

³¹ *The Periplus of Hanno*, 18; trans. in Roller, *Pillars of Herakles*, pp. 129–32.

³² *Satires*, 1.5.

travelling companions, and local hospitality. For example, the poet describes passage at night by boat:

A whole hour passes while the fares are taken and the mule is hitched up. Awful gnats and marsh frogs prevent sleep. The ferryman and a traveller, drunk on foul wine, trade off singing of absent lovers. Finally the tired passenger begins to sleep; the lazy ferryman, tying the mule to a rock for pasture, snores on his back. At daybreak we notice that the boat does not move – until some hothead leaps out to beat the head and sides of mule and ferryman with a willow stick.³³

Travel writing has often taken epistolary form, and letters from antiquity sometimes provide personal accounts of travel. Notable is a late fourth-century CE letter by Synesius that records a voyage from Alexandria to Cyrene.³⁴ Synesius, a Christian bishop, ridicules the appearance and skills of the crew, particularly those who are Jewish. The voyage becomes frightening when the ship encounters raging storms and founders on rocks, but a Libyan native helps the passengers to shore and instructs them on where to find seafood. When this proves insufficient, local women generously offer further provisions:

At first we barely survived the foraging, each holding fast to whatever they found, and nobody gave freely to another. But now we live rather luxuriously, for this reason. Libyan women would give to the women – our female passengers – even bird's milk. They hand over whatever earth and air provides, cheese, flour, barley cakes, lamb chops, chickens, and eggs. One of them even made a present of a bustard, a strangely tasty bird.³⁵

Synesius has recourse to the legendary fertility of Libya when he describes the large size of the native women's breasts – adding that Libyan women are surprised that their visiting counterparts are less well endowed:

Indeed, learning from men who have done business with a foreigner that not all females are of such a nature, they are incredulous. And when they come across a foreign woman, they are kind and generous, until they might examine her chest. After getting a look, one woman tells another, and they summon one another, like the Cicones. They gather for the spectacle, and bring gifts for this purpose.³⁶

This detailed account about a particular journey, carefully composed and subjectively narrated, certainly qualifies as travel writing.

³³ My translation.

³⁴ Letter 4. Discussed in Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 160–2, with excerpts.

³⁵ Letter 4.246–54. My translation.

³⁶ Letter 4.280–7. The Cicones are attacked by Odysseus's fleet in Book 9 of the *Odyssey*.

Some ancient narratives that approximate travel writing would seem to be disqualified by their fictional nature. Ancient novels, for instance, typically featured movement through space, sometimes in first person character narration.³⁷ The genre of the Alexander romance originated in historical accounts of Alexander the Great, and could manifest itself as a pseudo-letter by Alexander, but its contents were wildly fantastic.³⁸ Whether readers of the genre considered Alexander romances false is another matter, however. It may be that some readers found their apparently straightforward reporting of wondrous material irresistible, as seems to be the case later with *The Travels of John Mandeville*, which along with the Alexander romance genre was very popular in the medieval period.

An ancient work that confronts the issue of veracity in travel accounts is Lucian's *True History* (second century CE).³⁹ Before providing a parody of travel writing, complete with authenticating tropes like hyper-precision and pleas for the reader's trust, the author complains that travel authors are liars:

Ctesias of Cnidos, the son of Ctesiochus, wrote an account of India and its customs; he had neither himself seen nor heard from any reliable source the things he wrote about. Iambulus, too, wrote a long account of the wonders of the great ocean; anybody can see it is fictitious, but it is quite entertaining nonetheless as a theme. And there have been many others who have written with the same intention, purporting to relate their own travels abroad and writing about great beasts and savage tribes and strange ways of life. The founder of this school of literary horseplay is Homer's Odysseus, with his stories at Alcinous's court of winds enslaved and men with one eye and cannibals and wild men, of many-headed beasts and of how his crew were

³⁷ B. P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Montiglio, *Wandering*, pp. 221–61; John Morgan, 'Travel in the Greek Novels: Function and Interpretation', in Adams and Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture*, pp. 139–59; James S. Romm, 'Travel', in Tim Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to The Greek and Roman Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 109–26.

³⁸ Ken Dowden, 'Pseudo-Callisthenes. *The Alexander Romance*', in Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, pp. 650–735; Richard Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (London: Penguin, 1991); W. J. Aerts, 'Alexander the Great and Ancient Travel Stories', in Zweder von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 30–8.

³⁹ The title is variously rendered. See Hannah Mossman, 'Narrative Island-Hopping: Contextualising Lucian's Treatment of Space in the *Verae historiae*', in Adam Bartley (ed.), *A Lucian for our Times* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), pp. 47–64; Karen Ni' Mheallaigh, *Reading Fiction with Lucian: Fakes, Freaks and Hyperreality* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 206–60.

drugged and transformed; he spun many such fanciful stories to the Phaeacians, who knew no better.⁴⁰

Lucian oddly collocates genuine, fictional, and mythological travel texts when deeming Ctesias, Iambulus, and Odysseus dishonest. As noted above, Ctesias seems to have gathered evidence about South Asia as best he could, even if readers were often sceptical. Iambulus's lost work recounted a voyage in the Indian Ocean to an imaginary island, apparently an example of fantastic fiction that became popular in the Hellenistic period.⁴¹ Odysseus is not an author, or even a historical person, but a character in the *Odyssey* who recounts his wanderings at sea. Lucian, perhaps with tongue in cheek, professes to be scandalised by the pretense of truthfulness that he perceives in such tales; he distinguishes his own method by announcing 'I will say one thing that is true, and that is that I am a liar.'⁴² But Lucian also confesses that travel stories are entertaining even when false. His subsequent account of a voyage into the Atlantic, including a trip to the moon, entrapment inside a whale, and a visit to the Isles of the Blessed, is certainly an engrossing travel story.

Perceiving the boundaries between true, exaggerated, fraudulent, and fictional travel tales is often difficult, as Lucian's fingering of Odysseus as 'the founder of this school of literary horseplay' demonstrates. What Lucian references is the tale told by Odysseus in Books 9–12 of the *Odyssey*. The modern world would certainly agree that the hero's account of his wanderings is fiction. Much of what Odysseus reports is fantastic: lotus-eaters, Polyphemus the cannibal Cyclops, the giant cannibal Laestrygonians, Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, and various divinities. Odysseus encountered such beings, he claims, while sailing in uncharted waters extending to the edges of the earth – and beyond to the underworld. Odysseus's host, Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians whom Lucian portrays as dupes, at least raises the issue of credibility when praising his guest's story: 'Odysseus, this we do not at all suppose gazing upon you, that you are a charmer and con man, like the many widespread men that the dark earth nourishes, concocters of lies about what one can't verify.'⁴³

⁴⁰ 1.3. Trans. B. P. Reardon, 'Lucian. *A True Story*', in Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, pp. 619–50.

⁴¹ The tale is summarised by Diodorus Siculus (2.55–60). See John Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 122–9; Niklas Holzberg, 'Utopias and Fantastic Travel: Euhemerus, Iambulus', in Gareth Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 621–8.

⁴² 1.4.

⁴³ 11.363–6. All Homeric passages are my translation.

But though ‘myth’ is a byword for fiction in the modern world, for the Greeks it served as a flexible explanatory narrative of undocumented pre-history. Homer begins the *Odyssey* by invoking a Muse as a source for truth, not for creative inspiration. Both the bard and his assumed audience participate in a narrative contract whereby the audience expects an essentially veracious narrative.⁴⁴ Though details might change from telling to telling, the poet and his historical audience believed in the basic truth of traditional stories. Homer was often challenged in antiquity, but rationalisation by historians and geographers, or playful subversion by orators and creative authors, was preferred to outright rejection.⁴⁵ It is not accidental that Lucian targets the character Odysseus, not Homer himself.

What Lucian overlooks is that the epic asks us to suspend our disbelief about the adventures of Books 9–12. Though it is Odysseus who tells of his wanderings at sea, Homer and authoritative characters like Zeus independently vouch for the basic outlines of the hero’s account, especially the key episode featuring the Cyclops Polyphemus.⁴⁶ In the *Odyssey* it is not the wanderings that are false, but rather various tales told by the disguised hero upon his return to Ithaca.⁴⁷ It seems paradoxical to us that these geographically anchored travel tales are false and Odysseus’s off-the map wanderings in Books 9–12 are authentic, but that is how the poet frames their respective truth value.

Reception of a narrative depends on the audience, of course, and modern readers should not be expected to accept heroic myth as fact. But students of travel writing may still be tempted to view Odysseus’s adventures as a mythologised ethnographic narrative. The opening lines of the poem boast that Odysseus learned of different cultures (‘Tell me of the man, Muse, much-travelled, who wandered very much once he sacked the holy city of Troy, and he came to know the cities and mind-set of many men’).⁴⁸ The Phaeacian king Alcinous essentially asks Odysseus for an ethnographical travel tale: ‘Come, tell me the following and relate it precisely: where you have wandered, and to what lands of men you have traveled, the peoples themselves and their inhabited cities, how many were rough, wild, and

⁴⁴ Cf. Moroz, *Travellers, Novelists, and Gentlemen*, 287–8, on the ‘referential pact’.

⁴⁵ See Lawrence Kim, *Homer between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁶ Calypso: 1.13–15, and Book 5; Polyphemus: 1.68–71, 2.19–20. See Hugh Parry, ‘The Apologos of Odysseus: Lies, All Lies?’, *Phoenix*, 48 (1994), 1–20.

⁴⁷ 13.253–86, 14.192–359, 17.419, 19.165–307, 24.244–314. See Chris Emlyn-Jones, ‘True and Lying Tales in the “Odyssey”’, *Greece & Rome*, 33 (1986), 1–10.

⁴⁸ 1.3–4.

unjust, and who were hospitable and mindful of the gods.’⁴⁹ ‘Lotus-eaters’ belongs to ethnographic nomenclature (compare ‘Fish-eaters’ etc. in the quotation of the *Periplus of the Red Sea* above), and Odysseus carefully notes the lifestyle of those whom he encounters.⁵⁰ The hero is particularly curious about the pastoral livelihood of Polyphemus – a gigantic one-eyed son of Poseidon, but considered human by Odysseus.

Structuralists have described the ethnography of Odysseus’s wanderings as an imaginary inversion of Greek culture, serving to define what is not Greek, but arguably the *Odyssey* reflects historical Greek colonisation in the western Mediterranean at the time of Homer.⁵¹ It has long been noticed that the Polyphemus episode uncannily prefigures colonialist discourse of the post-Renaissance.⁵² When Odysseus extensively describes the natural qualities of an island offshore from the land of the Cyclopes, he praises it as a potential site for a colony.⁵³ Central issues of colonialist travel texts – the coveting of ‘uninhabited’ territory, conflict of cultures, paranoia about cannibalism – appear in the Polyphemus episode.

The Greeks often employed myth to portray non-Greeks as descendants of travelling heroes.⁵⁴ Many inhabitants of peripheral places came to accept these narratives – the *Aeneid* represents the eventual Roman adoption of Greek myth concerning their Trojan origins. In time, Greeks and Romans situated the off-the-map wanderings of Odysseus at specific places in the western Mediterranean, especially Sicily and south Italy. By linking the past

⁴⁹ 8.572–6; the phraseology is repeated by Odysseus in other episodes.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ruth Scodel, ‘Odysseus’ Ethnographic Excursions’, in Robert J. Rabel (ed.), *Approaches to Homer, Ancient and Modern* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005), pp. 147–65; Johannes Haubold, ‘Ethnography in the *Iliad*’, in Marios Skempis and Ioannis Ziogas (eds.), *Geography, Topography, Landscape: Configurations of Space in Greek and Roman Epic* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 19–36.

⁵¹ Structuralist: Francois Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales From Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 15–40. Postcolonial: Carol Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer’s Odyssey* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 129–30; Jonathan S. Burgess, *Homer* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 115–16, 129–30.

⁵² David E. Hoegberg, ‘Colonial Dramas’, PhD thesis (University of Michigan, 1989), pp. 1–46; Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 23–34. The Cyclops episode is comparable to Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*: cf. Dougherty, *Raft of Odysseus*, pp. 85–92; Justine McConnell, *Black Odysseys: The Homeric Odyssey in the African Diaspora since 1939* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 11, 29.

⁵³ 9.116–41. See Jonathan S. Burgess, ‘“If Peopled and Cultured”: Bartram’s *Travels* and the *Odyssey*’, in Gabriel R. Ricci (ed.), *Travel, Discovery, Transformation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2014), pp. 19–44.

⁵⁴ See Irad Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Robin Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes: Greeks and their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer* (London: Allen Lane, 2009).

world of myth to the real world more explicitly than the *Odyssey* does, the Greco-Roman world reimagined Odysseus's travel tale as historical.

It would seem that the account of Odysseus does meet much of the usual criteria for travel writing: it is a first person account of travel that the speaker has experienced himself, which the original audience of Odysseus is expected to regard as true, and ancient audiences often considered historical. It is awkward to ascribe travel *writing* to Homer, since he is now recognised as an oral bard, or at least a poet who inherited traditional techniques of oral composition, but the epic now exists for us as a text. The *Odyssey* is an epic poem, but we have seen that Horace composed something very much like travel writing in verse, and Odysseus is portrayed as telling his story in prose (even if his tale as embedded in an epic is necessarily in verse). The mythological nature of the tale hardly fits our working definition of travel writing, but the unreal and the fictional certainly have their place in literature about travel, broadly speaking. After all, as Lucian suggests in his mischievous way, Odysseus's story is a very influential travel tale.⁵⁵ And its example indicates just how fluid the parameters of travel writing are. Though distinctions between veracious and fictional travel literature are useful, fantastic and fictitious travel tales such as the *Odyssey*, Lucian's *True History*, ancient novels, and Alexander romances certainly influenced modern travel writing and should be included in the study of the field.

⁵⁵ On its reception, see Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs describe Odysseus as an 'appropriate archetype for the traveller, and by extension for the travel writer' in their 'Introduction' to Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–13 (at p. 4). For more generally on the relationship between travel and fiction, see Chapter 30 in the present volume.

Medieval Travel Writing (I): *Peregrinatio* and Religious Travel Writing

MARY BAINÉ CAMPBELL

It is difficult to generalise about the conditions and experiences of medieval travel, even if we restrict the geographical scope of the traveller's homeland to 'Christendom', as I will here. Very little links the prospects for a wealthy Galician nun, a kabbalist from Aragon, an Anglo-Saxon sailor or a crusading French aristocrat, with the mobile, labile wife of an official in King's Lynn, the inveterate pilgrim Margery Kempe, who wrote the first known memoir in English. But some forms of motion across space, such as the royal progress and, more frequently, the pilgrimage, were ritualised throughout most of that millennium. The ritualisation of the form of travel leads logically to narrative, and so to genres of travel writing.¹ Not many textual traces remain of the royal progress, and indeed the great majority of pilgrims likewise left sparse traces, in an era when Christianity – the primary although not sole matrix of religious travel – was far more widespread than literacy. But even the illiterate Margery Kempe managed to make a narratively structured book of it, thanks to literate men willing to take dictation. And the members of religious orders who travelled beyond their jurisdictions were by definition literate, at least in Latin.

Other forms of organisation could also provide a writer with a narrative spine, such as conventional routes of international trade like the Silk Road that connected China and France for two millennia at least. Many other ancient roads attest to expansionist armies (e.g. Rome's) or imperial egos (the

¹ Some forms of ritualised motion across space are too small-scale to fit this volume's understanding of 'travel' – e.g. the Stations of the Cross, a memorial procession performed in churches – and some, like the 'beating of the bounds', once performed annually in villages by the parish priest, involve no novelty, no departure. They are religious, but not 'travel'. The zero-degree form of religious 'travel' is the pilgrimage of the finger, traced by those too disabled to cross geographical space, or too wealthy to bother, in tiny mazes inlaid into the walls and floors of churches. See W. H. Matthews, *Mazes and Labyrinths* (1922; New York: Dover, 1970); also Evelyn S. Newlyn, 'The Stained and Painted Glass of St. Neot's Church and the Staging of the Middle Cornish Drama', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (Winter 1994), 89–111.

pharaohs' tombs). However, it is worth noting that religious travel appears very early as a form that generates roads, if not maps. Among the most ancient signs of roads in Europe is the grooved roadway up to the relatively inaccessible mountaintop shrine at Delphi, where pagans sought advice from the Pythoness, Apollo's priestess. Even older traces, of 'corduroy' log roads, have been found in a bog at Glastonbury, which was a shrine long before Christianity, or even the early medieval myth of Arthur (like Jesus 'a once and future king'), overtook it. Journeys to religious festivals, oracles, and incubatoria (in search of revelatory dreams) were common in European antiquity. The travel these shrines occasioned, or enlivened, was not pilgrimage as we understand the term, but it was religious travel, the subject of the later writings surveyed in this chapter. And though trade and expansion are (arguably) older than pilgrimage as motives for travel and as sources of geographic knowledge, it was pilgrimage that first generated a literary genre, however loosely defined: the *peregrinatio*.

The *Peregrinatio*

Christian pilgrimage did not generate a literature until it became strictly oriented to a geographic goal at sufficient distance from 'home' to attract or warrant a readership. In Ireland, the earliest stronghold of European Christianity, it was initially a form of wandering in which the point was simply to be unhoused – both untethered to the worldly world and dependent on God for freely given sustenance.² The mendicant orders of 'friars' emerged in the early thirteenth century from a late twelfth-century reform movement in some ways harking back to those unhouseled wanderers, but the later friars were bureaucratized: organised into orders, approved by the pope, wandering within well-defined jurisdictions. Their freedom of motion was understood as in service to social needs, especially of the poor or the abandoned, though the dependence of some on the worldly for food or material conveniences, as the poets tell us, brought them uncomfortably close to the households of the wealthy.³ Neither aimless wandering nor the

² See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1975). Of the Irish missionary Columbán, see Sermon VII. 2, 9–16 in *Sancti Columbani opera*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 2 (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957); also Jonas, *The Life of St. Columban*, trans. D. S. Munro, <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/columban.asp>.

³ Consider Chaucer's excoriating 'Summoner's Tale' and 'Shipman's Tale' in *The Canterbury Tales*, Langland's furious *Piers Plowman*, and the friars, real and feigned, of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Measure for Measure*.

pursuit of charitable usefulness led to a *form* of writing, although some friars, especially administrators in the teaching order of the Dominicans, were philosophers (Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, William of Ockham), while the poetry of St Francis is read and translated even now and the 'Mongol mission' of the Franciscans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sent a few friars far enough to warrant writing.

But even before the efflorescence of wandering, intentionally roofless Irish holy men, some inhabitants of Christendom had a destination in mind, a place far from home, and at least one of these converted the late Roman genre of the letter to the purposes of transferring the experience of *loci sancti* to those constrained at home by vows or poverty. The earliest writer of a Christian pilgrimage narrative in Europe was (probably) a fifth-century Galician nun named Egeria, whose letter to her fellow nuns, written to transfer her presence or even being as well as her experienced knowledge to the sisters back in her convent, is published or discussed in earlier accounts as the work of 'Aetheria' or 'St Sylvia'. Egeria followed in the footsteps of religious women like Paula and Eustochium, who left Rome to join St Jerome as anchorites in the 'Holy Land' and wrote to friends at home from Bethlehem, where they settled. Unlike them, however, Egeria was on a journey, passing through: motion was her constitutive trope.⁴ It was a journey almost as firmly structured in its itinerary as a modern eco-tour, with what would eventually become a climax at the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem's Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The *loci sancti* had been made accessible by the earlier journey of the Emperor Constantine's mother Helena, mythically credited with finding portions of the 'true cross' and building three churches in Jerusalem for worshippers to visit at the sites. That structured journey, and thus structured experience, segued to narrative structure in the *peregrinatio*.⁵ Though it appears that Egeria was literate (her letter is in the first person, if usually plural and frequently in the passive), she does not have the vocabulary or range of reference of a reader of Latin poetry

⁴ See 'The Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella', trans. Aubrey Stewart, *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 1 (1885; New York: AMS Press, 1971); the Latin letter is in the *Patrologia latina* under Jerome's name.

⁵ One discursive Holy Land document precedes Egeria's *peregrinatio*, known as the 'Bordeaux itinerary', composed in 333–4 CE. It is a list of stations between present-day Bordeaux and Jerusalem; when it crosses into Palestine some items are annotated (primarily with marvels). For the Bordeaux Pilgrim's Latin 'Itinerarium Burdigalense', see G. Geyer, O. Kuntz, et al. (eds.), *Itineraria et alia geographica*, Corpus christianorum series latina 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965); in English, 'Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem', trans. Aubrey Stewart, *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 1.

or *historia*: her allusions are all to the Vulgate Bible, which she quotes from memory. It seems she knows literate narrative, as a structure, only from the Bible, which functioned as the first guidebook.⁶

Pilgrimage provides narrative with not simply the concatenative, linear structure of the picaresque or adventure novel, but also a plot. It is an experience both linear and shapely, sequential and multi-dimensional, following the motions through space of a journey that is itself following a motion through historical time, thus suturing its present to a past already written, already read, and already endowed with significance. The first extant page of Egeria's text is a description of her ascent of Mt Sinai. From the summit, where Moses saw the backside of the Lord (Exodus 33:23, 'thou shalt see my back parts: but my face shall not be seen'), she gazed down on the territory crossed by the Hebrews in their flight from Egypt. '[W]e came to a certain place where the mountains through which we were travelling opened out to form an immense valley, vast, quite flat, and extremely beautiful; and across the valley there appeared Mount Sinai, God's holy mountain.'⁷ Her account ends in Jerusalem – not the Jerusalem of the Temple but of the Sepulchre, where the body of the Messiah was laid to rest after what Egeria and her readers saw as the climactic event of sacred history. They were living in the aftermath. The very last place and event she mentions, before the text breaks off in mid-sentence, is the celebration at the Eleona of the Feast of the Dedications: 'the church situated on the mountain from which the Lord ascended into heaven' (p. 128).

This structured experience leads to a very different kind of seeing from what we look for in modern travel writing. We meet many kindly Christians in her book (eating an evening meal with her in the garden before the burning bush, guiding her courteously to all 'the places'). She is alive to the beauties of Gessen: 'passing among vineyards which produce wine and other fields which produce balsam, past orchards, heavily cultivated fields, and numerous gardens along the banks of the Nile' (p. 64) and the shiny splendour of Jerusalem's churches: 'You see nothing there but gems and gold and silk. If you look at the hangings, they are made of silk with gold stripes' (p. 95). There is a voice in her text. But the *peregrinatio* has a 'subject', as her frequent

⁶ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p.3.

⁷ For the *Itinerarium Egeriae* see Geyer, Kuntz et al. (eds.), *Itineraria et alia geographica*, pp. 37–90; I quote here *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, trans. George E. Gingras (New York and Ramsay, NJ: Newman Press, 1970), p. 49. Subsequent references are given in parenthesis in the main text.

formula reminds us: 'But let us return to the subject.' One would barely remember there were people living in the lands Egeria describes (other than Christian monks and priests), or current events, or even any history later than what she knew from the Bible: 'At the very head of the valley, where we had camped and had seen the bush out of whose fire God spoke to the holy man Moses, we saw the place where he stood before the bush as God said to him: *Loosen the strap of your shoe, for the place on which you stand is holy ground*' (p. 56; citing Exodus 3:5, Acts 7:33). She sees, as Paula and Eustochium had before her (even more clearly and ecstatically, though they were living there), the sacred past.

For Paula and Eustochium, ecstasy had been the point, in a merging of identity with the sacred dead. For Egeria it is, as Albertus Magnus will still understand it centuries later, a kind of experiential knowledge:

I was, of course, already acquainted with the land of Gessen, from the time when I first went to Egypt. *It was, however, my purpose to see all the places which the children of Israel had touched on their journey, from their going forth from Ramesses until they reached the Red Sea at a place called Clysmā . . .* It was therefore our wish to go from Clysmā to the land of Gessen (p. 60, emphasis mine).

As Palestine and parts of Syria and Egypt are being shaped for religious tourism, a kind of collaborative detective work is done through consideration of topographical features that lead to knowledge not inscribed in the Bible: in Haran (Egeria's Carrhae) she says to a bishop 'I know from Holy Scripture that the holy man Abraham came here with his father, his wife Sarah, and Lot [. . . however] I have not read when Nachor and Bethuel came here.' The bishop responds: 'It is indeed written in Genesis . . . that the holy man Abraham came here with his family. The canonical Scriptures, however, do not say when Nachor with his family and Bethuel came here. But it is clear that they also came here afterwards; furthermore, their tombs are here, about a thousand feet from the city' (pp. 83–4).

The Guidebook

Egeria's purpose in writing would motivate many pilgrimage accounts, such as the seventh-century *De locis sanctis* of Adamnan, abbot of Iona, or the fourteenth-century works of William of Boldensele, Ludolph von Suchem, and Margery Kempe. But another feature of Egeria's text would become the most familiar convention of the pilgrimage writing of the next several

centuries: the end of her *peregrinatio* is written in the habitual present, for the most part, as it concerns the relation between places and recurrent ritual events rather than the auratic past. 'On the fortieth day after Easter . . . everyone goes to Bethlehem after the sixth hour of the day before, that is on Wednesday, to celebrate the vigil. The vigil is held in the church in Bethlehem, the church where the grotto in which the Lord was born is located' (p. 117). 'At the seventh hour all the people go up to the church on the Mount of Olives, that is, to the Eleona. The bishop sits down, hymns and antiphones appropriate to the day and place are sung, and there are likewise readings from the Scriptures' (p. 104). 'For this was very much our custom, that, whenever we should come to places that I had desired to visit, the proper passage from Scripture would be read' (p. 54).

Other than Adamnan's detailed account of the seventh-century bishop Arculf's journey, few Christian narratives remain from the period before the spread of Islam through the biblical territories in the early seventh century made the journey difficult for Europeans and Christians.⁸ And although most Christian works on the Holy Land after the First Crusade and the reopening of the pilgrimage routes were doubtless useful to prospective pilgrims, they are, with exceptions such as the voyage of the English monk Saewulf (1102–4), increasingly uninteresting to mere readers. To a surprising degree, in fact – given the significance-bestowing authority of the witness in travel writing – they are plagiarised from one another.⁹ Even the ebullient Saewulf inserts a third person guidebook into his account when he reaches the newly recaptured city of Jerusalem. The more organised and routinised the religious tourism of the 'Holy Land' became, the less pressure there was on a writer of what the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society called 'guidebooks' to 'make it new'.¹⁰ The places, distances, rest stations, rituals to be performed, all seem

⁸ See Mary Baine Campbell, 'Adamnan', in John Block Friedman (ed.), *Medieval Trade, Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Press, 2000).

⁹ *Adamnan's "De locis sanctis"*, ed. and trans. Dennis Meehan, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 3 (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1958); Saewulf, ['Peregrinatio'], in R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Wurzburg, Theodericus*, *Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis* 139 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 78–141. On Saewulf, see M. E. Garnett's BA thesis, 'The Longed-for Place: Saewulf and twelfth-century pilgrimage to the Holy Land', in which she compares his text with that of a contemporary Russian abbot, even richer in detail and lacking Saewulf's inserted third person guidebook, as well as Norse crusading king Sigur[th]ur from Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, and the English saint Godric from his hagiography, BA thesis (College of William and Mary, 2000).

¹⁰ For brief overviews of the 'guidebook' literature, see my *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 127–32; or J. G. Davies, 'Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature', in Barbara Ann Sargent-Baur

static for some time after the Crusades reopened the pilgrimage, the journey itself more an institution than an adventure. ‘Thence’, reads a plagiarised passage in the fourteenth-century ‘Guidebook to Palestine’, ‘you come to the doors, and in the midst of the choir is the place called the Centre of the World, where our Lord Jesus Christ laid his finger, saying, “This is the centre of the world”. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.’¹¹ ‘You’, the religious tourist-consumer, has replaced ‘I’, the subject of unrepeatable, unpredictable, transcendent experience.

Jewish Religious Travel Writing, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries

What were the Jews doing while Christians hovered at home during three centuries of Muslim dominance, and after the First Crusade, which cost so many European Jews their lives, and sent so many looking, finally, for a place of exile? We have many accounts of the travels of merchants, diplomats, and scholars during those centuries; Elkan Nathan Adler’s collection of over 30,000 manuscripts, now at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, is testimony to their proliferation.¹² There are, however, two geographical texts dating from that period of unchallenged Muslim dominance in the Middle East that can be said to have religious motivations, or at least to seek objects important to (a different sort of) religious understanding. The first is the letter of ‘Eldad the Danite’ (Eldad ha-Dani) of Aden to the Jews of Spain: a report on his voyage from Yemen to Kerman (in Iran) to Baghdad, North Africa and Spain, and on the location and ritual practices of four lost Jewish tribes, including his own tribe of Dan, across the river from Aden. The text, dated 883, was frequently copied and embellished over the next centuries. Adler, a passionate Zionist, believed it was authentic – in part based on the confidence of the other author, Rabbi Chisdai (Hisdai ibn Shaprut), foreign minister of a tenth-century Caliph of Cordova and temporal head of the Jewish congregation there. Chisdai wrote a letter to ‘Joseph the King of the Khozars [Khazars]’ inquiring after, among other things, the well-being and size of the Jewish population in the land of ‘Khozar’ (Khorosan)

(ed.), *Journeys Towards God: Pilgrimage and Crusade* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University and Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 1–30.

¹¹ *Guidebook to Palestine*, trans. J. H. Bernard, in *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, vol. v1 (1894; New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 40.

¹² See the selection of texts edited by Elkan Nathan Adler, *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages: Nineteen Firsthand Accounts* (1930, as *Jewish Travellers*; Mineola, NY: Dover, 1987).

which rumour correctly had it was a Jewish kingdom. It was delivered, via a chain of Jewish travellers and diplomats, and answered.

Judah Ha-Levi, poet and philosopher of the 'Hebrew Golden Age', wrote a famous treatise, the *Kuzari*, based on Chisdai's exchange with King Joseph of the Khazars: it too shows a fundamentally religious point of view.¹³ For Ha-Levi though, the goal was Palestine and in particular Jerusalem: he was a real Zionist *avant la lettre*, who did not believe a full and proper Jewish life was possible outside of Judea. This idea is unlike the medieval Christian idea of place: for Christians the *loci sancti* were mnemonics, sending the visitor away from sun and sand and palms or even sacred architecture into a kind of transcendent 'memory' of names and events recounted in the Bible. It is not easy from within that tradition, oriented around the suturing of historical and eschatological time, the actual and the sublime, to recognise the religious nature of the Jewish writings, both before and after the First Crusade. But it is worth noting that the primary object of much European and East African Jewish writing about the Middle East was the continuity of ritual practice and of kinship. Rabbis like Chisdai and (later) Benjamin of Tudela, among others, sent back news of individual Jews ('The only Jew in Jerusalem is Rabbi Abraham, the dyer'¹⁴) and communities of Jews abroad; and of their manners of worship and observance. The people of the larger diasporic community must be known to each other, and their practices as alike as possible: 'then they . . . bring all the spoil to King Uzziel, and he divides it with Israel [the people], and this is their statute from King David until this day'.¹⁵ 'They are of perfect faith and their Talmud is all in Hebrew.'¹⁶ Chisdai asks the king of the Khazars 'whether he allows war to set aside the observance of the Sabbath?'.¹⁷

This interest in universality of observance is a feature they share with Christian pilgrims like Egeria, who reports approvingly, 'The eight days of Easter are observed just as at home with us. The liturgy is celebrated in the prescribed manner . . . just as it is celebrated everywhere from Easter Sunday to its octave' (p. 114). Egeria, like Eldad and Chisdai, is fascinated by ritual differences too, but her object is to bring an experiential present into a mythic past. For the Jewish travellers, however, the lands are not especially mythic: it is the condition and location of the diaspora that really matters. (Ha-Levi, the

¹³ Adler provides a brief extract in English, in *Jewish Travellers*, p. 37.

¹⁴ Petachia of Rattisbon, in Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Eldad, 'Eldad the Danite (c. 880)', in Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers*, chap. 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 17.

¹⁷ Hisdai, 'The Epistle of R[abbi] Chisdai, son of Isaac (of blessed memory) to the king of the Khazars', in Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers*, pp. 22–36 (at p. 31).

ardently nostalgic Cordoban, did not himself travel, and his philosophical dialogue, based on Chisdai's exchange of letters with the king of the Khazars, is a fiction.)¹⁸

Pilgrimage Sites in Europe

Not all guidebooks for the pilgrim convey information about the layout and regulation of holy places in the Middle East. Other major pilgrimage sites included the city of Rome, where the pope and the Vatican have been ensconced for most of the history of the Catholic Church, and which was also a site of marvels not entirely Christian. According to the anonymous guide known as *Mirabilia urbis Romae*: 'In Rome were twenty-two great horses of gilded brass, eighty horses of gold, eighty-four horses of ivory, one hundred eighty-four public privies, fifty great sewers.'¹⁹ Or of the Vatican: 'Within the Palace of Nero is the Temple of Apollo, which is called Santa Petronilla, before which is the Basilica of the Vatican . . . It is called the Vatican because in that place the *Vates*, or priests, sang their offices before Apollo's Temple' (III.I.33). Then as now, religious travellers took in more than holy stimuli: the difference is that premodern religion permeated every experience, action, relation, regulation, and scientific idea; there was no inside and outside, and the category of religious travel is thus a matter of degree rather than kind.

Another major European site was the cathedral town of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. Once a Roman burial ground, in the early Christian era the site of a *martyrium*, it became famous when the local bishop announced the discovery of the remains of the apostle St James in the early ninth century.²⁰ The Galician shrine, increasingly fortified on the proceeds of pilgrim devotion after 'Saracen' attacks, eventually attracted pilgrims from all over Europe, along what was by the twelfth century a settled network of

¹⁸ The relationship of Islam to Jerusalem and especially to Mecca and Medina was more compelling as a prod to travel, and thus travel writing: the *haj* after all was an injunction. For more on Islamic traditions of travel, see Chapter 9 in the present volume.

¹⁹ Francis Morgan Nichols (ed. and trans.), *Mirabilia urbis Romae: The Marvels of Rome*, 2nd edn (New York: Italica Press, 1986), I.I.II. The original text was composed around 1143, during the so-called 'twelfth-century Renaissance' of renewed interest in classical antiquity and the early Christian world, and in a more secular historiography. The *Mirabilia's* stress on ancient pagan and imperial sites is evident in my next quotation. Saints and major churches are mentioned but the guide is to Rome, not to the enshrined tombs of St Peter and St Paul.

²⁰ The relics have not been confirmed by the Roman Catholic Church. There is a confirmed arm in Toulouse.

routes, some of the most important paths converging at Reina del Punta in Navarre into the main branch of the 'Camino de Santiago'. Both Rome and the Camino de Santiago were highly organised sites of pilgrim experience; both produced notable guidebooks, especially Compostela. The 'Book of St James' or *Codex Calixtinus*, has been called the first guidebook, or anyway the first to remind us of a modern one, although arguably unlikely to have seen much actual use.²¹

In five books, the *Codex Calixtinus* includes an anthology of sermons and liturgical rites honouring St James ('Santiago') and giving meaning to the shrine and route; a hagiography of St James's miracles in Europe; an account of the 'translation' of his body to Compostela from Jerusalem; a history of Charlemagne and Roland; and a practical guidebook to the route and the town more like the Holy Land guidebooks described earlier. The book also includes musical texts. It is not so much a text as a container for texts, and certainly not a textual *form*, unless concatenation is a form. Some of the parts circulated separately, and have been translated separately.²² The codex itself was stolen from the cathedral in 2011 – and rediscovered in 2012. What it can tell us, as a major *object* in the history of travel writing, is that some of the history of travel writing is, perhaps not surprisingly in the fetishistic world of pilgrimage, the history of signifying objects.²³ The very term *vademecum* implies a thing, not a text, as its object.

Crusade Chronicles as Narratives of Pilgrimage

The crusade as a genre of war, first invoked by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095, was also understood as a pilgrimage or 'general passage', and its chronicles, which narrate experience of an intense form of travel for most of the writers, begin with that identification. They constituted a major genre for three centuries: the chronicles produced during that series of 'holy wars' include a number of major literary works, among them the first historical work in a French vernacular, Geoffroi de Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*, begun in 1207.

²¹ Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, pp. 125–8.

²² For an edition, complete translation, and bibliography, see Alison Stones, Jeanne Krochalis et al. (eds.), *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1998).

²³ See the Special Issue of *Exemplaria* on 'Premodern Culture and the Material Object', ed. Patricia Ingham, 22/2 (2010).

Of the several genres of medieval historiography, the chronicle has fewer literary pretensions than the *historia* inherited from Livy, which tells a shapely story of a nation from its purported and usually violent origins. The chronicle narrates directly a particular large-scale event or sequence of events (Julius Caesar's *De bello gallico*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Gesta francorum*, anonymous source of many First Crusade chronicles), and the point of view of the chronicler and his nation dictates what is narrated and what is left out.

The most useful of the eyewitness chronicles is Bishop Fulcher of Chartres' eyewitness account of the First Crusade (1095–8) and ensuing smaller actions through 1127. Two vernacular works from the thirteenth-century Fourth and Seventh Crusades are also milestones: Villehardouin's *Conquête*, on the battle between western and eastern Christians for control of Constantinople in 1204, and the *Vie de Saint-Louis* (1309) of Louis's friend Jean de Joinville, who in the context of hagiography brings his narrative back to the crusades' original (if largely insincere) religious motives and orientation.

Crusade chronicles are composed with an emphasis on dates and sequence, but Fulcher, Villehardouin, and Joinville, eyewitness writers, attend as well to their own sensations and perceptions: to the experience of travelling, endangered, for God. In so doing they participate in the uneven development of the phenomenon we now call 'voice'. Medieval narrators are the residue of flesh-and-blood speakers or lecturers, whose task was oral transmission of the already composed: tags personifying the narrator as *speaker* in an oral transmission are conventional in vernacular narrative forms like the *conte* or the romance: 'and then the story says', 'as the French book saith'. But when the narrative is located in the experience of the person composing the sentences or of those she has spoken with, rather than a retelling of oral tradition or legend, it is a different kind of transmission. And when the *meaning* of the place or event being described or narrated is not self-evident, when its religious or ideological import must be intruded into the scene by the narrator, it tends to be intruded by way of the narrator's subjective witness: she recounts the feeling of being there and the sensation of seeing these things, longing for them. Literary historians may see in these accounts an early sign of, on one hand, the kind of non-annalistic historiography once practised by classical Mediterranean historians, and again by the moderns, but on the other, a narrative grounded in the personal authority of the writer, their act of witness or direct contact with witnesses. It is a feature that can be seen in hindsight, with other kinds of travel writing, as leading to the brink of the novel.

In a manuscript culture of sparse book production, the market is rarely flooded with copy-cat texts (Holy Land guidebooks are an exception). No one crusade chronicle can tell us a great deal about another, and the great ones do not set out to do the same thing. Fulcher's account of the 'pilgrimage to Jerusalem' of the First Crusade is respected as the most accurate, but Joinville's *Vie de Saint-Louis* is also notable, mostly devoted to Louis IX's conduct of the unsuccessful Seventh Crusade.²⁴ It is saturated with sensuous detail and personal perception and, with its hagiographical aim, is the most firmly fixed on the religious object of its subject's quest. I quote from Joinville's narrative in Book 11 of the genesis of the crusade:

King Louis . . . came at last so near to dying that one of the two ladies tending him wanted to draw the sheet over his face, maintaining that he was dead. But another lady would not allow it . . . As the king lay listening to the dispute between the two ladies our Lord worked within him, and quickly brought him back to such a state of health that he . . . now recovered his speech. As soon as he was able to speak he asked for the cross to be given to him, and this was promptly done.²⁵

To take the cross was to set out on Crusade, in *imitatio Christi*, bearing the cross (symbolically, on a baldric) for Jesus, in order to return Palestine to its role as the shrine of the Christ and his martyrdom. Hearing he had taken the cross, Louis's mother 'mourned as much as if she had seen him lying dead' (p. 191). But Joinville casts Louis's whole life as the story of this pilgrimage, asserting that 'he was born on St. Mark the Evangelist's Day . . . on [which] day it is the custom, in many different places, to carry crosses in procession . . . known in France as "black crosses." This may be taken in some way as presaging the great number of people who were to die in the two Crusades . . . the one in Egypt, and the one during which the king himself died at Carthage' (p. 181). Louis should not be 'omitted' (p. 163) from the rolls of martyrs, as he was one himself. The text is a hall of mirrors, and composed, according to its dedication (to Louis's son), that 'you may take some good examples from it, and put them into practice' (p. 165), furthering the play of imitation and repetition so central to medieval Christian experience of Holy Land pilgrimage.

²⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, trans. Martha E. McGinty, in *The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. with an intro. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 12, p. 24.

²⁵ Jean, sire de Joinville, 'The Life of St. Louis', in M. R. B. Shaw (ed. and trans.), *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 191.

Missionary travels

The establishment of ‘crusader kingdoms’ on the eastern Mediterranean littoral and the military orders of the Knights Hospitaller and Templar during the crusades opened the farther ‘East’ to the missionary orders. It seemed especially interesting during the approach of the expanding Mongol empire, which lacked its own dogmatic religion and toyed for diplomatic reasons with monotheisms encountered west of Mongolia and China. The reports of Dominicans and Franciscans from India, Central Asia, and China are a mine of ethnological and historical information, though some are better gold than others. The star of the corpus (many texts of which were later tapped by ‘Sir John Mandeville’) was William of Rubruck’s 1255 letter, addressed to Joinville’s friend Louis IX, concerning his mission to the Mongol court of Karakorum. It is a strikingly intelligent work, written in the key of stark disappointment. Nothing could be more different from the necessarily climactic and celebratory works of pilgrimage, whether personal and experiential, collective and historiographical, devotional or military in focus, nothing farther from their fundamental strategies of *imitatio*, exemplarity and recapitulation. It is anti-climactic, disillusioning, hard and hungry travel and accomplishes nothing. The outcome is a *hamartia*, an ironic rather than ecstatic form of revelation:

The [Nestorian] monk told me that the Chan only believes in the Christians; however he wishes them all [idolaters and ‘Saracens’ too] to come and pray for him. But he was lying, for he does not believe in any of them . . . yet they all follow his court like flies honey . . . and they all think they enjoy his special favor and they all prophesy good fortune to him.²⁶

Less discerning monks and priests helped to develop a high and late medieval discourse of wonders about the farther East and China; it was from such missionaries as Odoric of Pordenone and John de Plano Carpini, not from William, that Mandeville stole, or deftly parodied, some of his most famous tidbits. His wonderful book – the endlessly ramifying varieties of it, in prose and verse, long and short, gorgeously illustrated or later printed in excerpt as chapbooks, in every European vernacular – is a diptych that hinges a cornucopian and digressive pilgrimage guide to a wonder book oriented to lands beyond the territories of Christian ‘grace’ and divine history.²⁷

²⁶ William of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, ed. and trans. William Rockhill (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900), xxix.15.

²⁷ For a close reading of the *Travels*’ spiritual zoneage, see Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of

Though Mandeville famously approaches the ‘paradys terrestre . . . at the begynninge of the erthe’, he does not enter: ‘because I was not worth’.²⁸

Margery Kempe and the Spiritual Autobiography

The fourteenth century in England was rich with mystics and visionaries: Julian of Norwich, Richard Rolle in Yorkshire, Margery Kempe in King’s Lynn, the Carthusian Walter Hilton in Nottingham. It was also an era of travel masterpieces – above all the rhizomatic French pastiche, Englished early, that we now call *Mandeville’s Travels*. All nourished the genre’s most memorable offspring, Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.²⁹ The vernacular had arrived as a vehicle for communicating depths and breadths of experience and understanding that were once the province of the developed international language of Latin. While this limited the readership of major works like Chaucer’s, it made possible a linguistic richness and particularity, addressing deeper levels of reception and engagement, that make a widely translated late medieval work like *Mandeville’s Travels* the lastingly fruitful image of a world in any vernacular.

Margery Kempe, England’s first named woman writer, straddled the mystics’ internal ‘world’ of devotion and spiritual striving and the brutally external route of pilgrimage across Europe to the footprints of Jesus in Palestine. The inner journey became a lasting trope as mystics forged a belief that only in stillness and isolation could the soul move. As Walter Hilton said, “There is no need to run to Rome or Jerusalem to look for [Jesus] there, but turn your thought into your own soul where he is

California Press, 1980); for analysis of its planetary ideology, see my *The Witness and the Other World*, pp. 136–61.

²⁸ *Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. Paul Hamelius, 2 vols., Early English Text Society o.s. 153 and 154 (1919–23; Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1974), pp. 219, 202. Mandeville is discussed further in Chapter 3 of the present volume.

²⁹ Other notable works based on long-distance religious travel of the ‘long’ fourteenth century include the travels, *descriptiones* and *estoires* of the German Dominicans Burchard of Mt Zion and Felix Fabri (from Zurich) and Catalan friar Jordanus of Severac, the noble Armenian monk Hetoum, the Moroccan Berber Ibn Battuta, Franciscans Odoric of Pordenone and John of Montecorvino (later bishop of Beijing), and the Jews Estori Farchi of Provence and Joseph ibn Chelo, a cabbalist of Aragon – who wrote, notably, about Jerusalem and roads to other cities *from* there (a change of orientation resulting from the new exile population in Jerusalem: the crusades were bad for European Jews, ending with their expulsion from France and England). After late antiquity, when Paula, Estochium, and Egeria wrote, I know no other texts by women writers on religious travel till the fourteenth-century book of Margery Kempe; on female pilgrims, see Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

hidden.³⁰ Kempe's memoir, a climactic work with which I end this survey, begins with encounters with Jesus at home in her mind and bed, following a spiritual collapse, but moves outwards when after gaining permission to live celibate in her marriage she begins a pilgrim career in the Holy Land, Rome, Compostela, Aachen, Assisi, and Canterbury. Her book is a strenuous account of seeking, through the medium of a life, love and a place for love both within herself and beyond everything she knows. As a pilgrimage it is both literal and metaphorical, as intensely felt as Egeria's but less certain of fulfilment, as disappointed as William's mission but joyful nonetheless, for

whan this creatur saw Jerusalem . . . she thankyd God wyth al her hert,
preying hym for hys mercy that, lych as he had browt hir to se this erdly cyte
Jerusalem, he wold grawntyn hir grace to se the blysfyl cite of Jerusalem
abovyn, the cyte of hevyn.³¹

We recognise this: desire fulfilled helplessly generating new desire, from the voice of Jesus in her mind to his embrace in her bed, to the sites of his *passio* in the far-off city, to a heavenly Jerusalem reflected in the inaccessible sky above. Had she been able to fly, who knows what she would have seen above the sky? It is thanks to the genre of religious travel that we find emerging here in English literature another genre, the spiritual autobiography – not merely of inward adventure striving to transcend representation, but as achingly palpable palimpsest of desire in a city full of hostels, stray dogs, languages, tombs, twists of fate.

³⁰ Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. John P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 1:49, p. 122.

³¹ Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Lynn Staley (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publication for TEAMS and University of Rochester, 1996), 1:28, p. 75.

Medieval Travel Writing (2): Beyond the Pilgrimage

SHARON KINOSHITA

Many of the travel narratives composed in the European Middle Ages are devoted to pilgrimages; others, however, recount journeys made for other than spiritual purposes. Perhaps the most famous example dates from 1298, composed in Franco-Italian by the Venetian merchant Marco Polo, recently returned from over two decades serving the Mongol Great Khan Qubilai. Though typically known as *The Travels* in modern English translations, this text, co-authored by the Arthurian romance writer Rustichello of Pisa, was originally entitled *The Description of the World* (*Le devisement du monde*). Subsequent French versions were called *The Book of the Great Khan* (*Le livre du grand caam*) and *The Book of Marvels* (*Le livre des merveilles*); Italian translations were, and still are, known as *Il milione*. Arguably, the text did not become *The Travels* until 1559, over two and a half centuries after it was first composed, with an Italian print translation that appeared in the series *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, published by the Venetian humanist Giovanni Battista Ramusio.¹ This essay offers an overview of some travel writings of the high and late Middle Ages that preceded and followed Marco Polo's text, both to highlight the variety of the genre and the better to take the measure of the distinctiveness of *The Description of the World*.

Clerical Travellers, Latin Texts

The variety of travel narratives preceding Marco Polo's *Description* may be gleaned from two texts: the *Itineraria* (*Journeys*) of Gerald of Wales (1191, rev. 1197 and 1214) and William of Rubruck (1255). Both, being clerics, composed their accounts in Latin, ornamented with quotations from and allusions to Scripture and (in Gerald's case) the classics, in contrast to the basic

¹ For more on the book and its context, see Sharon Kinoshita, 'Introduction' to Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. Sharon Kinoshita (Indianapolis: Hackett Press, 2016), pp. xiv–xxx.

vocabulary and often ragged syntax of Marco and Rustichello's vernacular Franco-Italian. In another sense, however, the journeys recounted in these two texts could not have been more different. While Gerald's is a circuit around the author's own native land, William of Rubruck records a mission to the court of the Great Khan of the Mongols, undertaken barely fifteen years after the sudden appearance of the Central Asian nomads had stunned Latin Europe.

Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae* records a journey undertaken in spring 1188, during the reign of Henry II of England (r.1154–89). Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, made a seven-week circuit of Wales on a recruitment tour for the Third Crusade. He was accompanied by Gerald, the archdeacon of Brecon (in central Wales), a Cambro-Norman descended on his mother's side from Rhys ap Tewdwr, one of the great charismatic lords who dominate medieval Welsh history. The archbishop's tour itself was rife with political implications. At a time when some Welsh clerics were seeking to assert their autonomy from Canterbury by establishing St David's, in distant Pembroke, as the metropolitan see over Wales, the archbishop of Canterbury's progress through the Welsh interior could be construed as a performance of Anglo-Norman authority. Gerald, though recently frustrated in his own ambition to succeed his uncle as bishop of St David's, shows no compunction in accompanying Baldwin, even highlighting how he himself took the cross at the first stop of the archbishop's tour. Gerald, however, never did go on crusade; instead, he composed an account of his travels with Baldwin: the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, first completed in 1191 and dedicated to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln. Two subsequent revisions were produced, in 1197 and 1214, respectively. Both augmented the original, especially the latter, which rededicated the text to the powerful new archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton.

The care Gerald took in revising his work bespeaks his own authorial self-consciousness, not only in the way he manages his narrative but in his repeated references to his own accomplishments. At Brecon, he describes how he 'presented to the Archbishop a copy of my own far from negligible work called *The Topography of Ireland*' and reports with satisfaction that the archbishop 'read a portion of it with close attention each day during the journey or else had it read to him'. Elsewhere he repeatedly makes cross-references to it ('As I have explained in my *Topography of Ireland* . . .'), sometimes quoting from it at length (for example, in an anecdote involving the

horn of St Patrick).² He even announces books he intends to write: *How to Bring Up a Prince* (which he did compose in 1216) and one on religious orders (which never was written).³ Throughout the *Itinerarium*, Gerald showcases his learning: not unusually for a churchman, his text often includes biblical quotations from both the Old and New Testaments. Just as frequently, however, he displays his classical training: his account of how greed has corrupted religious orders devoted to poverty, for example, features quotations from Seneca, Ovid, and a string of other pre-Christian authors.

The aptly titled *Itinerarium* is structured by Gerald and Baldwin's station-to-station movements: places visited, major figures encountered, and sermons delivered, emphasising the names and numbers of those who took the cross in response to the archbishop's preaching. But this is only the frame: every stop on their journey is ornamented with accounts of local lore: history, marvels (often involving the natural world), and miracles. As Gerald himself describes:

This little work is like a highly polished mirror. In it I have portrayed the pathless places which we trod, named each mountain torrent and each purling spring, recorded the witty things we said, set down the hazards of our journey and our various travails, included an account of such noteworthy events as occurred in those parts, some in our own times, others long ago, with much natural description and remarkable excursions into natural history, adding at the end a word-picture of the country itself.⁴

His *Itinerarium*, claims Gerald with considerable authorial pride, brings landscape, history, and marvels together; the 'witty things' he used to entertain Baldwin on their journey presumably refer to the anecdotes comprising the majority of his text. His historical vignettes often recount the messy entanglements of powerful Welsh families like his own, in contact or in conflict with Anglo-Norman colonisers under both Henry I (r.1100–35) and Henry II (r.1154–89). Even the natural marvels he describes – a doe with a buck's horns or the waterfowl that burst into song at a legitimate ruler's command – tend to date not from a distant traditional past but from political incidents during those two reigns. Gerald's narrative logic is often loosely associative: the anecdote of a local thief whose hand sticks fast to a stone prompts three other stories (all set in England rather than Wales) of people who miraculously become stuck to inanimate objects, thus revealing their misdeeds.

² Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1978), pp. 80–1, 86, 97.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

The mention of the loyal greyhound of a Welsh prince assassinated by his brother triggers a disquisition on dogs that draws on sources such as Suetonius, St Ambrose, Pliny, and Solinus and concluding (in the 1197 revision) with remarks derived from Gerald's own experience and observation (pp. 128–30).

In his *Topographia Hibernica* (*Topography of Ireland*) and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (*The Conquest of Ireland*), Gerald, who had accompanied Prince John on a tour of the island in 1185, treated it as a foreign culture. His relatives had spear-headed the Cambro-Norman conquest of Ireland, and his descriptions of the land, people, and customs featured tropes destined to become staples of later colonial discourse. In Wales, by contrast, Gerald was both an insider and outsider, by political affiliations as well as family connections. Curiously, he underplays his connections to the land, choosing not to reveal, for example, that the 'noble family resident on the coast of South Wales [that] has taken its name from the island' of Barry (p. 125) is his own. He frequently explicates Welsh components of local place names, as in his gloss on the name of Llanthony Abbey, combining etymological knowledge with cultural perspectivism:

It is from the Honddu [River] that it takes the name Llanhonddu, for 'llan' means a place dedicated to religion. This derivation may seem far-fetched, for the real name of the place in Welsh is Nant Honddu. 'Nant' means a stream of running water: and in the Welsh language the place is still today called Llanddewi Nant Honddu by the local inhabitants, that is the church of David on the River Honddu. The English have corrupted the name to Llanthony.

Surprisingly, he otherwise lays little claim to any fluency in the language, highlighting instead the time when a sermon he preached 'first in Latin and then in French' caused even those speaking neither language to rush forward to take the Cross.⁵ On the other hand, some of the most memorable marvels he recounts – the wild sow suckled by a bitch that became 'extraordinarily skilled in the pursuit of game', the woman who gave birth to a calf ('Perhaps a portent of some unusual calamity yet to come [or] more probably a punishment exacted for some unnatural act of vice'), the mare impregnated by a stag – feature a category confusion and boundary transgression that have

⁵ Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales*, p. 141. This passage, added in the third version, likely refers to the foreign Flemish community settled in the region by Henry I. On Gerald's 'deployment of Welshness', see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (ed.), *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 85–104.

been read as indications of Gerald's own abiding preoccupation with cultural hybridity, itself a symptom of the larger complexity of Wales as a colonised society.⁶

Like the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium* features a powerful first person narrator. In 1238 (fifty years after Gerald's journey through Wales), Latin Europe began receiving reports of a previously unknown invader from the east: this was the first wave of western expansion by the Mongols, on their way to assembling the largest contiguous land empire ever known. Before long, Western rulers began sending Franciscan and Dominican friars as emissaries, seeking variously to contact the newcomers, to confirm rumours that they were Christian or try to convert them if they were not, or to make common cause with them against the Muslim rulers of the Middle East. The papal envoy John of Plano Carpini, sent to uncover 'the truth about the desire and intention of the Tartars', reached the Mongol capital of Qaraqorum in 1246, just in time to witness the acclamation of Chinggis Khan's grandson Güyük as the new Great Khan; the report he made of his journey combined ethnographic and strategic information on the Mongols with an account of the hardships of the road.⁷ In 1253, the Franciscan William of Rubruck set out at the behest of the French king Louis IX; he, too, made it to Qaraqorum, now ruled by Güyük's first cousin, the Great Khan Möngke. Returning to the Crusader county of Tripoli in 1255, William composed an account of his journey, dedicated to the king:

you told me, when I left you, to put in writing for you everything I saw among the Tartars, and further urged me not to be afraid of writing to you at length; and so I am doing as you commanded . . .⁸

Of all medieval Western accounts of the Mongols, the *Itinerarium* stands out for William's detailed account of Mongol customs, registered with the subtle self-consciousness of an observer observed.⁹ At the same time, unlike Marco

⁶ On Anglo-Norman Wales, see Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 105–32. On the combination of Anglo-Norman and Welsh perspectives in Gerald's *Descriptio Kambriae*, see Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 44–6.

⁷ John of Plano Carpini, 'History of the Mongols', in Christopher Dawson (ed.), *Mission to Asia* (1955; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 3–72 (at p. 3).

⁸ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (Indianapolis: Hackett Press, 2009), pp. 59–60. 'Tartar' was Latin Christendom's name for the Mongols, derived from 'Tatar' (one of the first tribes conquered by the Mongols), inflected by 'Tartarus', name of the Greek underworld.

⁹ On the complexity of William's ethnographic gaze, see Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word*, pp. 57–87.

Polo's *Description*, the *Itinerarium* is very much a record of his journey and first-hand impressions, as in his vivid recollection of the experience of first contact:

When we first came among these barbarians . . . I felt . . . that I was entering another world. They surrounded us on horseback, after making us wait for a long time while we sat in the shade under our wagons. First they asked whether we had ever been among them before. And on receiving a negative reply, they began brazenly to demand some of our rations. (p. 97)

Finding food and drink on the journey occasions the shock, and pleasure, of the unfamiliar:

That evening the fellow who was our guide gave us *comos* [*kumis*, fermented mare's milk] to drink, and on swallowing it I broke out in a sweat all over from alarm and surprise, since I had never drunk it before. But for all that I found it very palatable, as indeed it is. (p. 99)

William documents the traveller's difficulties over provisioning:

we were given no food except cow's milk, which was really sour and foul-smelling. Our wine had by now run out, and the water was so churned up by the horses that it was undrinkable. Were it not for the biscuit we had, and God's grace, we might well have perished. (p. 103)

William reports being 'struck with awe' (p. 131) at his first sight of the massive encampment of Baatu, khan of the Golden Horde. Among his endless trials are guides who get drunk, importune him for presents, or are otherwise unreliable (pp. 175, 273) and the harshness of the Central Asian winter: 'the tips of my toes froze, with the result that I could no longer go around barefoot' (p. 175). Not least, there is the struggle to maintain his dignity as an ambassador: when quizzed about the resources of France, 'as if they were due to move in and take it all over forthwith . . . I had to exercise great self-control in order to conceal my indignation and fury' (p. 180). William's overall sense of his journey may be gauged from his closing remarks to the French king: 'I regard it as inadvisable for any friar to make any further journeys to the Tartars, as I myself did or as the Preaching Friars [Dominicans] are currently doing.' It would be different if the pope were to 'send a bishop, in some style', in response to diplomatic letters sent by the Mongols themselves: 'For they listen to what an ambassador has to say and always ask whether he wishes to say more; though he would have need of a good interpreter – several interpreters, in fact – and plentiful supplies' (p. 278).

William's *Itinerarium* belongs to what we might think of as a subgenre: narratives of extraordinary diplomatic journeys. In 1287, when Marco Polo was still in Qubilai's service, Rabban Bar Sauma, a Nestorian monk born in Cathay, was sent by Arghūn, the Mongol Ilkhan of Persia, as an envoy to seek an alliance with various Christian rulers, including the Byzantine emperor, the pope, and the kings of France and England.¹⁰ In the early fifteenth century, just after his great rout of the Ottomans (1402), the Central Asian conqueror Tamerlane (Timur the Lame) sent a letter to Henry III of Castile; in response, the king dispatched an embassy to Samarcand. Among the envoys was the nobleman Ruy González de Clavijo, who subsequently drafted a report that he explains as follows:

because the said mission is very arduous, and the journey very long, it is necessary to put in writing an account of all the places and countries through which the said ambassadors passed, and of the things which happened to them, that they may not be forgotten, and that there may be a complete knowledge concerning them.¹¹

Told in the third person, the narrative tracks their maritime journey across the Mediterranean, pauses at length to describe the sights of Constantinople, then resumes with the sea voyage to Trebizond and the overland trek to Samarcand through Armenia and Persia. Clavijo's account of the embassy recounts Timur's rise to power and describes his palace and its surroundings in rich detail, including the elaborate court ceremonials attending their visit, in which Timur's chief wife played an important role. Clavijo takes equal care narrating the party's return journey along the overland and maritime routes long made routine by merchants and other travellers. Like Marco Polo's narrative, the works of William of Rubruck, Bar Sauma, and Ruy González de Clavijo all bear witness to the remarkable long-distance journeys enabled by the new connectivity produced by the Mongol conquests.¹²

Marco Polo's *Description of the World*

The original of *The Description of the World*, composed in 1298 by the Venetian merchant Marco Polo and the Arthurian romance writer Rustichello of Pisa,

¹⁰ E. A. W. Budge (trans.), *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China: Medieval Travels from China through Central Asia to Persia and Beyond*, intro. David Morgan, new edn (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014).

¹¹ *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy González de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand A.D. 1403–6*, trans. Clements R. Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859; repr. Elibron Classics, 2005), p. 5.

¹² See Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

has been lost. The manuscript widely agreed to reflect it most closely, the so-called 'F' text (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1116), dates from c.1310 and was written not in Italian, as the 'nationality' of its co-authors might lead us to suppose, but in Franco-Italian. This is the name modern philologists give to the versions of medieval French used by Italians who chose to write not in Latin (still the language of philosophy, theology, and science) but in the vernacular. Within short order, the text was translated and retranslated into multiple languages, beginning with standard Old French, Tuscan, Venetian, and Latin and, not unusually for the Middle Ages, abridged or augmented with interpolations and glosses, resulting in versions that could differ considerably one from the other.¹³ Furthermore, the text itself is far from a simple travel narrative. As Simon Gaunt puts it, 'the *Devisement* consciously recalls different modes of writing' – merchant manuals, encyclopedias, wonder books, vernacular epic, romance, and more – 'without replicating them'.¹⁴ This versatility is reflected in the multiple titles given different medieval versions of the text, from *The Description of the World* to *The Book of the Great Khan* to *The Book of Marvels*.

The narratives we have been considering thus far have largely been structured by the itineraries of their authors. In the *Description*, by contrast, only the Prologue, comprising the first 19 of the book's 233 short chapters, is devoted to the travels of the Polos themselves. A first journey, made by Marco's father Niccolò and uncle Maffeo to Qubilai's court in 1260–9, occupies chapters 2–10; their second journey, begun in 1271 when Marco was seventeen and concluding with their return to Venice around 1295, is recounted in chapters 11–19. Their extraordinary experiences are related not in the first person – as in the *Itineraria* of Gerald of Wales or William of Rubruck – but in Rustichello's third person narration:

When the Great Khan saw Marco, who was a young man, he asked who he was. 'Lord', said Messer Niccolò, 'he is my son and your man'. 'He is welcome', said the Great Khan. Why should I make a long tale of it? Know in all truth that the arrival of these envoys brought great joy and celebration to the Great Khan and his entire court; they were well served and honored in everything. They remained at court and held honor above all other barons.¹⁵

¹³ For a detailed account of this variation over time and across languages, see Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au moyen âge: traduction, diffusion et réception du Devisement du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

¹⁴ Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's Le Devisement du monde: Narrative Voice, Language, and Diversity* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 29–30.

¹⁵ Marco Polo, *Description*, p. 10. My analysis here is based on the Franco-Italian 'F' version of 1310.

Marco, we are told, quickly drew Qubilai's favour for his flair in recounting 'the news and the customs and the practices' (p. 10) of the lands he visited in the Great Khan's service: just the kind of material that presumably forms the core of the book later dictated to and retold by Rustichello.

In the main body of *The Description of the World* – divided into what Rustichello calls 'the book' on mainland Asia, and 'the book of India' on the maritime coast from Japan to east Africa – Marco speaks in his own voice ('I, Marco Polo') only five times.¹⁶ Much of the narrative consists of strings of short chapters on various towns, provinces, or kingdoms. A typical entry, in its sparsest form, identifies a place's ruler, its religion(s), its main source of livelihood:

cxxxix. Here the city of Hezhongfu [Cacianfu] is described. Hezhongfu is a great and noble city of Cathay and is toward the south. The people are idolators and burn their dead. They belong to the Great Khan and have notes for currency. They live from trade and crafts, for they have a lot of silk; they make cloth of gold and silk and *sendal* in great abundance. This city has many cities and castles under its rule.

Longer entries may include noteworthy cultural features such as dress, customs, and food, historical anecdotes, or marvels associated with local sites or figures; Marco also frequently mentions varieties of flora and fauna. Special attention is devoted to Quinsai (modern Hangzhou) and Zaytun (Quanzhou), the two great cities of the Southern Song empire, which Qubilai finally conquered just after the Polos' arrival. In both cases, the features of these vast urban centres – Quinsai's 12,000 stone bridges, the number of crafts practised there, its distance from the sea; the percentage of customs duties levied on commodities arriving at the port of Zaytun from the Indies – are described less in the experiential language of the traveller or through a vocabulary of wonder than in the administrative language of the functionary, their remarkable quality expressed by the density of emphatic formulae such as 'I tell you', 'you must know', and 'I would have you know'.¹⁷ Furthermore, however linear a trajectory Marco's entries appear to describe, they frequently confound the attempt to construe them as a single itinerary: following one route for a time, the narrative then returns to its starting point to follow a second route in another direction or to jump

¹⁶ 'I, Marco', occurs in reference to the dating of Mongol attempts to conquer Bengala; the resources of the city of Quinsai; the revenue generated by Quinsai; attesting his presence in Champa in 1285; and his five-month stay in the kingdom of Samatra. Marco Polo, *Description*, pp. 114, 133, 137, 149, 152. Elsewhere, the 'I' refers to Rustichello, the narrator.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 133–6, 140–2.

long distances to another site altogether.¹⁸ In this sense, the *Description* might be put in the company not of William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium*, but of the Arab-Islamic genre of the *Book of Routes and Kingdoms* (*Kitab al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*), the geographical texts reflecting the administrative organisation of lands under Muslim rule.¹⁹

In fact, in form and content Marco's descriptions of places in Asia bear a strong family resemblance to a range of works from outside the Latin European tradition. Take, for example, these two twelfth-century accounts of Rustichello's native city:

Pisa is a very great city, with about 10,000 turreted houses for battle at times of strife. All the inhabitants are mighty men. They possess neither king nor prince to govern them, but only the judges appointed by themselves. In this city are about twenty Jews, at their head being R[abbi] Moses, R. Chayim, and R. Joseph. The city is not surrounded by a wall. It is about six miles from the sea; the river which flows through the city provides it with ingress and egress for ships.²⁰

Pisa is one of the most important and famous cities in Christian lands. Its territory is vast, its markets flourishing, its buildings well-populated, its territory extensive, its gardens and orchards numerous, its fields adjacent. Its position is preeminent and its history admirable. Its fortifications are high, its lands fertile, its waters abundant, its monuments very remarkable. The Pisans have ships and horses: that is, they are prepared to launch maritime expeditions and attack other localities. This city is on the banks of a large river that comes from the mountains of Lombardy, on the banks of which are mills and gardens.²¹

The first is by Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew from the Iberian kingdom of Aragon. In c.1169, he set out on a two years' journey to the east. On his return, he penned an account of his travels in a 'rather formal medieval Hebrew' suffused with forms from Arabic (which was probably his native language). He begins: 'I journeyed first from my native town to the city of Saragossa, and thence by way of the River Ebro to Tortosa [on the

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 15, headnote.

¹⁹ On Islamic geographical writings, see, most recently, Travis Zadeh, *Mapping Frontiers across Medieval Islam: Geography, Translation, and the 'Abbāsid Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011); and Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

²⁰ *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Asher, with Introductions by A. Asher, Marcus Nathan Adler, and Michael A. Signer (1840; Cold Spring, NY: NightinGale Resources, 2005), p. 62.

²¹ Idrīsi, *La première géographie de l'Occident*, trans. Pierre-Amédée Jaubert, rev. Annliese Nef, ed. Henri Bresc and Annliese Nef (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), p. 372 (my translation from the French).

Mediterranean]'.²² Then, however, his first person disappears in a point-to-point narration of stops on his way. In the western Mediterranean, he describes each site by its Jewish community (its numbers, the names of its most prominent members, and the relationships among them) and its most salient features: 'Rome is divided into two parts by the River Tiber. In the one part is the great church which they call St. Peter's of Rome. The great Palace of Julius Caesar was also in Rome' (p. 63). Distances overland are marked in parasangs (a Persian unit of measure), sea journeys by days travelled – the inverse of the *Description*, which measures land distances in 'days' journeys' and distances between seaports in miles.²³ Except for his mention of Jews, Benjamin's entry on Pisa bears a strong resemblance to Marco's descriptions of the great cities of China.

The second account comes from the *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī-khtirāq al-āfāq* (Book of Diverting Excursions of One who Longs to Traverse Horizons), not a travel narrative but a geographical text composed by the North African scholar al-Idrīsī and dedicated to the Norman king Roger II of Sicily in c.1154. Better known as the *Kitāb Rujār* (*Book of Roger*), it combined received knowledge from the Arab-Islamic geographical tradition with information on Latin Europe to which al-Idrīsī would have had easy access in Palermo, capital of Roger's multi-confessional kingdom at the crossroads of the Mediterranean. Together, these texts – Benjamin's and al-Idrīsī's – reveal the extent to which *The Description of the World* participates in a kind of high medieval textual community in which interests and key formulaic structures are shared across languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Franco-Italian) and genres (a travel narrative, a geography, and a 'description of the world').

Nowhere does *The Description of the World* resist classification as a travel narrative more than in the final section of the 'F' text. Nominally devoted to 'Greater Turkey', it focuses on succession wars within the Ilkhanate of Persia (ruled by the lineage of Qubilai's brother Hülegü) and between the Ilkhans and their cousins, the khans of the Golden Horde. Recounted out of chronological order and detached from their geographical setting, these internecine political struggles are recounted in stylised scenes reminiscent of contemporary French *chansons de geste* (epic) and studded with formulaic phrases – 'Know that', 'It is true that', 'What should I tell you?', 'Why should I make

²² Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, pp. 15, 59.

²³ In his account of the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) made just over a decade after Benjamin's journey, Ibn Jubayr, a court secretary from Muslim Granada, organised his movements by date, paying much less attention to distances. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Ronald J. C. Broadhurst (New Delhi: Goodword, 2013).

a long tale of it?’ – widespread in thirteenth-century French prose romances such as *La quête del saint graal* (*The Quest for the Holy Grail*) or *La mort le roi Artu* (*The Death of King Arthur*).²⁴ For modern readers, such ‘literary’ interventions, ascribed to, if not to say blamed on, Rustichello, can only impugn the text’s accuracy and historical credibility. However, such stylistic borrowings exemplify the fluidity of medieval genres in an age when histories of the Crusades could take epic form and de-rhymed romance couplets could be woven into vernacular prose histories. Furthermore, Marco and Rustichello’s canny deployment of generic convention recasts Mongol warriors that previous generations had seen as ‘a monstrous and inhuman race of men [who] feed on raw flesh, and even on human beings’ into worthy counterparts of Arthur and Charlemagne.²⁵

Mandeville’s Fictional Journey

Frequently considered alongside Marco Polo’s *Description of the World*, no text better illustrates late medieval Europe’s fascination for narratives of faraway places than the *Book of John Mandeville*.²⁶ Composed in the late 1350s or early 1360s, it is purportedly the first person account by a knight from the English town of St Albans of a thirty-four-year journey to the Holy Land and beyond.²⁷ Originally composed (like the *Description*) in French, it was a medieval bestseller on a scale dwarfing even Marco Polo: circulating in two versions, the ‘Continental’ and the ‘Insular’, it survives in a total of around 300 copies. Today it is best known in a Middle English translation of the ‘Insular’ French version, dating from sometime before 1400, part of a literary explosion in Middle English that included the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower.²⁸

²⁴ See Marco Polo, *Description*, pp. 202 n. 13 and 203 n. 14 and Sharon Kinoshita, ‘Principles of Translation and Annotation’ in Marco Polo, *Description*, pp. xxvi–xxx (at p. xxviii).

²⁵ *Matthew Paris’s English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852–4), vol. 1, p. 131.

²⁶ For example, see Simon Gaunt, ‘Translating the Diversity of the Middle Ages: Marco Polo and John Mandeville as “French” Writers’, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 46/3 (2009), 235–48; and several of the essays in Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare A. Iannucci (eds.), *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (University of Toronto Press, 2008).

²⁷ The author claims to have begun his travels in 1322 (according to the English manuscripts) or 1332 (according to the French ones), returning in 1356 or 1366, respectively.

²⁸ *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, trans. Iain M. Higgins (Indianapolis: Hackett Press, 2011) (henceforth ‘Higgins’) and Sir John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels*, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford University Press, 2012) (henceforth ‘Bale’) translate the Old French and the ‘Defective’ Middle English version of the Insular

In fact, the *Book of John Mandeville* is an elaborate literary hoax: as Iain Higgins calls it, a clever ‘mash-up’ that, ‘in keeping with medieval habits of *compilatio* (compiling) and *ordinatio* (arranging)’, was assembled by ‘reorganizing others’ material in new ways’.²⁹ Among the major sources used by ‘Mandeville’ (himself likely a fictional creation) are Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone’s *Relatio (Account)*, c.1330, of his mission to Russia and Asia, and Dominican William of Boldensele’s *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus (Book of Certain Regions Overseas)*, c.1336, of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.³⁰ Like Marco Polo’s *Description*, it explicitly aims at a non-clerical audience, rooting its truth value in eyewitness corroboration rather than in textual authority:

Know that I should have put this writing into Latin so as to explain things more briefly, but because more [people] understand French better than Latin, I have put it into French so that everyone can understand it, and the knights and the lords and the other noble men who know no Latin, or a little, and who have been beyond the sea know and understand whether I speak the truth or not. (Higgins, pp. 5–6)

Artfully interweaving his source texts, the Mandeville author provides everything one might look for in such a travel narrative. At the centre of the text is Jerusalem, reachable by several different itineraries, with extended descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre and the *Templum Domini*, or the Dome of the Rock, which in the Crusader period had served as the headquarters of the Military Order of the Templars. The second half of the text ventures beyond Jerusalem, giving long accounts of India and Cathay, with pride of place going to the Great Khan and to the legendary priest-king, Prester John.

The political geography of Mandeville’s mid-fourteenth-century world differed considerably from that of Marco Polo. Since the loss of Crusader Acre in 1291, Latin European presence in the eastern Mediterranean had been confined to islands like Cyprus and Rhodes; ‘Mandeville’ writes his book, in fact, ‘Because it has been a long time since there was a crusading expedition overseas, and because many men long to hear about that land and various countries nearby’.³¹ In the meantime, direct contact between Latin Europe and Mongol Asia had initially increased: by 1307, there was even a Latin

text, respectively. See also Iain M. Higgins, *Writing East: The ‘Travels’ of John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

²⁹ Higgins, p. xi, and Bale, p. xviii.

³⁰ Bale, ‘Introduction’, pp. xviii–xx and, for speculations on the Mandeville author’s identity, pp. xii–xiii.

³¹ Bale, p. 6.

bishop of Khanbaliq (Beijing), the Chinese capital. Yet by mid-century, Mongol power had begun to disintegrate: the Ilkhanate of Persia had dissolved in the 1330s and, following the ravages of the Black Death of 1348, the same befell the Yuan dynasty in China in 1368, rupturing the connectivity that for roughly a century had enabled the circulation of people, goods, and knowledge on an unprecedented scale.³²

Meanwhile, the fictionality of Mandeville's *Book* is broadly signalled in the concluding passage of the Middle English version, in which the narrator relates that he

travelled homewards on a route *via Rome*. This was in order to show my book to the Holy Father the Pope . . . so with his wise council he might examine it with different people *in Rome*, because there are always people living there from all kinds of nations around the world.³³

In fact, the papacy had moved to Avignon in 1307 and would remain there until 1377 (the so-called 'Babylonian Captivity') – to contemporary readers, a clear tip-off of 'Mandeville's' fabrication. What the *Book* of John Mandeville shows, not in spite of its fictional composition but because of it, is that by the second half of the fourteenth century, travel narratives had become not just a way of organising and presenting knowledge of the world beyond Latin Europe but of slyly mobilising the account of foreign cultures as a means of reflecting on one's own. Any glance at these travel narratives quickly explodes the popular belief that in the Middle Ages, people lived and died without moving more than a few miles from their home. Beyond pilgrimages to sites such as Jerusalem, Rome, or Santiago, monks, merchants, and others travelled for a wide variety of reasons. The writings they left of their journeys, shaped by previous generic conventions and pushing their bounds, suggest the complexity of their encounters with foreign peoples and places while revealing the dynamism animating texts of the high and late Middle Ages.

³² See Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*.

³³ Bale, p. 124, emphasis added.

Early Modern Travel Writing (I): Print and Early Modern European Travel Writing

GERALD MACLEAN

The impact of moveable print on the development of early modern travel writing was widespread, but not global. During the early seventeenth century, the classical arts of travel writing were nearing perfection in the *Youji* or 'Travel Diaries' of Xu Xiake, composed between 1609 and 1637 during journeys throughout Ming China.¹ Between 1640 and 1680, Evliya Çelebi travelled throughout the Ottoman empire and beyond, busily compiling his ten-volume *Seyahatname* or 'Book of Travels', which inventively stretches the idioms of Ottoman Turkish while experimenting with traditional conventions of Persian and Arab-Islamic travel writing.² Later that century, the scribe commissioned to record the 1685 embassy from Safavid Shah Sulaiman (r.1666–94) to Phra Narai, the king of Siam, took considerable pains over his manuscript. The result, the *Safına'ı Sulaimani*, or 'Ship of Sulaiman', is a formal diplomatic document, full of mundane detail, but composed in a cultivated literary style.³ Beyond Europe, travel writers continued to compose in manuscript forms, refining and developing vernacular languages and idioms, calligraphic arts, literary and stylistic conventions, long after the German invention of printing with moveable types and the appearance of Gutenberg's Bible in 1454.

While the Islamic world turned its back on printing technology for being an ungodly innovation, Christian Europe welcomed it, beginning by reproducing its most sacred text by mechanical means. Incunables, books printed

¹ See Julian Ward, *Xu Xiake (1587–1641): The Art of Travel* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001).

² See *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*, trans. with commentary Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (London: Eland, 2010).

³ See ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, trans. John O'Kane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 5–14.

before 1501, were no less rare and valuable than manuscripts, but a century after Gutenberg's Bible, printed books circulated widely, and travel writing had become a staple of this expanding production. By the mid sixteenth century, print shops had set up throughout Europe and printing had become 'one particularly noisy strand in a network of communications' that was powerfully shaping European history.⁴ Historians often connect the arrival of print with the Lutheran Reformation. More broadly, printing introduced what are sometimes termed 'opportunity spaces'. In urban centres like Antwerp and later London, printing enabled the emergence of new classes – printers, engravers, publishers, booksellers, even writers – together with their national and international networks and associations. It increased business for paper-makers and book-binders, and attracted investment capital, enabling engravers to develop new techniques and refinements to meet demands for printed pictures of all sorts, especially new and more accurate maps. Printing provided new opportunities for disseminating knowledge, belief, and political propaganda on a formerly unimaginable scale and consequently became subject to state licensing and censorship. It opened up fertile new grounds where the artistry of the engraver blossomed to portray new worlds and old.⁵

In 1483, inspired by the possibilities of print, the German cleric Bernhard von Breydenbach of Mainz 'set out to . . . reconceptualize the form and making of a book' by going on pilgrimage with an artist, Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht, to produce an account of their journey in printed words and images.⁶ The *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* of 1486 was the first illustrated

⁴ Joad Raymond, 'Introduction' to Joad Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1600* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 9. More generally, see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁵ On the exemplary careers of the bookseller-printer Christophe Plantin (1520–89) and the engraver-cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), see Paul Binding, *Exploring the World's First Atlas* (London: Review, 2003); and Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: Christophe Plantin and the Moretus* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969). On Antwerp, see Hubert Meeus, 'Printing Vernacular Translations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in Christine Gottler, Bart Ramakers, and Joanna Woodall (eds.), *Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 108–37; and note 29 below. On London, see C. Paul Christianson, 'The Rise of London's Book Trade', in Lotte Hellinger et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 11: *1400–1557* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 128–47; and James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁶ See Elizabeth Ross's exemplary account, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), p. 1.

travelogue published by mechanical means. By 1500, Czech, Dutch, French, German, and Spanish translations had appeared, complete with the twenty-eight woodcut illustrations made from Reuwich's original blocks, which travelled 'from Mainz to Lyons to Speyer to Zaragoza' and were copied four times.⁷ Despite its subsequent influence, Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* remained an exceptional and expensive work of art.

Print culture developed gradually during its first hundred years; even in Europe most travel writing remained a matter of manuscript production. Having catalogued over 450 accounts by travellers to the Ottoman empire and Holy Land written between 1400 and 1600, Stephan Yerasimos calculates that only 30 per cent of them ever found their way into print close to date of composition or even during the sixteenth century. Most of these accounts – and hence the majority of those that remained in manuscript – were diplomatic reports and pilgrims' accounts; the former intended for restricted circulation within European chancelleries, the latter composed for personal reasons.⁸

Printing provided opportunities, and if some travel writers remained too hesitant or insufficiently ambitious to pursue those opportunities, the earliest printer-publishers were eager to include well-known books of travel among their products. Versions of Marco Polo's travels began appearing in 1483–4 in a Latin text, *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum*, published in Gouda by Gerard Leeu.⁹ By 1570 Polo's name had appeared as author of more than a dozen works in Spanish, German, Dutch, French, Italian, and Portuguese.¹⁰ With a massive circulation in manuscript, the *Travels* of Jean de Mandeville 'was a book for which there would be a sure demand', and early printers were quick off the mark: printed versions appeared in German (1478), English (1496), and Italian (1497).¹¹ By 1568, publishers throughout Europe had issued at least eleven printed versions in French, Italian, German, English, and Spanish.¹² In early modern England, the *Travels* was such a commercial

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸ Stéphane Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIVe–XVIe siècles): bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités* (Ankara: La Société Turque d'Histoire, 1991), p. 18.

⁹ Marco Polo, *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum* [Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1483–4], following the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, www.bnf.fr; hereafter BnF Catalogue.

¹⁰ BnF Catalogue, and the British Library Catalogue, <http://explore.bl.uk>, hereafter BL Catalogue.

¹¹ For a detailed examination of the work's print history and subsequent influence in England, see C. W. R. D. Moseley, "'New things to speak of': Money, Memory, and Mandeville's *Travels*", *Yearbook of English Studies*, 41/1 (2011), 5–20 (at pp. 9–11); *Johanne de Mandavilla che tracta de le piu maravegliose cose . . . che si trovyno in le parte del Mondo* (Bologna: Piero and Jacobo da Campii, 1497).

¹² *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. xii.

and influential success that it would be 'printed more often than any other English non-religious work from the Middle Ages'.¹³

Daniel Roche has shown that by 1800, European printers had published 5,562 works of travel writing, of which 456 appeared in the sixteenth century, 1,566 in the seventeenth, and 3,540 in the eighteenth.¹⁴ Sixteenth-century production increased significantly around mid-century, as Latin and Greek gave way to vernacular languages. During the seventeenth century, French dominated the market, followed by German and Dutch; in the eighteenth, English took over. Translation complicates the picture, but during the sixteenth century, German, Italian, and French works of foreign travel mostly concerned the Ottoman empire since proximity, war, and commerce continued to be of paramount national interest, though New World, South Seas, and Far Eastern travels also appeared in these languages as well as in Spanish, English, and Dutch. Of the total, most European travel works printed before 1800 concerned travels to the old worlds of Europe and Asia rather than the new worlds of the Americas and South Seas. This dominance of the old world increased during the seventeenth century, when the number of printed travel accounts to India and Southeast Asia alone rose to rival those for European travel.

Travel Collections: Knowledge, Commerce, and Colonialism

Throughout sixteenth-century Christian Europe, print culture spread knowledge, both old and new. Travel knowledge was high on the list and invariably political. Columbus's voyage radically challenged traditional certainties of what the world was really like, introducing new lands and peoples unknown to the ancient historians and geographers, and raising previously unimagined questions of sovereignty, possession, and ownership. Travels to the South Seas and the Americas put classical learning and maps in doubt and offered new possibilities for geographers, naturalists, cartographers, historians, political theorists, and theologians. Much was to be learned that was new and challenging, especially about the previously known world. Distinct from the geographical knowledge inherited from Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, travel writing provided just the kind of empirical evidence demanded in the era of

¹³ Moseley, 'New things', p. 5.

¹⁴ See Daniel Roche, *Humeurs vagabondes: de la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), cited by Muzaffer Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 358.

Erasmus, Luther, and Bacon, especially by merchants, colonialists, and empire-builders.¹⁵

Throughout Europe, printing spread empirical knowledge of the world at a time when, as never before, knowing how to get to places was necessary commercial and political information. But publicising national achievements was just as important. In 1520, to celebrate becoming Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, Charles V appointed Peter Martyr d'Anghiera to a well-salaried position documenting and publishing Spanish explorations to the Americas, a task already underway.¹⁶ Composed largely from ships' logs and interviews with cartographers and explorers, including Columbus, and written in the form of Latin epistles, Peter Martyr's works were eventually collected and printed as *De orbe novo* in 1530.¹⁷ Arranged into 'decades', these accounts provided the earliest, and fullest, printed record of Spanish voyages to the Americas. Initially produced in order to assert an imperial claim to the new lands on behalf of the Habsburgs, Peter Martyr's works were soon being reprinted and translated throughout Europe, often in order to criticise Spanish treatment of indigenous people.¹⁸

During the second half of the sixteenth century, anthologies like the *De orbe novo* developed into the most distinctive innovation that print introduced to early modern travel writing: large-scale travel collections. Principally edited and published to celebrate the exploratory voyages and trading ventures of a particular nation, such collections were produced in costly folio formats for the libraries of the wealthy and powerful. Scholars have shown how multi-volume works such as Giovanni Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi* (1550–9) and Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589; 1598) satisfied a number of contemporary agendas – national, political, religious, commercial, intellectual, scientific – on a scale and in a format that would have been impossible to imagine, let alone realise, without the medium of print.¹⁹ Such

¹⁵ See, for instance, Nicolás Wey-Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2008); and Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

¹⁶ See *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera*, ed. and trans. Francis McNutt, 2 vols. (New York: Putnam, 1912), vol. 1, pp. 39, 49–52.

¹⁷ *De orbe novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis protonotarii Cesaris senatoris decades* (s.l.: Michaelae d'Engina, 1530).

¹⁸ *De orbe* was reprinted in Basel (1533), in Portuguese translation (1534), in English translation by Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London: William Powell, 1555), in Cologne (1574), Paris (1587), and in German translation from Basel in 1582: see BL Catalogue.

¹⁹ For Hakluyt, see the studies in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Mary Fuller, 'Richard

works entailed complex networks of writers, travellers, owners and collectors of manuscript materials, compilers, editors, engravers, and publishers, whose discernible and sometimes competing interests shaped content, production, and distribution.

Aimed at expanding knowledge, the reach of these travel collections was international even as the production and size of the volumes boasted of national achievements. These volumes provide fascinating revelations about peoples, lands, and seas unaccounted for by ancient historians as well as up-to-date information about the older worlds of Asia and Africa. Often illustrated with woodcut or copperplate engravings, these early travel collections were valuable virtuoso productions that displayed the arts of the printer, engraver, and binder. At once luxury items aimed at the libraries of the wealthy and for circulation as diplomatic and prestige gifts, these costly volumes were also compendia of new travel knowledge across several connected fields: history, cosmography, geography, ethnography, and cartography. For Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘the emergence of travel writing as a distinctive genre central to the late Renaissance system of knowledge’ depended on these costly volumes which had shifted the grounds of knowledge. ‘The authority that mattered most’, he notes, ‘was that of modern travellers (often men of humble rank) whose writing has been so usefully collected by men like Ramusio, Sebastian Munster, Andre Thevet, Richard Hakluyt and Theodor de Bry’ during the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁰

Nationalist and colonialist motives colluded with the advancement of learning in the production and printing of these collections. During the second half of the sixteenth century, printing was fully shaping the development of travel writing throughout Europe. By the end of the century, in the shadow of the great collections, printing had opened up markets for accounts by individual travellers with a variety of reasons for travelling – including writing about it – and a variety of personal opinions and knowledge

Hakluyt’s Foreign Relations’, in Paul Smethurst and Julia Kuehn (eds.), *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 38–52; Nandini Das, ‘Richard Hakluyt’, in Andrew Hadfield (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 292–309. For Ramusio, see the Introductions to the following editions: *Navigazioni et Viaggi: Venice 1563–1606*, ed. R. A. Skelton and George B. Parks, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967–70), and *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. Marica Milanese, 3 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1978–88); and see George B. Parks, ‘The Contents and Sources of Ramusio’s “Navigationi”’, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 59 (1955), 279–313.

²⁰ Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘From the “History of Travel” to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre’, in Carey and Jowitt (eds.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing*, pp. 25–41 (at p. 26).

to share and adventures to narrate. The development of the travel account fully composed in the first person by writers whose authority was signally defined by the claim of actually travelling was an achievement of print that, from the seventeenth century to our own times, would significantly define the genre.²¹

Print culture enabled and encouraged new directions for travel writing and gave it a new importance as a source of knowledge. Focused on the mid sixteenth century, what follows further illustrates these developments by offering a detailed account of one of the earliest writers to make a career from publishing his travels, and then briefly relating that narrative to other contemporary developments that print culture was bringing to travel writing.

A Hungarian Lament: The Case of Bartolomeus Georgievits (1506–1566)

Bartolomeus Georgievits was a learned Hungarian who had spent twelve years in captivity among the Muslim Ottomans. Taken prisoner in 1526 at the Battle of Mohaç when Sultan Süleyman's armies seized control of central Hungary, Georgievits was sold between several Ottoman families in Thrace and Istanbul, before finally escaping. Travelling overland via Damascus to Jerusalem, he entered the Dominican order at Mount Zion before returning to Europe by sea in 1539.²² By 1544, while Habsburg forces were miserably failing to recapture central Hungary, he turned to the new technology and started complaining, first of all to the Holy Roman Emperor, a few years later to the Vatican, and meanwhile to anyone in Europe who could read Latin, French, or Dutch. Having travelled among them, Georgievits was both hostile to and informed about the Muslim enemy, and he was eager to insist that what he had learned made it clear that expelling them from Hungary was a holy and moral imperative. In 1544 he was living in Louvain, the intellectual centre of the Habsburg Low Countries, and started publishing travel accounts designed as diatribes against the Ottomans that would enable him – via print – to transform his captivity into a career.

²¹ See Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels*, chap. 8, 'On early modern travel', pp. 332–63; Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 4–5.

²² For biographical details, see the Preface to *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, and Kenneth Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992).

Georgievits's accounts of travelling while an Ottoman captive were not the first such to be printed, but he was the first to manage the printing and publication of his own work. He and his publishers would have known of the *Reisebuch* of Johann Schiltberger, a posthumously printed account of thirty years in captivity from 1396 to 1427 that had been reprinted six times in German since 1473.²³ Schiltberger's travel narrative never reached a wider European market by means of translation, but a second early account of travels in Ottoman captivity that also anticipated Georgievits into print had a wider, and indeed, controversial publication history. First printed around 1481–2, the *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* recounts the captivity of George of Hungary between 1438 and 1458.²⁴ While doubtless printed to circulate anti-Ottoman sentiment, the work offers such a remarkably favourable account of the manners and religious lives of the Turks that Martin Luther edited a Latin reprint in 1530 with a preface arguing that Muslims were better than Catholics.²⁵ Not to be outdone, two years later the radical reformer Sebastian Franck published a German-language version attacking all organised religions to promote a global community embracing all faiths, including Islam.²⁶

Unlike Schiltberger, Georgievits had no travels amongst imperial armies to record, and unlike George of Hungary, nothing good to say about the Ottomans. Formally, his works find closest precedent in a third previously printed travel-in-captivity account written by a 'Transylvanian theological student' taken by the Ottomans in 1436, which first appeared in printed form in 1509 as *De vita et moribus Turcarum*, and has sometimes erroneously been attributed to Georgievits given the formal similarities.²⁷ Like *De vita*, Georgievits's works pursue topics – religion, military affairs, marriage customs – rather than being organised by narrative or journey, and offer only occasional personal references. This 'manners and customs' model more closely resembles European travellers' increasingly ethnographic descriptions

²³ *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, ed. Buchan Telfer (London: Hakluyt Society, 1879), lists eleven reprints before 1557, pp. x–xiii.

²⁴ [George of Hungary], *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* [Urach: Konrad Fyner, 1481–2?].

²⁵ *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum ante LXX annos aeditus. Cum praefatione Martini Lutheri* (Nuremberg: Praelo Peypus, 1530), sigs A^v–A4^v.

²⁶ See Stephen Williams, "Cronica der Turckey": Sebastian Franck's Translation of the "Tractatus de Moribus, Condiçionibus et Nequitia Turcorum" by Georgius de Hungaria' [sic], PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 2010).

²⁷ Few copies of the original title survive, but the anonymous captive's observations later appear in various compilations: see Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520–1660)* (Paris: Boivin, 1940), pp. 47–8; and see BnF Catalogue entry for *De vita* (BPr16_101400) on the attribution problem.

of foreign peoples than the autobiographical Barbary captivity narratives that would appear from printers later in the century. During the seventeenth century, these mostly Protestant tales of providentially overcoming capture, personal sufferings, and religious temptation among the renegades of the North African coast typically narrate personal experience and would point towards the formation of the novel.²⁸

By the mid sixteenth century, the circulation in print of these earlier captivity accounts gave Georgievits reason to be ambitious. He recognised how Antwerp's concentration of merchant capital had attracted skilled printers and engravers in impressive numbers, making it among the largest centres of book production and fine printing in Europe, especially of maps, musical scores, and engraved illustrations.²⁹ In Antwerp, among Dutch merchants who needed accurate up-to-date charts and first-hand accounts of foreign lands, printing encouraged travel writing to flourish in multiple forms. Yet 'the core of the Antwerp business was the production of books in the three major languages of Low Countries trade: Latin, Dutch and French'.³⁰ Georgievits travelled the forty-five miles from Louvain to make his views known in all three. Here, in the early months of 1544, he worked with printer-booksellers and a master engraver, publishing two separate Latin works – alongside French and Dutch translations – that 'attained a phenomenal European popularity which continued through the seventeenth century'.³¹

Bearing a dedicatory epistle dated January that year (sig. A2^v), *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* is the earlier of the two works offering 'observations' (his term) about the Turks and their customs.³² An uncorrected error to his name

²⁸ See Joe Snader, *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000); Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucille Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVIe–XVIIe siècles* ([np]: Perrin, 2001); Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563–1760* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

²⁹ See Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing in the Low Countries in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 3–25; and Lotte Hellinga, 'The Bookshop of the World: Books and their Makers as Agents of Cultural Exchange', in Lotte Hellinga (ed.), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade, 1473–1941* (Goy-Houten: HES and De Graaf, 2001), pp. 11–30.

³⁰ Pettegree, 'Printing', p. 22.

³¹ Rouillard, *The Turk*, p. 189.

³² *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis, autore Barptolomaeo[sic] Georgieuih Hungaro peregrino Hierosolymitano, qui tredecim annos apud eosdem seruitutem seruiendo, omnia experientia didicit. Additis quamplurimis dictionibus, etiam numero, cum salutationibus & responsionibus Persarum* (Antwerp: Gregory Bonte, 1544), dated 'Ad Calendas Ianuarias. 1544. Louanii', sigs. [A2–A2^v].

(‘Barptolomaeo’) on the title-page of some copies of *De Turcarum ritu* suggests that author and publisher were initially in haste, eager to capitalise on contemporary anxieties about the Turks. Lacking illustration, it is a quarto of five signatures published, and perhaps printed, by Gregory Bonte. The same year, Bonte published a French translation, internally dated March, and a Dutch translation, internally dated April, both of them printed for him by Giles Coppens van Diest.³³ A master-printer and engraver, van Diest would later print the first edition of the fifty-four maps comprising Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570).³⁴ For the second of Georgievits’s travel works – *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* – van Diest produced seven engravings dramatically illustrating Christians suffering at the hands of the Ottoman Turks.³⁵ These also appear in the French and Dutch translations, suggesting that, rather than Bonte, van Diest published this work on his own. Each of these 1544 publications opens and closes with identical emblematic engravings, presumably van Diest’s work, advertising the author: a frontispiece shows a winged angel holding an armorial shield bearing the initials ‘BGPH’, and a final image represents a kneeling figure praying to a crucifixion within a frame outside of which is spelled out ‘Bartholomaeus Georgievits Peregrinus Hierosolymitanus’. Print had produced what we might call the authorial logo.

In those early months of 1544, even as Georgievits’s works went to press, Ottoman armies were capturing further Habsburg territories while imperial forces under Charles’s command were poised to invade Christian France

³³ *La maniere & ceremonies des Turcs. Par Bartholomieu hongrois pelerin de Hierusalem . . . Avec la maniere de compter en Turquois, salutations & responses des Perses* (Antwerp: printed for Gregory Bonte by Giles Coppens van Diest, 1544). Colophon dated ‘1544. au Moys de Mars’. *Der Turcke manieren en Ceremonien, by Berthelmeeus Georgieuits Pelgrom van hierusalem ghemaect . . . Met sommighen Turckschen woorden, Groeten, Antwoorden, en Tghetal d’Persen* (Antwerp: printed for Gregory Bonte by Giles Coppens van Diest, 1544). Colophon dated ‘M.CCCCC.XLIIII. In April’.

³⁴ Giles Coppens van Diest (c.1496–1572), member of the guild of St Luke, also worked with Coeck van Aelst, and Christophe Plantin: see Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1975), pp. 45–6.

³⁵ *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum, cum figuris res clare ex primentibus: additis nonnullis vocabulis, Dominica oratione, Angelica salutatione, Symbolo Apostolorum linguae Sclavonicae, cum interpretatione Latina, libellus. Autore Bartholomaeo Georgii Hongaro, peregrino Hierosolymitano, qui per duos menses catena collo vinctus, saepe venun datus XII annos apud eosdem servitum serviens, omnia experientia vidit & didicit. Cum gratia & privilegio Caseareo, ad biennium, sub poena C. Karol’. & librorum confiscatione* (Antwerp: Giles Coppens van Diest, 1544), dated sig. A2^v.

rather than recapture Hungary from the infidels.³⁶ Georgievits knew the Ottoman enemy and was eager to use that knowledge to encourage continuing war to liberate his homeland. Unsurprisingly, Georgievits's account of the Ottomans mostly repeats information that had circulated among humanist scholars for more than a century, even before the age of print.³⁷ *De Turcarum ritu* offers brief summary histories of the Turks, of the Prophet Mohammed, of Islamic rituals and holidays; it describes weddings, charitable institutions and pilgrimage, the ranks of the Ottoman army, styles of clothing in town and country, and eating habits, noting the prohibition on pork. But familiar knowledge is sharpened by the occasional sense of recent personal observations and sufferings – the intensity of agricultural labour, the pain of corporal punishment – leavened with the delights of bread baked with sesame seeds.³⁸ Sentences and lists of words in Ottoman Turkish provide linguistic expertise in support of the author's personal knowledge. *De afflictione* amplifies the cause for continuing the battle for Hungary by focusing on the sufferings of Christians under the Ottoman yoke. Illustrated with van Diest's woodcuts – including a pathetic scene of the child-levy (*devşirme*) showing mothers being separated forcibly from their children – it offers direct, eyewitness descriptions aimed to shock.

With his works in print and publicly available, Georgievits wanted to bring his urgent message to the leaders of Christian Europe. He had dedicated the earlier *De Turcarum ritu* locally to the noble statesman Louis de Praet, Lord of Flanders, grand bailiff of Bruges, and personal companion of the Holy Roman Emperor. More ambitiously, he dedicated the *De afflictione* to the Emperor directly, 'Invictiss. Rom. Imp. Semper Augusto Carolo Quinto', calling on Charles to raise Christian battle flags (*vexilla*) throughout Asia, Africa, and the rest of the world, and may have planned to place *De Turcarum ritu* directly into the emperor's hands.³⁹

³⁶ See Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 53; and Wim Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V, 1500–1558*, trans. Isola van den Hoven-Vardon (London: Arnold, 2002), pp. 72–4.

³⁷ See Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

³⁸ '... thei scater or mingle with the dooghe a certain kinde of seede named Sussam, after that it is baked, which giveth a delectable switnes unto the eaters'. Hugh Goughe, *The Ofspring of the house of Ottomanno, and officers pertaining to the greate Turkes Court. Whereunto is added Bartholomeus Georgieuiz Epitome, of the customes, Rytes, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Turkes: with the miserable affliction of those Christians, whiche live under their captivitie and bondage* . . . (London: Thomas Marshe, 1570), sig. E.

³⁹ *De afflictione*, sigs. A2, A2^v.

A copy of *De Turcarum ritu* currently in the British Library seems to have been specially prepared for presentation to Charles V, though was presumably never dispatched.⁴⁰ The unusually thick polished leather boards have the Habsburg imperial arms and Charles's initials deeply embossed, front and back. This copy has been bound with a short, later work by Georgievits addressed to the emperor's nephew, Prince Maximilian, who served alongside his uncle on campaigns into France over the summer of 1544.⁴¹ Printed in Antwerp, the *Exhortatio contra Turcas* is internally dated January 1545 (sig. A4^v), a full year after *De Turcarum ritu* but only three months after Charles withdrew imperial troops from France. Few copies of this work seem to have survived. But Georgievits must have realised he was too late to sway opinion at the imperial court. By the summer of 1544, even as *De Turcarum ritu* and *De afflictione* were appearing in Antwerp bookshops, Charles and Ferdinand were preparing to sue for peace in Hungary. Habsburg ambassadors arrived in Istanbul in 1545 while this presentation copy was still being bound.⁴² Presumably, plans to send the book to the emperor were abandoned. In any event, by 1547 the Habsburgs agreed to humiliating terms that left Hungary divided, and further insulted Charles by refusing his claim to the crown of Spain.⁴³ Disappointed with Habsburg foreign policy, Georgievits moved to Rome.

By 1545 Georgievits's works had multiplied beyond their author's control, such was the demand for travel knowledge, especially about the Ottomans. Within a year of their first appearance, Georgievits's writings appeared in Latin, French, and German translations from well-established publishers, many of them Protestant, all without his permission. Georgievits may have failed to sway Habsburg policy in Hungary, but the perceived value of his works exceeded his intentions. In 1545, French translations of *De Turcarum ritu*, titled *La maniere & ceremonies des Turcs*, were published in Lyons by Heritiers Barnabe Chaussard Paris, and in Paris by Charles L'Anglier, who also published a Latin edition, as did Gregory Comiander of Worms. A German translation by Johannes Herold, *Türckey oder von yetziger Türcken kirchen gepräng*, was published the same year in Basel from the prestigious house of Andreas Cratander. Whether or not Georgievits was alarmed by the ideas his works may have been generating among Protestant intellectuals and

⁴⁰ British Library shelfmark C.46.b.21(1).

⁴¹ Maximilian joined the imperial court in March 1544 until June 1548; see Paula Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 13–14.

⁴² Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 53.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53–4.

reformists, their interest in his writing continued, as did the Ottoman occupation of his homeland.

Disenchanted by Habsburg indifference, and perhaps irritated by Protestant appropriation, Georgievits turned directly to the pope. In 1552 he was in Rome publishing a combination of *De Turcarum ritu* and *De afflictione* under a new title, *Libellus vere Christiana*, targeted at the Vatican.⁴⁴ Including newly commissioned illustrations and translations of the Lord's Prayer into Turkish and Arabic, this version, printed by the official printer to the Vatican, Antonio Blado, established a textual arrangement that would be followed in various reprints and translations through the next century.

Within a year, pirated works following the arrangement of *Libellus vere Christiana* began appearing under a new title, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, and would continue to appear in Latin under variants of this title for more than a century.⁴⁵ The first was published in Lyons by Jean de Tournes, a Protestant convert since the mid 1540s, who commissioned a new series of gruesome illustrations of Christians suffering.⁴⁶ Hugh Goughe, for his English translation, *The Ofspring of the house of Ottomanno* of 1570, most likely used de Tournes's *Epitome*, addressing the dedication to 'the godly and Christian reader'. The immediate polemical intent of Georgievits's writings was exceeded by the longer-term marketing of first-hand travel accounts with sensational material thanks to the possibilities of moveable type. Such was the reproducibility of travel knowledge that, throughout Europe between 1544 and 1686, at least eighty-two editions, reprints, translations, and adaptations of his works appeared in print.⁴⁷

Georgievits's accounts carried the singular authority of one who had travelled and lived long enough among the Turks to claim familiarity with their language and religious beliefs. In 1550, his observations on the Qur'an and the language of Ottoman prayers were included in Theodore Bibliander's controversial *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* – a multi-volume reference work that included the earliest printed Latin version of the Qur'an – suggesting their importance among early European scholars of Islam. Earlier

⁴⁴ *Libellus vere Christiana lectione dignus diversas res Turcharium brevi tradens* ([Rome]: Antonio Blado, 1552).

⁴⁵ Following de Tournes's first printing in 1553 (e.g. BL = 10125.a.43), the BnF Catalogue lists reprints by de Tournes from Lyons dated 1555, 1558, 1567, 1579, and 1598, as well as a 1629 reprinting issued in Geneva by Jean de Tournes's sons, who had moved there to avoid religious persecution. In 1671, yet another edition was published by the printer Johannes Heitmulleri of Helmstedt.

⁴⁶ See 'Tournes, Jean de (1504–1564): Notice d'autorité personne', in the BnF Catalogue, which dates his conversion to about 1545.

⁴⁷ Franz Kidric, cited in Setton, *Western Hostility*, p. 31 n. 34.

travellers had published lists of Arabic terms, but Georgievits's Turkish vocabulary lists and dialogue may claim to be the earliest printed account of that language.⁴⁸ Although European scholars at the time were little interested in the Turkish language, his lists were reprinted by Guillaume Postel in *Des histoires orientales* (1575) and again in 1590.⁴⁹ *De afflictiones* similarly included language lessons in 'Sclavonic', including the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed. Another of Georgievits's singular contributions to the realm of knowledge is a transcription, translation, and discussion of an old Ottoman prophecy. 'Vaticinium infidelium', the 'infidel's prophecy', first appeared in the 1552 Rome edition and subsequent editions of the *Epitome*, and remains a significant source for understanding mid-century Ottoman millenarian thinking.⁵⁰

Once upon a time, Georgievits might have prepared a carefully inscribed and adorned manuscript describing his travels for presentation to the Holy Roman Emperor and pope. Doing so might have secured him limited patronage, but would have likely been no more successful in freeing Hungary from Ottoman control than were his printed endeavours. Enabled by print, he made a career from informing a much wider readership than manuscript could achieve. While contributing to the realm of learning, Georgievits also set in motion commercial networks of printers, engravers, translators, and booksellers throughout Europe on all sides of the Reformation divide eager to appropriate his work.

Georgievits was not the only traveller writing about Ottoman lands at mid-century. The French scholars and scientists who accompanied Gabriel d'Aramon to the Ottoman court between 1547 and 1554 were diplomatic guests rather than captives, recording accounts of their travels to advance knowledge and their own careers.⁵¹ Between them, they contributed to a number of emerging disciplines: botany, cosmography, archaeology, ethnography.⁵² Nor was Georgievits the first travel writer to criticise, and

⁴⁸ Printed lists of Arabic and Armenian words had appeared, for instance, in Nicole le Huen's pilgrimage account, *Des saintes peregrinations de Jerusalem* (Lyons: Michel Topie and Jaque Herembemerck, 1488), which was often reprinted in French editions of Bernard de Breydenbeck's *Les saintes peregrinations de Bernard de Breydenbach* (Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 1483) subsequent to 1488: see Rouillard, *The Turk*, p. 194.

⁴⁹ Rouillard, *The Turk*, p. 194.

⁵⁰ See Setton, *Western Hostility*, pp. 30–5.

⁵¹ See Philip Mansel, 'The French Renaissance in Search of the Ottoman Empire', in Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 96–107.

⁵² Jean Chesneau's diplomatic record was not printed until the nineteenth century, but circulated in six manuscript copies; see *Le voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: Leroux, 1887).

certainly not the only traveller whose works were reprinted for purposes not his own. In 1542, Bartholomew de Las Casas famously delivered his formal peroration against Spanish colonial policy before Charles V and the Council of the Indies. Based on travels in the Americas, his descriptions of Spanish treatment of the indigenous peoples earned him a charge of treason. After defending himself before an inconclusive court held at Valladolid in 1552 – while Georgievits was in Rome publishing *Libellus vere Christiana* – Las Casas was in Seville printing his earlier oration as the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. His address to the Spanish Habsburg political elite provided anti-Spanish propagandists with ammunition. Hakluyt included inflammatory extracts in the *Principal Navigations* of 1589. The master-engraver – and fierce Calvinist – Theodor de Bry edited a Latin version at Frankfurt, accompanied by startling copperplate illustrations of Spanish atrocities.⁵³ What has come to be known as the anti-Spanish ‘Black Legend’ was a product of appropriation by means of print.

Experiential, empirical, the product of personal witnessing; travel writing was ideally suited to the new cultures of print and information, introducing new places, peoples, and fauna, exposing contemporary errors and correcting the legends of ancient authority. Print rendered travel writing newly personal, newly political, and newly powerful. Venice, England, France, and the Habsburgs all competed with prestige collections; France sponsored writers to travel and contribute to the realm of learning. By the middle of the sixteenth century, printing had made travel writers into living authorities who informed and inspired, who imitated and wrote back to one another, and who claimed to say something new and interesting about the world. Print offered travel writers the enduring power of informing public and political knowledge, of maintaining public memory, and even of changing minds in ways quite beyond the reach of the individual writer in the pre-printing-press era.

⁵³ On Las Casas and de Bry, see Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 91–100; and Michiel van Groesen, *The Representation of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

Early Modern Travel Writing (2): English Travel Writing

NANDINI DAS

‘A gentle knight was pricking on the plaine’, begins one of the most ambitious poems of sixteenth-century England, Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* (1590).¹ Within the European literary canon, epics like the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and the *Argonautica* had all begun, in some way, with the promise of a journey. No stranger to that classical heritage, which a humanist education inculcated in all its students, Spenser brought travel back home: his knight, familiar enough to English readers with their still insatiable appetite for medieval romances and their characteristic quests, sets forth in a Faerie land that is not-quite-England. Spenser was not the only one. The revised and much-augmented second version of Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia* in 1593 memorably begins with two shepherds being interrupted in their pastoral laments by a ‘thing’ that floats closer and closer to the shore, till it turns out to be the shipwrecked, but still living, body of one of the two protagonists.² It is a moment that merges two worlds: the seclusion of the European pastoral tradition and the sprawling geopolitical world of Greek romances like Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica*, shaped by the crosscurrents of ancient global traffic. By the end of the century, on the English popular stage, a play that we now think of as representative of a certain nascent early modern sensibility would turn to its denouement with the arrival of a travel letter:

HORATIO: What are they that would speak with me?

SERVANT: Seafaring men, sir. They say they have letters for you.³

¹ Edmund Spenser, *Spenser: The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, and others, 2nd edn (London: Pearson, 2007), 1.1.1, p. 31.

² Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (London: Penguin, 1977), p. 64.

³ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Neil Taylor and Ann Thompson (London: Arden, 2006), 4.6.1–2.

From the chivalric heroes of Spenser and Sidney, to the account of his fortunes in the hands of pirates which Shakespeare's Hamlet describes in his letter to Horatio, such examples are testament to the ways in which travel infused both the culture and the imagination of England in the great age of voyages and discoveries. England was not unusual in this. We know that across Europe as a whole, the advent of print, in particular, coincided with the rise in trade, travel, and geographical discoveries.⁴ It produced a surge in texts that recorded, remembered, and anthologised travel experience, and such texts often circulated as extensively as the travellers themselves, weaving travel experience into the very fabric of society.

Like readers elsewhere in Europe, English readers had access to a huge range of travel-related texts. These ranged from advice literature and cartographic collections, to hefty compilations of information that catered to real and armchair travellers alike.⁵ The latter ranged from standard classical exemplars such as Ptolemy's *Geography* and Pliny's *Natural History*, to encyclopedic accounts like the *Fardle of Facions* (1555), translated from Johann Boemus's *Omnium gentium mores* (1520). Sebastian Münster's *Universal Cosmography* was another often critiqued yet unavoidable presence, published in German in 1544 and Latin in 1550, and followed by multiple translations and adaptations, including English versions in 1561 and 1572. Later, there would be Giovanni Battista Ramusio's immense three-volume collection of travel accounts, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550–9), and Theodor de Bry's magnificently illustrated series of publications, *Les grands voyages*, or 'The Discovery of America' (1590–1620) and the *Petits voyages*, or the 'India Orientalis' series (1598–1634). Both the reach of the texts and the range of translations is testament to the prominence of travel, opening up both Britain and Europe to larger global crosscurrents, which challenged many of the epistemological certainties of the period.⁶ The great homegrown compendia of Tudor and Stuart England in many ways emerged as responses to the continental exemplars. Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World* (1555), assembling translations from Münster to Ramusio, Peter Martyr, Gonzalo Fernández de

⁴ For more on the relationship between print and the development of travel writing, see Chapter 4 above.

⁵ See Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, 3 vols. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1935–49); and John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965).

⁶ Those global crosscurrents of travel and their impact have been explored variously as 'connected histories' and as part of a 'global renaissance'. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford University Press, 2004); and Jyotsna Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), among others.

Oviedo, and Antonio Pigafetta, was significantly expanded by Richard Willes in his *A History of Travayle in the West and East Indies* (1577). It provided a model for both emulation and challenge to Richard Hakluyt, whose own monumental *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, first printed in 1589 and turned into a three-folio-volume behemoth in 1598–1600, focused pointedly on English travels and voices, albeit with scattered exceptions, as a way of inspiring English travel and trade to catch up with continental endeavours.⁷ That, in turn, would be further expanded by Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).

These compendia preserve a range of voices that covers the entire typology of figures involved in the production of early modern English travel writing that William Sherman has suggested, from editors to pilgrims, errant knights, merchants, explorers, colonisers, captives and castaways, ambassadors, pirates, and scientists.⁸ As collective, material interventions, their importance is undeniable in establishing a certain English reputation and approach to travel and travel writing, framed by an emergent national, Protestant identity, and expressed through an emphasis on eye-witnessing and plain speaking.⁹ Much of it was driven by a collective English drive for trade and nascent imperial and colonial ambitions, with the first major English trading companies being chartered within a space of fifty years, from the early Muscovy (1555), Cathay (1576), Eastland or North Sea (1579), Turkey (1581), Venice (1583) and Levant (1592) companies, to the significantly more long-term influence of the East India Company (1600) and the Virginia Company (1606). However, attending to them barely scratches the surface of the impact of travel writing on English cultural life and the imagination in this period. This essay will offer a glimpse into the variety or *copia* which drove the production, and often determined the structure, of that larger body of English travel texts. It will also explore the multiple ways in which travel

⁷ See Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

⁸ William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1750)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 21–30.

⁹ See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 149–92; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Mary Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narrative in the Age of European Exploration* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing', in Andrew Hadfield (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 292–309.

writing drew on and interpolated itself into different genres and literary forms.

It was inevitable that romance would be one of those forms. As Spenser's opening of *The Faerie Queene* exemplified, the hugely popular genre of chivalric romance had always offered a central role to the quest. It is therefore not surprising to see glimpses of that emerge in the large volume of travel accounts produced by English travellers who found themselves in continental Europe and further abroad in the period. One representative sixteenth-century figure in this context is the writer, translator, playwright, and occasional anti-Catholic intelligencer, Anthony Munday. In 1578, twenty-five-year-old Munday, apprenticed to the printer John Allde, broke his indentures and set off to travel in continental Europe. His intention, as he would later claim in the preface to the account of that journey, *The English Romayne Life* (1582), was 'to see straunge Countreies, as also affection to learne the languages', but the actual publication of his travel account was driven also by the need to establish himself as a credible witness for the Crown at the trial of Edmund Campion and other Jesuit missionaries charged with treason.¹⁰ Accused of lying about the sojourn at the English College in Rome that had brought him in contact with some of the accused, Munday printed his account to satisfy those 'doubtful whether I have been there or no' (sig. Br^r), while also catering to the curiosity of his Protestant English readers about the Catholic cities of Europe.

Throughout Munday's account of his journey to Rome, tropes of travel experience and established narrative models inflect each other constantly. As Melanie Ord has pointed out, the experience of being robbed of all belongings by a group of disbanded soldiers at the very beginning of his continental journey on the road between Boulogne and Amiens enables Munday to represent himself and his travelling companion as prodigal youths, lamenting the loss of their 'former quiet being in England, carefully tended by our parents and lovingly esteemed among our friends, all which we undutifully regarding, rewarded us with the rod of our own negligence' (sig. Br^v).¹¹ His subsequent infiltration of the Catholic English College in Rome, and return home, armed with acquired knowledge to be employed in the service of his Protestant queen and country, fits that familiar trajectory of prodigality

¹⁰ Anthony Munday, *The English Romayne Lyfe* (London, 1582), sig. Br^r.

¹¹ Melanie Ord, 'Representing Rome and the Self in Anthony Munday's *The English Roman Life*', in Mike Pincombe (ed.), *Travels and Translations in the Sixteenth Century: Selected Papers from the Second International Conference of the Tudor Symposium* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 45–64 (at p. 49).

perfectly. When he recounts the story of the nights he spends in a haunted room at the English College, it is partly to demonstrate the inefficacy of Catholic superstition, since throwing ‘holy water about’, as suggested by the priests, ‘did as much good, as the thing is good of it selfe’ (sig. I4^r), but it is also an inset story of strange visitation and night trial whose basic premise would be familiar to any consumer of fabliaux and romances. The close resonances between Munday’s travel account and those narrative models become even clearer when we juxtapose *English Romayne Life* with the romance *Zelauto, the Fountaine of Fame*, which Munday produced in 1580, immediately after his return to England. The adventures of Zelauto, son and heir of the Duke of Venice, open up a romance hall of mirrors to Munday’s own experiences in Rome.¹²

Elsewhere, Munday’s account in the *English Romayne Life* absorbs other models. The list of the relics in the Seven Churches of Rome, for instance, is offered as an illustration of the ‘subtiltie of Anti-Christ’ (sig. E3^v). However, ‘le sette chiese di Roma’, a pilgrimage route popularised by Filippo Neri, was the subject of numerous guidebooks, images, and maps since the Jubilee of 1575, when over 400,000 pilgrims had visited Rome to gain papal indulgence from Pope Gregory XIII. Munday’s account of that route – Protestant protestations aside – is an accurate enough description to satisfy any curious traveller or reader. It would also be familiar enough from texts such as the great antiquarian Onofrio Panvinio’s *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctoribusque basilicis*, published c.1570, which ran through at least fourteen editions over ten years, and as Eamon Duffy has pointed out, ‘provided both a stimulus and a quarry for the flood of publications on Christian Rome related to or flowing from the Jubilee of 1575’.¹³ On the other hand, the account of the death of fellow Englishman Richard Atkins, burnt at the stake for desecrating the sacrament at St Peter’s Church, which Munday offers at the end, is deeply and deliberately reminiscent of Protestant martyrdom accounts, with which his readers would have been equally familiar.

The fine line that Munday toes between fascination with and criticism of Catholic practices demonstrates a basic anxiety about travel, and about travel to Catholic Europe in particular, that emerges in many other English texts of the sixteenth century. When Roger Ascham evoked the old Italian proverb, ‘*Inglese Italianato e un diavolo incarnato*’ (an Englishman Italianate is a devil

¹² Nandini Das, *Renaissance Romance: The Transformation of English Prose Fiction* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 97–8.

¹³ Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants, and the Conversion of England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 183.

incarnate) to characterise the Italianate English traveller in his *Scholemaster* (1570), he was using a turn of phrase that had come into circulation in the fourteenth century to describe the English mercenaries or condottieri like the infamous Sir John Hawkwood (c.1323–94) who offered their services for sale across the continent.¹⁴ But for English humanists and educators such as Ascham, the lure of Catholic Europe was far more widespread and insidious, attracting impressionable English youth to ‘Circe’s court’ (p. 226) and metamorphosing them into seditious beasts. Munday himself, as well as later travellers such as Fynes Moryson, would comment repeatedly and defensively about the need for pragmatic compromise and often inevitable necessity of conforming, at least outwardly, to Catholic practices. However, what is perhaps most telling is that the threat which Ascham identifies particularly characteristic of such travellers is variety: *copia* and invention that overflow boundaries and defy control. Ascham’s Italianate travellers are malcontents corrupted by Catholic influence, which spreads throughout England like a virulent infection in the guise of the new Italianate fiction that they introduce into the country as the fruit of their travels. It contains ‘such subtle, cunningg, new, and diuerse shiftes, to cary yong willes to vanitie . . . as the simple head of an English man is not hable to inuent’, Ascham would claim. ‘Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soone displace all bookes of godly learnyng’ (p. 231). In the ambivalent *copia* of *The English Romayne Life*, in Munday’s own later career as the foremost English translator of the French and Iberian chivalric romance cycles of *Amadis de Gaule* and *Palmerin of England*, or in the wicked, irreverent wit of later prose narratives like Thomas Nashe’s *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) that both emulates and ridicules travel narratives and chivalric romance at once, there is perhaps some corroboration of Ascham’s accusation.

The longevity of the literary turn through which Munday transformed his journey into romance in the Elizabethan period would continue to inflect texts such as Captain John Smith’s later Jacobean account of his travels in the *Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624), which provides a thrilling list of near escapes, complete with a litany of exotic women, from the ‘beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda’ in Turkey, to the ‘blessed Pokahontas, the great Kings daughter of Virginia’ in the New World.¹⁵ Tireless producers of popular

¹⁴ *The English Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. 229; Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 107.

¹⁵ John Smith, *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles . . .* (London, 1624), sig. [ii]^v.

fiction, on the other hand, would use their credentials as travellers to lend an added gloss to their narratives in a burgeoning market of print: Thomas Lodge famously admitted to writing his *Rosalynde* (1590) 'to beguile the time with labour' during a sea voyage to the Azores and the Canary Islands.¹⁶ Travel, and fiction that travelled and was inspired by travel, would soon come to transform the English literary landscape and shape travel writing itself.¹⁷

These last few examples, however, are also indicative of the wider domain of travel beyond the known European territories that were being traversed by the English increasingly as we move into the seventeenth century. Sometime in 1614–15, a strange meeting took place 'betwixt [I]Spahan and Lahore, just about the Frontiers of Persia and India'.¹⁸ Part of the caravan heading towards Isfahan were the English adventurer and diplomat Sir Robert Shirley [Sherley] and his Circassian wife Teresia – on their way back from King James I's court in England to that of the Shah of Persia. On the other side was the idiosyncratic traveller Thomas Coryate, heading from Isfahan towards the Mughal court in India and undertaking most of that onerous journey on foot. Coryate's two books describing his exploits, walking almost 2,000 miles across Europe and covering forty-five cities, had earned him a degree of notoriety already: *Coryats Crudities* (1611) and *Coryats Crambe* (1611) were accompanied by playful mock-panegyrics by well-known figures, from poets such as John Donne and Ben Jonson, to courtiers and diplomats such as Sir Henry Goodyer and Sir Thomas Roe. At their meeting, Coryate was delighted to note that Sherley had both books in his luggage, 'neatly kept'.¹⁹ The journey to India, which ended with his death in Surat from dysentery in December 1617, would lead to two further books, *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English wits* (1616) and the posthumously published *Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England* (1618). Even the records of the incomplete journey bear testimony to what Coryate himself described as his 'insatiable greedinesse of seeing strange countries: which exercise is indeede the very Queene of all the pleasures in the world'.²⁰

¹⁶ Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynde. Euphuus golden legacie found after his death in his cell at Silixedra* . . . (London, 1590), sig. A2^v.

¹⁷ For examples of the traffic between fiction and travel in this period, see the essays in 'Travel and Prose Fiction in Early Modern England', Special Issue of *Yearbook of English Studies*, ed. Nandini Das, 41/1 (2011). For more on the relationship between fiction and travel in later periods, see Chapter 30 below.

¹⁸ *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English wits* . . . (London, 1616), p. 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Coryate's texts, and particularly those last two 'Mughal' accounts, offer a very different glimpse into early modern English travel writing, not only in ranging far beyond the known Christian world, but also through the multiplicity of impetus and variety of forms that they adopted. Coryate's choice of culinary titles such as *Crudities* and *Crambe*, his admission of 'greediness' and description of travel as the 'Queene of all the pleasures', are telling: this is travel as entertainment, both for the traveller and the readers at home. This is not to say that Coryate's texts are devoid of the practical details that contemporaneous advice literature asked travellers to note.²¹ He dutifully notes, for instance, the days it takes him to move between cities in his route across the Middle East, the size of the 'goodly city of [L]ahore in India, one of the largest Cities of the whole universe' (p. 13). But by addressing the cosy group of the 'sireniacal gentlemen, that meet the first Fridaie of every Moneth, at the signe of the Mere-Maide in Bread streete' (p. 37) in *Thomas Coriate traoueller for the English wits*, Coryate also very clearly shows travel as a communal activity. The traveller's interactions with communities abroad are recorded, and perhaps undertaken, at least partially with an eye on their potential pleasurable consumption by a community of readers awaiting his accounts at home. The resulting texts are indeed 'greedily' polyphonic in form and language. There are couplets and verses thrown in here and there; a letter written by Coryate to his mother shares space with the speech he made in 'the Persian tongue' to the Mughal emperor, printed in idiosyncratic phonetically transcribed Persian and English translation; and woodcuts – Coryate perched on an elephant, Coryate astride a camel – adorn the title-pages. That sense of travel writing as an integral part of a community is further emphasised when Coryate's adventures are seen refracted through multiple records by others; inevitable in an age when both traffic and frequency of travel grew exponentially, and travellers proliferated even in what might have seemed like remote and exotic destinations. Coryate's arrival in India in 1615 coincided with the embassy of the first English ambassador to the Mughal court, Sir Thomas Roe. In the more serious official journals and accounts by Roe and his chaplain Edward Terry, therefore, we get sudden fleeting glimpses of Coryate, making orations, and getting into spats in the local language with local figures, ranging from the mullah calling for prayers, to the washerwoman employed by Roe's retinue.²²

²¹ For more on travel advice literature, see Chapter 25 below.

²² Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1619*, ed. Sir William Forster, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), vol. i, pp. 103–4; Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (London, 1655), pp. 70–1, 270–1.

Coryate was one of a group of early seventeenth-century writers who used their wide-ranging journeys around Europe and the 'Old World' of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, to produce equally wide-ranging accounts. They used the routes, connections, and knowledge opened up in those far-flung regions by England's burgeoning trade connections (of the kind preserved in the larger compendia by Hakluyt and others), but their own journeys were driven not so much by the usual purposes of trade, diplomacy, or political imperatives, but primarily by a desire to satisfy individual curiosity, and to share that travel experience with reading communities back home. As a result, while often equally invested in ideologically inflected accounts of cross-cultural encounters, they provide an interesting counterpoint to the more official travel accounts produced as part of navigational, mercantile, or diplomatic activity. Among Coryate's contemporaries, such figures include the Scottish traveller William Lithgow, whose nineteen years of travel informed *A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke* (1614), revised and updated in 1616, 1623, 1632 (as *The Totall Discourse*), and 1640. George Sandys, who travelled across France and Italy, before embarking on an epic journey to Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine, utilised his humanist training to compile a rich chorographic description of the places he visited in his *Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610* (1615), full of classical learning constantly juxtaposed with present experience.²³ And from 1617, Fynes Moryson began to publish his massive multi-volume *Itinerary . . . Containing His Ten Years Travel Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland*.²⁴

One element that Coryate's Persian speech to the Mughal emperor highlights is the extent to which travel beyond the known boundaries of Europe, and to the 'Old World' in particular, engaged with a shared cultural memory developed back home. Classical Greek and Latin inevitably formed a part of it, as did the Bible, but contemporaneous literature and culture played an equally integral part. Alongside romance and prose fiction, popular drama was a noticeable component in this interchange. When Coryate informs

²³ See Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveller: George Sandys' "Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610"* (London: Associated University Presses, 1986).

²⁴ *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. . . .*, 3 vols. (London, 1617). The majority of an unpublished fourth volume was transcribed by Charles Hughes and published under the title *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary. Being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century* (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903).

Jahangir of his ambition to visit Samarkand for the sole purpose of seeing the sepulchre of Tamburlaine, who is 'perhaps . . . not altogether so famous in his own Country of Tartaria, as in England', the memory of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* lurks behind his admitted fascination with Jahangir's Timurid ancestor.²⁵ Lithgow offers a description of the hospitality offered to him in Tunis by Yusuf Rais, an Englishman 'turned Turk', living under the protection of the pasha. Behind his detailed and somewhat bemused description of his host's passion for artificially incubating chicken eggs in North African-style clay ovens on an industrial scale, there is an implicit acknowledgement of Rais's real identity.²⁶ His readers would have appreciated the incongruity: this short, balding, mild-mannered poultry enthusiast, after all, had been the most notorious English pirate of the age, John Ward, whose life had been dramatised only three years previously by Richard Daborne in his play, *The Christian Turn'd Turk* (1612).²⁷

It is undeniable that Europe, and Italian cities in particular, offered the most common alternative sites of dramatic action on the English stage, standing in as convenient mirrors for England and home as often as they offered an exotic antithesis to English values. But the representation of the East carried a different imaginative weight altogether, partly because dramatic representation was likely to be the only encounter that most people would have with the legendary splendours of the East, and partly because the actual geographical domains in question were known to be spaces where travel could and did transform people more visibly, consistently – and dramatically – than elsewhere. Both were factors in ensuring that, on the one hand, popular plays such as Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, or Robert Greene's *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (1594) and Daborne's *The Christian Turn'd Turk*, as the examples of Coryate and Lithgow above demonstrate, tended to remain in travellers' memories as they undertook their own journeys. On the other, contemporary travel accounts found themselves being refracted on the English stage fairly quickly.

²⁵ *Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England* (London, 1618), sig. [B4]^r.

²⁶ Lithgow, *Total discourse, of the rare adventures . . .* (London, 1632), pp. 358, 380.

²⁷ The interest in Ward is exemplified by the report of an anonymous English sailor in 1608, preserved in the Venetian archives, which includes a description of 'Capt. Ward (concerning whom there is so much talk)' being 'about 55 years of age . . . very short, with little hair . . . most courageous and prodigal, a great sleeper, a fool and an idiot out of his trade.' Horatio F. Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. XI: 1607–1610 (London: Mackie, 1904), p. 140.

The ‘Turk’ plays, of which *The Christian Turn’d Turk* with its dramatic retelling of Ward’s apostasy was a notable example, alongside Philip Massinger’s *Renegado* (1624), tapped into the profusion of piracy, captivity, and conversion narratives in this period.²⁸ Daborne based his play on the information he gleaned from two pamphlets printed in 1609, Andrew Barker’s *True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrows, and now present Estate of Captain Ward and Dansiker*, and the anonymous *News from Sea, of Two Notorious Pirates, Ward . . . and Dansiker*. Other travellers, like Sir Robert Sherley, whom Coryate met at the frontiers between Persia and India, also found themselves represented on stage in their lifetime. John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins quickly produced their play *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607) about the three Sherley brothers, Anthony, Thomas, and Robert, roughly at the same time as the publication of a pamphlet of their exploits called *The Three English Brothers*, written by Anthony Nixon.²⁹ Nixon’s text drew heavily on three earlier travel accounts about the Sherleys, the anonymous *A True Report of Sir Anthony Sherley’s Journey* (1600); William Parry’s *A New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley, Knight* (1601); and George Manwaring’s *A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley’s Travel into Persia* (1601). All of those, in turn, are likely to have driven the production of other subsequent accounts, including Anthony Sherley’s own *Relations of his Travels into Persia* (1613), Thomas Sherley’s *Discours of the Turks* (1617), and Thomas Middleton’s *Sir Robert Sherley* (1609).

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), there is a further encounter – this time between Robert’s older brother Anthony and another English traveller – which leads us to a third and final group of early modern English travellers and travel writing. These were figures whose wanderings were contained within substantially more familiar territories, but that began increasingly to constitute a significant subgroup of early modern English travel writing from the 1590s, into the seventeenth century and beyond. The scene in question is based in Venice, but hungry for gossip from home:

²⁸ See, among others, Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Daniel Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

²⁹ See Anthony Parr (ed.), *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 7–8.

SERVANT. Sir, here's an Englishman desires access to you.

SIR ANTHONY. An Englishman? What's his name?

SERVANT. He calls himself Kemp.

SIR ANTHONY. Kemp! Bid him come in.

Exit Servant. Enter Will Kemp and a Boy.

Welcome, honest Will. And how doth all thy fellows in England?³⁰

The visiting 'Englishman', like Sherley himself, is a historical figure. A comedian, jigmaker, and one of the initial five shareholders of the Lord Chamberlain's Men along with Shakespeare and Richard Burbage, Will Kempe may have played roles such as Falstaff, and Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.³¹ He was well travelled: we know, for instance, that at the start of his career in 1585–6, he performed in the Netherlands and Denmark. By the time of his meeting with Sherley in 1601, Kempe had already left Shakespeare and his fellow actors of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, and struck out on his own as an independent entertainer, with a special line in travel as performance. His presence in Europe was a sequel to a previous feat, when in February 1599 he had undertaken a public wager to morris dance from London to Norwich, a distance of over a hundred miles, recorded in *Kemp's Nine-Days' Wonder* (1600).

Kempe's texts offer us rare glimpses of local life and practices. The 'multitudes of Londoners' who accompany him for the first part of his morris-dancing exploit to Mile End, come either 'for love they beare toward' him, or 'to keepe a custome which many holde, that Mile-end is no walke without a recreation at Stratford Bow with Creame and Cakes'.³² From Chelmsford to Braintree, the road is 'full of deep holes', where 'two pretty plaine youthes' who had been accompanying Kemp for a bit got stuck in the mud, and Kemp 'could not chuse but lough to see howe lilke two frogges they laboured' (sig. B3^r). On entry into Norwich, where he is welcomed with an acrostic poem, he steps on the skirts of a 'homely maide, that belike, was but newly crept into the fashion of long wa[i]sted peticotes tyde with points', and 'off fell her peticoate from her wa[is]te', to the delight of the 'unruly boies' (sig. Dr^r).

There is a question whether contemporaries would have acknowledged this as writing about travel. As Andrew McRae has pointed out, "domestic

³⁰ Ibid., p. 104. The play shifts the action to Venice from Rome, where the two actually met, according to contemporary accounts.

³¹ See David Wiles, *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

³² William Kempe, *Kemps nine daies wonder Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich* (London, 1600), sig. A3^v.

travel” is an anachronism, since in the early modern period to “travel” typically meant to leave the nation’s shores’.³³ Some scholars and antiquaries travelled the length and breadth of Britain and produced detailed textual accounts. They include figures such as John Leland, who produced detailed chorographical itineraries from his journeys around Britain in c.1538–43, William Camden, whose *Britannia* (first published in Latin in 1586, and in English in 1610) used Leland’s manuscript notes as a crucial source, and John Stow, who undertook a more geographically focused chorographical challenge in his *Survey of London* (1598; 2nd edn 1603). However, recording the experience of travel was merely a by-product of the chorographer’s more fundamental aim of producing a text that could offer at once a spatial counterpart to history, and a textual counterpart to cartography. Beyond their endeavours, for the majority of ordinary people in a society undergoing unprecedented changes on multiple levels, unregulated spatial mobility within the country was a source of worry and attempted control, rather than of celebration. Yet at the same time, it is clear that certain modes of domestic movement, which acted both as agents and evidence of wide-ranging sociocultural shifts, were emerging.

If Kempe is an early exemplar of that development, a key figure after him is John Taylor, Thames waterman and pamphleteer, who produced around 200 pamphlets between 1612 and 1653.³⁴ Both Kempe and Taylor undertook exploits that were part of a much wider practice of travel wagers in the period. These had their roots partly in the ways of providing financial cover for the hazards of Christian pilgrimage in earlier periods, and partly in Tudor courtly gambling culture. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the practice had become much more widespread. Individual exploits would be proposed and sponsored by supporters, formally witnessed and verified along the way by an overseer, with the publication of the story of the wager becoming ‘an intrinsic part of the wager process’.³⁵ Taylor’s most famous stunt is also his most idiosyncratic: a voyage in 1619 that he undertook in a brown paper boat with stockfish oars, and held up by inflatable bladders which he claimed had been blown up by a whore, a usurer, a cutpurse, and drunken bagpiper, their collective breath deemed an appropriate safety

³³ Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 14.

³⁴ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet, 1578–1653* (Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 66.

³⁵ Anthony Parr, *Renaissance Mad Voyages: Experiments in Early Modern English Travel* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), p. 46.

measure since proverbial wisdom asserted that a rogue born to hang would never drown.³⁶ But his very first organised stunt in 1618 is a more representative example, securing 1,650 sponsors for the journey and its promised textual report, published soon after as the *Pennyles Pilgrimage; or, the Moneylesse Perambulation of John Taylor, alias the Kings Magesties Water-Poet; How He TRAVAILED on Foot from London to Edenborough in Scotland, Not Carrying any Money To or Fro, Neither Begging, Borrowing, or Asking Meate, Drinke, or Lodging* (1618). Promising a ‘tale’ of ‘strange (yet English) fashions’ in rhyming iambic pentameter couplets, the *Pennyles Pilgrimage* is an account of both travel and sociability, or lack thereof.³⁷ Taylor and his couplets move from inn to inn, and alehouse to alehouse. At the Queen’s Arms in Stony Stratford, a group of friends arrange free food, drink, and lodging. At Daventry, however, gathered countryfolk gaze upon him ‘As if some Monster sent from the Mogull / Some Elephant from Affricke, I had beene’ and ‘drank of my Beere, that to me was given, / But gave me not a drop, to make all even’ (sig. B2^v). Manchester compensates with its exemplary hospitality, with the hostess at the Eagle and the Childe taking such care of him that ‘In troath shee prov’d a mother unto me’ (sig. C2^r).

In his very final travel account, written just weeks before his death in 1653, Taylor would reflect explicitly the difference between undertakings such as these and the more usual travel accounts of foreign destinations:

Some cross the sea to see strange lands unknown
And heer, like strangers, do not know their own . . .
Many of foreign travels boast and vaunt,
When they, of England, are most ignorant.³⁸

Perhaps understandably, albeit incongruously, then, the royal progress and chorography were the unlikely but close relatives of such domestic travel: Taylor’s *Pennyles Pilgrimage*, for instance, evidently intended to imitate both King James’s 1617 progress and, more immediately, the wager trip of the poet Ben Jonson, who had set off for his own well-publicised walking tour to Scotland barely a week before Taylor.³⁹ The style of the resulting texts is consequently and self-consciously different from the ‘plain style’ often

³⁶ John Taylor, *The Praise of Hemp-seed with The Voyage of Mr Roger Bird and the Writer hereof in a Boat of browne-Paper, from London to Quinborough in Kent* (London, 1620), sig. F1^r.

³⁷ John Taylor, *The pennyles pilgrimage . . .* (London, 1618), sig. A4^r.

³⁸ John Taylor, *The certain travailes of an uncertain journey* (London, 1654), sig. B1^r.

³⁹ See Ian Donaldson, *Jonson’s Walk to Scotland* (Edinburgh: Quadriga, 1992); and James Loxley, Anna Groundwater, and Julie Sanders (eds.), *Ben Jonson’s Walk to Scotland* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

adopted in the standard travel accounts one finds in the collections of Hakluyt or Purchas, where a trustworthy transmission of travel information is of paramount importance, conscripted for a cause that is always greater than the individual enterprise, be it proto-imperial national ambition, or mercantile profit. The Victorian historian James A. Froude's famous description of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* as 'the prose epic of the modern English Nation' has become a much-repeated commonplace for scholars interested in early modern English travel and travel writing.⁴⁰ However, if the *Principal Navigations* is representative of a certain English approach to travel writing, then it is telling that the literary forms most often associated with popular writers like Kempe and Taylor are poetic. Both of them move in and out of poetry, from commendatory verses to couplets and jigs. Their writing combines rhetorical extravagance and colloquial vigour in deeply characteristic, identifiable ways, creating voices that present travel and authorship as inseparable activities, both conceived in terms of labour, and more specifically, as labour 'worthy of financial reward'.⁴¹ Taylor, in particular, styling himself as the 'water-poet', gestures towards the tradition of the journey poem, which gathers particular momentum in the seventeenth century.⁴²

When Ben Jonson published his *Collected Works* in folio form in 1616 – itself a significant moment in marking the status of imaginative writing – his collection of his epigrams concluded with a poem (Epigram 133) whose obsession with filth and excrement has earned it the doubtful fame of being one of 'the most deliberately and insistently disgusting poems in the language'.⁴³ 'On the Famous Voyage' is reminiscent of Rabelais's riotously sharp humour in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–52), and looks forward to Jonathan Swift's eighteenth-century transformation of travel fiction in *Gulliver's Travels* and elsewhere. It recounts a journey from Bridewell to Holborn supposedly undertaken by two part-drunk city men, Shelton and Heyden, along Fleet Ditch through which much of London's sewage flowed. Jonson presents the undertaking clearly both as a counter to contemporaneous celebrations of English maritime achievements, and as a wagger mocking the tradition of Kempe and his contemporaries. In his hands, this quotidian journey turns into a nightmarish mock-heroic description of the

⁴⁰ J. A. Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', in *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1868), p. 361. Originally published in *The Westminster Review*, n.s., 2 (July 1852), 32–67.

⁴¹ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, p. 164.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 185–92.

⁴³ Richard Helgerson, 'Ben Jonson', in Thomas N. Corns (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry: Donne to Marvell* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 148–70 (at p. 152).

urban space as a grotesque female body – flatulent, diseased, incontinent, and sexually voracious – London replacing the Virgilian journey into hell. ‘I sing the brave adventure of two wights, / And pity ’tis, I cannot call them knights’, Jonson begins his account of the voyage.⁴⁴ His scatological excesses may seem a far cry from the romance of travel with which we began, but that very distance serves to exemplify the immense variety of the travel writing produced in this period, even as it demonstrates the inevitable entanglement of imagination and a shared cultural memory. From the nascent formulations of empire and nation, to the interrogation of the familiar as much as of the strange and the exotic, from factual reporting to flights of imagination in fiction, on stage, and in poetry, early modern travel writing left its mark on English literature and culture in ways that would be revisited in subsequent periods.

⁴⁴ Ben Jonson, ‘On the Famous Voyage’, in *The Works of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616), pp. 813–18.

Eighteenth-Century Travel Writing

NIGEL LEASK

Travel accounts represented a dominant paradigm of writing for an eighteenth century obsessed – in the wake of the scientific revolution and Locke’s philosophy – with what Bishop Thomas Sprat called the ‘plain style’. On the one hand, as a secularisation of pilgrimage narrative with its ultimately spiritual goals, travel writing made the principles of a materialist epistemology ‘available not through the renunciation, but through the exploitation, of merely sensuous human powers’ in the political interests of nation formation and colonial expansion.¹ On the other hand, a venerable association between travel and romancing (the basis of Jonathan Swift’s irony in *Gulliver’s Travels*) problematised the truth claims of travellers in the age of Hume and Voltaire, however much they were buttressed by eyewitness accounts and empirical detail, making travel writing in this period ‘a transitional mode of testimony between wonder and knowledge’.²

Charles Batten claims that by the end of the eighteenth century travel books were among the most widely read divisions of literature, second only to novels and romances.³ Paul Kaufman’s analysis of Bristol library borrowings in the years 1773–84 reveals that John Hawkesworth’s *Account of the Voyages . . . for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* (1773) – which, *inter alia*, contained the official account of Captain Cook’s first voyage, and is further discussed below – was borrowed 201 times, compared to 180 borrowings of Hume’s *History of England*, 127 of *Tristram Shandy*, and 92 of Dr Johnson’s *Lives of the Poets*.⁴ However, Katherine Turner has noted just

¹ Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 104.

² Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680–1840* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 111.

³ Charles L. Batten, Jr, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 1.

⁴ Paul Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library, 1773–1784: A Unique Record of Reading Vogue* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960).

one published travel account by a British woman before 1763, and only twenty following in the years between 1763 and 1800, although the numbers soared after that date.⁵ But many more eighteenth-century women wrote manuscript tours that were circulated among family and friends, qualifying views of the period as being dominated by the triumph of print culture.⁶

More than other genres of literature, travel books could be very expensive on account of their quarto format, topographical engravings, and maps. William St Clair suggests that a typical pricing for quarto travel books in this period was between 2 and 5 guineas, already a high price in relative terms, as is evident from their limited print runs of between 500 and 750 copies. These were reprinted in cheaper octavo editions if demand was high, but for many travel books, a single quarto edition was often as much as could be expected.⁷ Nevertheless, the plundering of travel accounts in popular periodicals, often posing as reviews of new publications, such as the *London Magazine's* pre-publication of James Bruce's and James Cook's travels, reviews in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Monthly Review*, or the *Analytical Review*, the enduring popular success of fictional travelogues such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* or Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, and, at the bottom end of the market, the chapbooks' mingling of romance with popular exoticism, ensured that travel writing permeated all levels of literary culture. This process of cultural permeation was furthered by the institution of circulating and subscription libraries in the second half of the eighteenth century, which made even expensive illustrated travel books accessible to a wider public.

The rich variety of eighteenth-century British travel writing can be generalised as falling into three dominant categories. The first was the paradigmatic narrative of the aristocratic Grand Tour to France and the 'classic ground' of Italy, epitomised by Joseph Addison's 1705 *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*. In the course of the century, however, the travelling scholar/anti-quarian tended to be displaced by the connoisseur in search of 'ideal beauty' in Italian art galleries, cathedrals, and ruins, while the scholarly delineation of

⁵ Katherine Turner, *British Women Travel Writers in Europe, 1750–1800: Authorship, Gender, and National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 127. See also Benjamin Colbert's database *Women's Travel Writing 1780–1840* <<http://www4.wlv.ac.uk/btw/>>, which proposes that 'while women contributed only about 4% of the total of such travel writing in the marketplace, the database charts the growing presence and professionalization of women travel writers in the nineteenth century'.

⁶ See Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682–1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Betty A. Schellenberg, 'The Print Trade and the Emergence of the Lakes Tour', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 44/2 (2011), 203–22.

⁷ William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 555–60.

statues, buildings, and topographies in relation to classical sources was replaced by intense emotional responses to aesthetic stimuli.⁸

The overfamiliarity of the Grand Tour as a 'beaten track' for aristocratic *ennuyés* prompted the emergence of a second dominant mode of eighteenth-century travel writing: the 'home' or domestic tour of the peripheries of Britain, especially the Lake District, Wales, and Scotland (although northern Europe was also an option for the more adventurous), which became increasingly popular after the 1770s, especially with the aspirational middle classes.⁹ One important stimulus was Defoe's *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–6), which sought to represent the modern, post-Union, commercial nation, based on thirteen circuits from London out to the peripheries and back, as an alternative to the antiquarian bias of Camden's *Britannia* (1586, revised and translated into English in 1695 and 1722).¹⁰

The century's third dominant mode of travel writing encompassed exotic sea voyages and explorations. These were characterised in the early decades of the century by the rough navigation accounts of William Dampier and George Anson, and subsequently elaborated by the Pacific narratives of James Cook, Joseph Banks, and J. R. and George Forster. By contrast, the Romantic period was more fixated with the penetration of continental interiors (as well as the search for the Northwest Passage). Thus if at mid-century the Admiralty poured resources into the quest for the 'Great Southern Continent' in the utopian maritime space of the Pacific, after its foundation in 1788 the African Association (co-founded by Banks) directed its energies to mounting expeditions into the heart of Africa, in order to ascertain the direction of the River Niger or the source of the Nile.

In his study of South Sea narratives in the long eighteenth century, Jonathan Lamb describes how travellers' private appetites for wonders and singularities, as well as the enormous risks which they ran, needed to be justified 'as the completion of the grand design inscribed by God in nature and time'. In the absence of any systematic science of geography or anthropology, Linnaean taxonomy provided naturalists like George Forster with

⁸ Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginary Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 84–125.

⁹ Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540–1840* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).

¹⁰ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, edited by Pat Rogers (London: Penguin, 1971). Paul Smethurst, however, prefers to see the domestic tour as 'a touristic simulation of exploration', rather than of the Grand Tour. Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768–1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 11.

a 'thread of Ariadne, by the help of which [the traveller] might guide his steps through the labyrinth of human knowledge'.¹¹ Although there was a strongly colonial and commercial impetus to botanical exploration, Mary Louise Pratt claims that 'in comparison with the navigator or the conquistador, the naturalist-collector is a benign, often homely figure'. However, her account of enlightenment botany as a 'global hegemony . . . a rationalizing, extractive, disassociative understanding which overlaid functional, experiential, relations among people, plants and animals', perhaps underestimates the degree to which vulnerable Europeans were reliant upon indigenous understandings of nature.¹² The focus on natural history, exotic ethnography, and landscape aesthetics in works of exotic exploration also impacted on the domestic or 'northern' tours of Thomas Pennant, Arthur Young, and Mary Wollstonecraft, especially when these travellers ventured beyond the boundaries of polite civil society. If representations of Indian or Pacific topography were influenced by the picturesque taste popularised by William Gilpin's tours of England, Wales, and Scotland, 'northern' tourists frequently compared Scottish Highlanders or Irish and Norwegian peasants with Tahitians, Native Americans, and other exotic peoples. For example, in his journal of his voyage through the Hebrides in 1772 en route to Iceland, the year after he returned from the Pacific, Joseph Banks compared Hebridean dwellings with those of Polynesian 'Indians': 'I have seen few Indians live in so uncomfortable manners.'¹³

Each of these three modes of travel and travel writing generated a distinctive set of readerly expectations and rhetorical norms in their representation of foreign places and people, but certain paradigms, which underwent parallel forms of transition, can be observed binding them together. The normal expectations for the genre are well expressed by Vicesimus Knox in 1778, underscoring the conventions of naïve empiricism, personal witness, and writing to the moment: 'the style of voyages and travels should be plain, simple, perspicuous, and unaffected. I think they seldom appear to great advantage, but when written in the words of the traveller or voyager, at the very time at which the circumstances which he relates occurred.'¹⁴ Hence the popularity of the epistolary format, which

¹¹ Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, pp. 111, 80.

¹² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 33, 34–5.

¹³ 'The Journals of Joseph Banks's Voyage up Great Britain's West Coast to Iceland to the Orkney Isles, July to October, 1772', ed. Roy A. Rauschenberg, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 117/3 (1973), 186–226 (at p. 212).

¹⁴ Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Manner of Writing Voyages and Travels', in *Essays, Moral and Literary* (1778), new edn, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1786), vol. 1, p. 117.

travel writing shared with the cognate genre of the early novel, and which is addressed by Zoë Kinsley in her contribution to the present volume.¹⁵ The contemporary genre of ‘imaginary travels’ was also immensely popular, but is beyond the scope of the present essay.

Despite its practical and empirical orientation, travel writing also often represented the disposition of the traveller as ‘curious’, appealing to the curiosity of its readers, and even describing the objects of its interested gaze as ‘curiosities’.¹⁶ Today the word carries a whiff of exoticism, whimsy, oddity, so it is quite hard for us to grasp its sense in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then, ‘curiosity’ more often meant ‘careful’, precise empirical investigation of the kind promoted by the Baconian proponents of the scientific revolution. Curiosity, rather than wonder, was the approved disposition for natural philosophers, but it was also particularly applicable to travel writing in attempting to ground its often problematic claims to truth: as in Samuel Johnson’s insistence, in 1759, that ‘Curiosity is seldom so powerfully excited, or so amply rewarded, as by faithful Relations of Voyages and Travels.’¹⁷

As the eighteenth century progressed, however, curiosity began to attract a more negative set of associations, stemming from its ‘tendency to displace any ordered programme of observation and enquiry’.¹⁸ As we have seen, systematic natural history provided an Ariadne’s thread to conduct the traveller from irresponsible curiosity to disciplinary order, but the very nature of travel writing as a narrative of personal witness was structured by the haphazard contingencies of the itinerary, rather than the encyclopedic protocols of science. By definition, travel writing was tied to the particular and to the ‘first impression’, and this created an epistemological dilemma for writers and readers alike. In response to this dilemma, by the early 1800s the non-utilitarian function of travel writing was beginning to align itself with the Romantic imagination, pointing to a more literary style that would in the end triumph over the enlightenment paradigm in nineteenth-century disciplinary formation.

Eighteenth-century travellers took extraordinary pains to underline the ‘fidelity’ of their on-the-spot attention to the foreign: for instance, Lady

¹⁵ See Chapter 26 below.

¹⁶ For a more detailed account, see my *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840: ‘From an Antique Land’* (Oxford University Press, 2002), especially pp. 23–53. The present essay extends arguments presented in that book, especially pp. 1–43.

¹⁷ Advertisement to John Newbery’s *The World Displayed* (1759), quoted in Thomas Curley, *Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976), p. 50.

¹⁸ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, p. 29.

Miller, in her *Letters from Italy* (1776), represented herself in the very act of writing: 'for fear of error I took my notes *upon the spot*, which I assure you is often very troublesome, as I am frequently obliged to write in my pocket book standing, and at times placing it on the pedestal of a statue, or the moulding of a surbase'.¹⁹ Miller was doubtless encouraged by the incontrovertible authority of Dr Samuel Johnson, who had insisted on the importance of 'writing to the moment' in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, published the previous year:

an observer deeply impressed by any remarkable spectacle, does not suppose, that the traces will soon vanish from his mind, and having commonly no great convenience for writing, defers the description to a time of more leisure, and better accommodation. He who has not made the experiment, or who is not accustomed to require rigorous accuracy from himself, will scarcely believe how much a few hours take from certainty of knowledge, and distinctness of imagery.²⁰

The commitment of Johnson, the great lexicographer, to the written word as the unique bearer of truth is hardly surprising. Moreover, one of his reasons for touring Scotland in 1773 was to ascertain the authenticity (or otherwise) of the poems of James Macpherson's *Ossian*, and his experiences confirmed his scepticism, on the grounds that 'nothing that is not very short is transmitted from one generation to another'.²¹

For similar reasons Johnson doubted the claims of another Scot, James 'Abyssinian' Bruce of Kinnaird, who had penetrated the dangerous mountains of Ethiopia in the 1760s, spent several years in the court at Gondar disguised as a Syrian physician, claimed to have discovered the source of the Nile, and returned on foot across the Sahara to tell the tale. Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1790) was a monument to his own enormous egotism, but also one of the bestselling travel books of the eighteenth century, on a par with the narratives of Captain Cook's voyages, describing a remote nation of Christian 'barbarians' still flourishing in the Ethiopian mountains near the source of the Nile, virtually undiscovered since ancient times. Yet partly because the book was published in 1790, and Bruce did not begin to write up his travel notebooks until sixteen years after his return from Africa, many of his claims were disputed. In other words, 'McFable' had failed the Johnsonian test of credit: how could one assume that he was accurately

¹⁹ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁰ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, ed. R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 133.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

recording his first impressions rather than imaginatively embroidering distant memories?²² By 1806, Romantic readers were more likely to be seduced by a good story, and less worried about authenticity effects, as the literary imagination increasingly asserted its autonomy from matters of fact. Charles Lamb expressed the charm of Bruce's *Travels* for the Romantic generation in an 1806 letter to Hazlitt: 'We just read thro' Bruce's *Travels*, with infinite delight where all is alive & novel & about kings & Queens & fabulous Heads of Rivers Abyssinian wars & the line of Solomon & he's a fine dashing fellow & intrigues with Empresses & gets into Harems of Black Women & was himself descended from Kings of Scotland: rot farmers & mechanics & industry.'²³

Paradoxically, the conflicting claims of empiricism and wonder may have made travel writing more attractive to a sceptical public, who continued to crave both moralising instruction and exotic stimuli, but were quick to condemn the travel writer for having fallen short on either count. As Lady Mary Wortley Montagu complained, 'we travellers are in very hard circumstances: If we say nothing but what has been said before us, we are dull, and we have observed nothing. If we tell anything new, we are laughed at as fabulous and romantic.'²⁴ Partly in response to this difficulty, the conventions of travel writing underwent a number of changes during the long eighteenth century. On the one hand, as Charles Lamb's comments on Bruce illustrate, travel writing becomes more literary, more focused on travellers' responses to the stimulus of the foreign, and less on the accuracy or believability of the curiosities they encountered and described. One might say that increasingly the *traveller* him- or herself became a curiosity.

The most striking example of the subjective drift of eighteenth-century travel writing is of course Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1786). Sterne's protagonist Yorick makes little progress either as a traveller or a narrator, merely 'replac[ing] the major sites of the grand tour by a series of minutely analysed social encounters (for the most part flirtations with women)'.²⁵ Yorick is after all a *sentimental* traveller mainly interested in gauging his own feelings rather than delineating the 'curious' external

²² See my chapter on Bruce ('The Problem of Credit') in *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, pp. 54–101.

²³ *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. Edwin W. Marris, 3 vols. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975–8), vol. 11, p. 199. For the parallel influence of Bruce's *Travels* on Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan', see my essay 'Kubla Khan and Orientalism: The Road to Xanadu Revisited', *Romanticism*, 4/1 (1998), 1–21.

²⁴ Quoted in Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, p. 83.

²⁵ Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, p. 8.

world through which he passes. Or rather, his curiosity has been internalised and translated into emotional responsiveness in lieu of objective description. For this reason he is never at a loss for words: 'I pity the man', he writes, 'who can travel from *Dan to Beersheeba*, and cry, "'Tis all barren" . . . I declare, said I, clapping my hands chearily together, that was I in a desert, I would find wherewith in it to call forth my affections – If I could not do better, I would fasten upon some sweet myrtle, or seek some melancholy cypress to connect myself to.' Sterne's notion of sentimental travel also became a touchstone for exposing false claims to objectivity, such as those of his rival Tobias Smollett in his *Tour of France and Italy*: 'The learned Smelfungus [Smollett] travelled from Boulogne to Paris – from Paris to Rome – and so on – but he set out with the spleen and jaundice, and every object he passed by was discoloured or distorted.'²⁶

On the other hand, by the end of the eighteenth century, travel writing had also become more scientific in its concern with programmatic accuracy. In an essay appended to John Pinkerton's seventeen-volume compilation of travel literature published in 1808–14, the editor noted that travel accounts written before 1768 are 'rather to be regarded as *curious*, than useful'.²⁷ Ultimately objectivity and utility were now Pinkerton's main priorities. This may not sound very like 'Romanticism', and suggests that travel writing was being increasingly valued as a source for geographical or anthropological information, at the same time as poetry and the novel were content to be described as 'works of pure imagination'. Science and 'pure imagination' were the Scylla and Charybdis through which the integrated travel accounts of Romantic writers like Mary Wollstonecraft, Mungo Park or Alexander von Humboldt were forced to steer. Despite the enormous influence of travel writing on all aspects of early nineteenth-century literature, Romantic 'high theory' was on the whole unsympathetic to its generic claims. As Thomas De Quincey wrote in 1823, distinguishing a 'literature of power' from a 'literature of knowledge', 'even books of much higher pretensions must be excluded [from the category of the 'literature of power'] – as, for instance, books of voyages and travels, and generally all books in which the matter to be communicated is paramount to the manner or form of its communication'.²⁸ Prioritising

²⁶ Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey*, ed. Graham Petrie (1768; London: Penguin, 1986), pp. 51–2.

²⁷ John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels*, 17 vols. (London, 1814), pp. xvii–xviii. Italics mine.

²⁸ Thomas De Quincey, 'Letters to a Young Man whose Education has been Neglected . . . No. III. On Languages', *London Magazine*, 7 (March 1823), 325–35 (at p. 332).

information over the affective language in which it was communicated disqualified travel writing from the literary sublimity of De Quinceyan 'power', more often expressed as Romantic imagination.

In the remaining portion of this chapter, I shall comment on three exemplary eighteenth-century travel accounts to highlight some of the themes discussed in the preceding section, but also to track the gradual transformations of textual form and content, as well as readerly expectations, during the century. The antiquarian Richard Pococke's *A Description of the East* (1743) was based on the extended 'architectural' Grand Tour that the author, an English clergyman in the protestant Church of Ireland, made to Egypt, Syria, and Greece in the late 1730s, and was partly modelled on Addison's influential *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705). Pococke's expensively illustrated folio, true to the aims of the Royal Society, of which he was a member, with its motto *Nullius in verba*, was largely concerned with checking the textual authority of classical descriptions of Egyptian and other antiquities by means of careful empirical observation. Personal narrative is sparsely distributed throughout the book, confined to the end of each chapter. The traveller's adventures, including Pococke's grudging account of his transactions with native Egyptians, are represented as so many obstructions to the fulfilment of his 'curious' antiquarian project. Dr Johnson placed Pococke's *Description* low on the scale of travel writing 'because of its poor style and emphasis upon ancient architecture, a subject that he considered less important than the manners of foreign people'.²⁹ For instance, Pococke measured the Sphinx in detail in order to assess the accuracy of Pliny's measurements.³⁰ Pococke's text (according to Stephen Bann's characterisation of the discourse of the 'curioso') 'itemizes, in the literal sense of the word, and exposes the object to relentless view . . . [D]esire follows the logic not of a greater whole completed by the imagination, but, rather, of an intricate structure revealed by intensive study'.³¹ The omission of any iconographic interpretation, or aesthetic or emotional response to the Sphinx is particularly striking when compared with A. W. Kinglake's description in his bestselling *Eothen; or Traces of Travel Brought Home from*

²⁹ Curley, *Samuel Johnson*, p. 76.

³⁰ Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries*, 2 vols. (London, 1743), vol. 1, p. 46.

³¹ Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 102–3, describing the seventeenth-century collection of John Bargrave.

the East (1844), written a century later: ‘comely the creature is, but the comeliness is not of this world . . . those lips, so thick and heavy, were fashioned according to some ancient mould of beauty’.³²

After returning from his Oriental travels, Pococke devoted his energies to antiquarian tours of the home nations, becoming a pioneer of the domestic tour, travelling extensively in Ireland between 1749 and 1752, and England and Wales between 1750 and 1757: even his taking up residence in Kilkenny Palace as bishop of Ossory in 1756 did not seem to break his wanderlust.³³ The six-month Scottish tour he made between April and September 1760 covered nearly 3,400 miles and was perhaps the most extensive single tour of Scotland made and narrated in the eighteenth century, although it remained in manuscript until publication in 1887. Here Pococke often makes suggestive comparisons between Oriental monuments and landforms and those in Scotland (at one point, for instance, comparing the Pap of Glencoe to Mount Tabor near Jerusalem), exemplifying the links between Grand Tour narratives and domestic travel accounts mentioned above.³⁴ In contrast to the lavishly illustrated *Description of the East*, however, Pococke’s failure sufficiently to attend to visual documentation might help to explain why the Scottish tours remained unpublished, whereas those of his friend and correspondent Thomas Pennant, undertaken just a decade later and lavishly illustrated, largely with engravings of the work of his ‘artist-servant’ Moses Griffith, achieved such enormous success. Pennant drew upon Pococke’s manuscript tour in several places, in conformity with his practice of collecting from other informants to enhance the informational value of the accounts of his own 1769 and 1772 Scottish tours, neither of which was as extensive as Pococke’s.³⁵ But as Fredrik Jonsson sums it up, ‘Pennant’s

³² A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen; or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (London: J. Ollivier, 1844), p. 323.

³³ For his Irish tour of 1752, see *Pococke’s Tour in Ireland in 1752*, ed. G. T. Stokes (Dublin and London, 1891).

³⁴ *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760 by Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, From the Original Manuscript and Drawings in the British Museum, edited with a Biographical Sketch of the Author by D. W. Kemp* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, for the Scottish History Society, 1887), p. 97.

³⁵ See above, and Thomas Pennant, *Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772*, ed. Andrew Simmons, intro. Charles W. Withers (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1998), pp. 255–68. See also Paul Smethurst, ‘Peripheral Vision, Landscape, and Nation Building in Thomas Pennant’s Tours of Scotland, 1769–72’, in Benjamin Colbert (ed.), *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 13–30; the AHRC-funded Curious Travellers Project website <http://curioustravellers.ac.uk/en/>; and Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask (eds.), *Enlightenment Travel and British Identities: Thomas Pennant’s Tours in Scotland and Wales* (London: Anthem Press, 2017).

best-selling tours of Scotland repackaged the business of strategic surveying into a form of polite entertainment.³⁶

Joseph Banks was still a rising star as the dedicatee of Pennant's 1772 tour; but by the later decades of the eighteenth century, he had become perhaps the key figure in British exploration and travel writing, an important botanist, antiquarian, comparative linguist, and anthropologist. Upon his return from the Pacific in 1771, Banks's travel journals, along with half a dozen others by Cook and other members of the expedition, were 'ghosted' by John Hawkesworth in his *Account of the Voyages*, the official account sanctioned by the Admiralty, although the work was apparently overseen by Banks himself, who had paid Hawkesworth £1,000 for the inclusion of his journal.³⁷ Banks was himself reticent about venturing into print, preferring the gentlemanly role of collector, but he would pay a high price for this reticence in more than just a financial sense. Hawkesworth's *Account* contained lavish ethnographic illustrations and offered painstaking translation of previously unknown flora and fauna into the language of Linnaean genus and species. Yet it was in many respects a 'curious' rather than a 'useful' travel narrative in Pinkerton's sense, described by its compiler as a 'relation of little circumstances' on the model of Richardson's novel *Pamela*, which in the end failed to justify the Pacific voyages in either a providential or patriotic fashion.³⁸ (Hawkesworth's reference to a novel that had itself instigated a moral panic proved a dangerous hostage to fortune.) And as the work of a professional literary compiler who had not witnessed the events that he described, it failed the test of eighteenth-century travel writing.

Jonathan Lamb has described how in ghost-writing the *Endeavour* journals Hawkesworth 'oriented his first person [voice] towards Banks rather than Cook' in order to gild the plain sailor's narratives with the 'much more full and particular' record of Banks's patrician curiosity.³⁹ Although Hawkesworth may have attempted to tone down Banks's cultural relativism, his 'indelicate' account of Tahitian sexual habits led to Banks's public stigmatisation as the 'Macaroni of the South Pacific', a botanising, foppish *curioso* who had spent more time making love to Tahitian women than in scientific exploration and collection. The fact

³⁶ Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 50.

³⁷ For Hawkesworth's 'raw material', see *The Endeavour Journals of Joseph Banks*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, 2 vols. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962).

³⁸ John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of his Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*, 3 vols. (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773), vol. 1, p. vii.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. xiv; Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, p. 103.

that the *Endeavour* had set out with the intention of observing the transit of Venus from the South Pacific was grist to the satirists' mill. In his account of the licentious 'Spectacle at Point Venus', which stirred up a particular furore amongst British readers (although actually based on Cook's, rather than Banks's account), Hawkesworth wrote: 'this incident is not mentioned as an object of idle curiosity, but as it deserves consideration in determining a question which has long been debated in philosophy; whether the shame attending certain actions . . . is implanted in Nature, or superinduced by custom'.⁴⁰ The pseudo-philosophical gloss of course rendered this all the *more* curious 'in the idle sense'. Banks's flirtations with Purea ('Queen Oberea') and other Tahitian women, his 'effeminate' botanising and his 'creolised' fascination with Tahitian culture led him dangerously near the brink of indecorous behaviour. For example, after he was robbed of his clothes whilst asleep, Purea dressed him in 'some of her country clothes' so that 'when he came to us he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English'.⁴¹

In the preface to his 1777 *Voyage Round the World*, the young German naturalist George Forster (who with his father J. R. Forster had accompanied Cook on his second *Resolution* voyage as Banks's replacement) attributed the 'ill-success' of Hawkesworth's book to the 'frivolous observations, the uninteresting digressions, and sophistical principles' of the ghost-writer himself.⁴² George Forster's *Voyage* is in many ways a milestone for the most ambitious strain of Romantic period travel writing, establishing the principles which would increasingly be demanded from serious travel writers over the next half-century. Contesting the notion of the purely empirical collection of data, and adhering to a disciplined programme of research, Forster also established the principle of 'affective realism' in travel writing: 'it was . . . necessary to be acquainted with the observer, before any use could be made of his observations'.⁴³ His privileging of the traveller's affective response to the foreign appears more akin to Sterne's notion of sentimental travel discussed above, or to Rousseauvian sensibility, than to his master Kant's stoic rationality: 'I have sometimes obeyed the powerful dictates of my heart, and given

⁴⁰ Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages*, vol. 11, p. 128.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 134.

⁴² George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World, in his Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution, 2 vols.* (London, 1777), vol. 1, p. ix.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. xii. For a more detailed account of 'affective realism', see my *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*, pp. 41–3.

voice to my feelings; for . . . it was necessary for every reader to know the colour of the glass through which I looked.'⁴⁴

It is likely that Forster's remarks on the traveller's sensibility in the *Voyage* influenced Mary Wollstonecraft (she reviewed his book, alongside many other travel accounts, for the *Analytical Review*) when she wrote in the advertisement to her *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), 'I perceived that I could not give a just description of what I saw, but by relating the effect different objects had produced on my mind and feelings, whilst the impression was still fresh.'⁴⁵ One of relatively few published travel accounts by eighteenth-century women, Wollstonecraft's *Short Residence* nevertheless stands as the triumphant culmination of a century of travel writing, representing a Romantic synthesis of detailed observation, philosophical reflection, social critique, and 'affective realism'. True to the empirical tradition, Wollstonecraft insists on the importance of keeping a travel journal to excite the traveller 'to many useful enquiries that would not have been thought of, had the traveller only determined to see all he could see, without ever asking himself for what purpose'.⁴⁶ Like Dr Johnson, she uses the episodic structure of travel narrative as a frame for philosophical reflection, or else, in the tradition of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, to dilate on her own intense emotional states. Breaking with the aristocratic tradition of the Italian Grand Tour in order to explore developing northern societies, she adopts from Forster a programmatic concern for disciplined inquiry balanced with affective judgment, placing the 'modern' self of the traveller in a dialectical relationship with the more 'backward' people and places encountered.⁴⁷

Wollstonecraft refused to be restricted as a woman to describing matters of domesticity and fashion, reporting proudly that one of her male hosts 'told me bluntly that I was a woman of observation, for I asked him men's questions'.⁴⁸ Her description of Scandinavia is beholden to the British home tours of male travel writers like Thomas Pennant and Arthur Young with their concern for socioeconomic analysis and contemporary politics, as well as to Forster's more philosophical reflection

⁴⁴ Forster, *Voyage Round the World*, vol. 1, pp. xii–xiii.

⁴⁵ Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, *A Short Residence in Sweden and Memoirs of the Author of 'The Rights of Woman'*, ed. Richard Holmes (London: Penguin, 1987), p. 62.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

on the relationship between primitive societies in the Pacific, and the progressive condition of mankind. She is just as content to describe a salt mine at Tonsberg as a picturesque cataract at Trollhattan.⁴⁹ An alternative model (one again shared with Forster), however, is Rousseau's *Confessions* and *Reveries of a Solitary Walker*: despite her rejection of Rousseau's idealised state of nature, the intense personal melancholy that infuses the text, comprising a series of letters to her (unnamed) unfaithful lover Gilbert Imlay, owes much to the Genevan philosopher, whose personal failings seemed almost to symptomise the catastrophic failure of the French Revolution which is the immediate backdrop to Wollstonecraft's travels. 'At present black melancholy hovers round my footsteps; and sorrow sheds a mildew over all the future prospects, which hope no longer gilds.'⁵⁰ The intense epistolary framework of Wollstonecraft's travelogue brilliantly balances the existential losses as well as the material gains involved in the modernisation of society, proposing a feminist solution to the corruptions attendant upon the commercial state, personified in her treacherous correspondent Imlay.

Breaking with the prescribed conventions of the feminine picturesque, Wollstonecraft represents a densely populated, heavily worked Scandinavia, poised on the cusp of modernity, at the same time refusing the exclusion of social or material detail in favour of purely picturesque considerations: 'As we drew near, the loveliest banks of wild flowers variegated the prospect, and promised to exhale odours to add to the sweetness of the air, the purity of which you could almost see, alas! not smell, for the putrifying herrings, which they use as manure . . . spread over the patches of the earth, calmed by cultivation, destroyed every other.'⁵¹ As Elizabeth Bohls comments, the stench of herring here establishes an 'alternative aesthetics that . . . situate[s] aesthetic pleasure [or displeasure] in a practical, material matrix extending from the body and its sensations to political engagement'.⁵² Following the lead of *fin-de-siècle* revisionists like Forster and Wollstonecraft, who refashioned the empirical conventions of the eighteenth century, the most accomplished Romantic travel writers struggled to express a holistic relationship between social and natural factors in diverse geographical environments,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 159.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵² Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 141.

whilst parading sensibility rather than curiosity as the marker of a 'modern' Western self exposed to foreign peoples and places. This was perhaps the high-water mark of Romantic travel writing, but it was a precarious balance, and one that travellers in the following century would find hard to maintain.

Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing

CARL THOMPSON

An era of greatly heightened mobility, the nineteenth century brought increasing opportunities and pressures to travel. As William Hazlitt wrote in 1826: 'We now seem to exist only where we are not – to be hurrying on to what is before us, or looking back to what is behind us, never to be fixed to any spot.'¹ Two years earlier, Samuel Taylor Coleridge had proclaimed in verse:

Keep moving! Steam or Gas or Stage,
Hold, cabin, steerage, hencoop's cage –
Tour, Journey, Voyage, Lounge, Ride, Walk,
Skim, Sketch, Excursion, Travel-talk –
For move you must! 'Tis now the rage,
The law and fashion of the Age.²

This upsurge of restlessness reflected widening networks of trade, communication, and transit. Empowered by industrialisation, Europe and the United States of America rose to dominance over the course of the century, with 67 per cent of the world's surface coming under Western control by 1867 and 85 per cent by 1914.³ Imperial expansion laid the foundations of modern globalisation, merging previously regionalised economies and bringing different cultures into more regular and intimate contact. Advances in transport and communication transformed many patterns and practices of travel. The late eighteenth century had brought new canals, better roads, and the invention of the hot-air balloon; these developments were followed in the nineteenth century by railways, telegraphy, telephones, bicycles, and motor cars. All were potent emblems and agents of Progress, at once symbolising, embodying, and transmitting the new, industrial modernity and enabling its

¹ William Hazlitt, 'Travelling Abroad', *New Monthly Magazine*, 22 (1828), 525–35 (at p. 526).

² Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Delinquent Travellers', lines 16–21, in *The Complete Poems*, ed. William Keach (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 378.

³ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 6.

characteristic time–space compression. This was a process often viewed with ambivalence; however, there was no doubting the dramatic effects on travelling. By 1873, the technologies and infrastructures were in place for Jules Verne to imagine a plausible voyage *Around the World in Eighty Days*. Before the century was out, this feat was surpassed by the journalist Nellie Bly, as recorded in her *Around the World in Seventy-Two Days* (1890).

Unsurprisingly, then, ‘globe-trotter’ is a nineteenth-century coinage, dating from 1873: one of many modern terms from that century connected with travel. Thus the 1860s gave us ‘commuter’, while the 1810s introduced ‘tourism’, following on from ‘tourist’, which dates from the 1780s.⁴ ‘Tourist’ was principally a synonym for ‘traveller’ for much of the nineteenth century, though it also acquired more derogatory secondary meanings. ‘Tourism’, however, named a phenomenon that struck contemporaries as new and remarkable: the growing numbers of people, from a widening portion of the population, who travelled for pleasure and recreation. From its beginnings in the 1760s, modern tourism burgeoned spectacularly after 1800, and by the latter part of the century had become a mass activity, at least in the industrially developed nations of Europe and North America. Alongside this remarkable democratisation of leisure travel, the century also witnessed an escalation of less voluntary forms of travel. These included the deployment of troops and personnel across the world; global flows of labour and migration, producing significant diasporas of Indian, Chinese, Pacific Islander, and other populations; the forcible displacement of some indigenous communities; and the mass emigration of European settler-colonists who in many cases were escaping poverty or coercive practices like the Highland Clearances in Scotland.

Whether imposed or sought out, the widening horizons and greater mobility of nineteenth-century life generated a burgeoning textuality. Communication over distance was increasingly essential; many of the resultant communications – including letters, telegrams, colonial reports, war journalism, and booster literature for potential settlers and investors – are arguably forms of travel writing. So too are the journals often maintained by settlers and migrants adjusting to new surroundings. The production and circulation of travel-related or travel-derived visual images also soared in the nineteenth century, through improving techniques of print reproduction, the emergence of dioramas and panoramas as popular attractions, and from mid-century the invention of photography and

⁴ Dates taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*’s first citation.

stereographic images.⁵ Here, however, I focus principally on the printed, predominantly verbal (though sometimes illustrated) accounts known collectively for most of the century as ‘voyages and travels’. I begin by considering the genre’s status and development in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and then map travel writing’s subsequent evolution – and diversification – in response to the two main contexts underpinning the genre’s proliferation and popularity: on the one hand, the century’s globalising tendencies, and on the other the emergence of modern tourism.

‘Voyages and Travels’ in the Early Nineteenth Century

By 1800, travel writing was well established as a central branch of print culture. For the *Annual Review* in 1805, ‘narratives of voyages and travels, and foreign topography, are of all books, perhaps, the best calculated to excite a strong and general interest in the reading part of the community’. This reviewer attributed the genre’s popularity to the multiple appeal and diverse readership of travelogues. ‘The faithful narrative of the traveller’, it was suggested, attracted both ‘the mere loungee, to whom reading is only a creditable kind of idleness’ and ‘the philosopher, who derives from books the materials of useful contemplation’.⁶

In historical surveys, early nineteenth-century travelogues are commonly discussed under the heading ‘Romantic Travel Writing’. This label is useful insofar as it stresses the many continuities underpinning the genre from the 1770s to the 1830s. The term ‘Romantic’, however, often generates misleading expectations. Some aspects of early nineteenth-century travel writing can certainly be broadly construed as Romantic tendencies. The late eighteenth-century vogue for ‘picturesque’ scenery continued, producing greater aesthetic appreciation of landscapes than in earlier eras, and generating numerous accounts which made the picturesque, both at home and abroad, their principal theme. Examples include print sequences such as Thomas and William Daniell’s *Oriental Scenery* (1795–1808) and richly illustrated travelogues such as James Hakewill’s

⁵ On travel and nineteenth-century visual culture, see James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion, 1997); Alison Byerly, *Are We There Yet? Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013). On travel and visual images more generally, see Chapter 29 below.

⁶ *Annual Review*, 4 (1805), 1–2 (at p. 1).

Picturesque Tours of Italy and Jamaica (1820 and 1825) and William Daniell and Richard Ayton's eight-volume *A Voyage Round Great Britain* (1814–25). In the wake of the late eighteenth-century enthusiasm for sentimentalism, similarly, some travellers now wrote themselves more prominently into their published accounts, incorporating alongside factual information a greater quotient of personal impressions and sensations whilst on the road. Few anglophone travelogues in the early nineteenth century, however, foregrounded the traveller and overtly investigated the travelling self in the manner of full-blown Romantic writers like Wordsworth and Byron. Both men frequently incorporated travel tropes and situations in their poetry, to the extent that works like *The Prelude* (composed between 1798 and 1850), *The Excursion* (1814) and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18) can be considered tangential forms of early nineteenth-century travel writing.⁷ Yet such sustained, inward-looking and sublime forms of self-fashioning through travel were seldom found in contemporary prose travelogues published as 'voyages and travels'. Equally rare were travelogues plotted as journeys of self-discovery, culminating in personal epiphanies or transformations. In France, where Laurence Sterne's innovative travel novel *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) exercised a stronger influence on factual travel writing, authors such as Francois-René de Chateaubriand began to push the genre in this more Romantic, introspective direction.⁸ But it was not until the nineteenth century was well advanced that Romanticism in this sense began to inform British and American voyages and travels. Until then, travel writing mostly remained, as Ina Ferris and Robin Jarvis have stressed, a 'knowledge genre', principally committed to relaying useful observations about other peoples and places.⁹

This generic expectation is reflected in the functional, baldly descriptive titles adopted by most early nineteenth-century travel books: for example, *A Journal of a Residence in India* (1812), *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy* (1813), *History of a Six Weeks' Tour Through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland* (1817).¹⁰ In these works readers

⁷ On Wordsworth and Byron as travel writers, see John Wyatt, *Wordsworth's Poems of Travel, 1819–42: Such Sweet Wayfaring* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

⁸ See Christopher W. Thompson, *French Romantic Travel Writing: Chateaubriand to Nerval* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁹ Ina Ferris, 'Mobile Words: Romantic Travel Writing and Print Anxiety', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 60/4 (1999), 451–68; Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel: Expeditions and Tours in North America, 1760–1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁰ By Maria Graham, Joseph Forsyth, and Mary and Percy Shelley respectively.

expected conscientious reportage across a range of topics. As Elizabeth Spence noted in her *Summer Excursions through Parts of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Derbyshire and South Wales* (1809), 'a taste for universal knowledge is become so prevalent, that it is not only one, but all the various branches of science which are necessary to confer popularity upon any work under the denomination of a Tour'.¹¹ Strongly invested with an educative and investigative ethos, the well-written travel account – whether published or circulated in manuscript – simultaneously recorded an individual's intellectual and moral improvement and made a civic-minded contribution to wider debate and cultural advancement. This was the case both for reports of foreign destinations and for 'home travels', a burgeoning branch of the genre in most Western nations at this date. Many accounts were produced by travellers who were not professional authors, scientists, or scholars, and whose travelogues represented their only foray into print. In a period when many branches of intellectual inquiry remained comparatively non-specialised and non-professionalised, however, this did not necessarily diminish for contemporaries the informational value of these texts. Some travellers leavened factual observations with modulations of voice and theme, or with whimsical or witty reflection. Writers who ventured too far in this direction, however, or wrote too much about themselves, were usually lambasted. Augustus Granville's *St Petersburg: A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital* (1829), for example, seems to modern eyes fairly dense with factual information and analysis of Russian society, yet it received a frosty reception from readers impatient with Granville's overly personal tone and his inclusion of what were deemed ephemeral, inconsequential details; one contemporary judged it, damningly, 'a sort of *twaddle* emanating from one point *self* & what *self* does . . . & what is *done to self*'.¹²

Early nineteenth-century voyages and travels thus remained chiefly focused on the external world, and individual texts typically adopted what now seems a remarkable inclusivity of theme and focus. As publications proliferated, however, commentators became increasingly concerned that the form's usefulness was diminishing. The genre had always encompassed a penumbra of less reputable works, usually circulating in ephemeral media like chapbooks and broadsheets; the reading public continued to lap up this often sensationalist material, with its lurid accounts of shipwreck, captivity

¹¹ Elizabeth Spence, *Summer Excursions . . .* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1809), pp. vi–vii.

¹² Quoted in Jarvis, *Romantic Readers*, p. 35 (emphases in the original).

among ‘savages’ and other misadventures.¹³ Yet there was a growing sense of saturation at the more respectable end of the travel writing market. Too many travel writers, it was claimed, were now what one contemporary dubbed “‘take-walk-make-book” men’, allegedly producing accounts just for commercial gain or self-promotion, rather than to share useful new information.¹⁴

Regular targets for these accusations were devotees of the picturesque and women travel writers. Memorably satirised in George Combe’s poem *The Tour of Dr Syntax* (1812, with illustrations by Thomas Rowlandson), picturesque travellers were attacked for supposedly prioritising frivolous aesthetic considerations over utilitarian observations – though many accounts dedicated to the picturesque, such as Hakewill’s *Tour of Jamaica* and Daniell and Ayton’s *Voyage Round Great Britain*, simultaneously assembled extensive factual information about their destinations. Women travel writers, meanwhile, were still a comparatively new phenomenon. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had seen numerous women produce letters, diaries, and other manuscript records of their travels. Prior to 1800, however, few ventured into print with this material. The late eighteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a female tradition in published voyages and travels, but it was not until the 1810s and 1820s that women became a substantial presence in the genre.¹⁵ Authors such as Mariana Starke, Maria Graham, Lady Morgan, and Anne Plumptre were drawn to the form precisely because of its intellectual prestige and worthy civic purpose; publishing a travelogue was implicitly an assertion of rationality, education, and public agency, both for themselves and for women generally.¹⁶ Yet these generic expectations made women’s travel writing scandalous for chauvinist reviewers who judged women incapable of addressing the serious themes required by travel writing. As one commentator declared in 1835, ‘must not delicacy – not to speak of other obvious inconveniences – preclude a female from doing literary justice to a

¹³ For a sampling of this material, see Paul Baepler (ed.), *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives* (University of Chicago Press, 1999); Carl Thompson (ed.), *Romantic-Era Shipwreck Narratives: An Anthology* (Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2007).

¹⁴ *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 5 May 1824, p. 1.

¹⁵ See Benjamin Colbert, ‘British Women’s Travel Writing, 1780–1840: Bibliographical Reflections’, *Women’s Writing*, 24/2 (2017), 151–69; also Colbert’s online *Database of British Women’s Travel Writing, 1780–1840*, www4.wlv.ac.uk/btw.

¹⁶ On early nineteenth-century women’s travel writing, see Yaël Schlick, *Feminism and the Politics of Travel After the Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: Bucknell University Press, 2012); Carl Thompson, ‘Journeys to Authority: Reassessing Women’s Early Travel Writing, 1763–1862’, *Women’s Writing*, 24/2 (2017), 131–50.

tour; and, alas! how few travel except in their own dust!’¹⁷ Such accusations are belied, however, by the erudition of many women’s travelogues in this era, and by the readiness of writers like Graham and Plumptre to venture into conventionally masculine subject areas such as politics and economics. It must also be stressed that women travel writers were not universally dismissed in the press. The *Eclectic Review* opined in 1821 that as well as being ‘the best letter writers’, women might soon be ‘assign[ed] . . . the praise of being the best tourists, had we a few more female writers like Maria Graham’ (and in context no condescension seems intended here in labelling women good ‘tourists’; in the 1820s this term was still regularly used for a broad range of travellers, both adventurous and cautious, learned and frivolous).¹⁸

Exploration and Empire

Conservative reviewers, lamenting a supposed flood of picturesque tourists and women travellers, usually held up as their ideal model for travel writing the more densely scientific narratives generated by expeditions and voyages of discovery. This was a flourishing branch of voyages and travels throughout the nineteenth century. These accounts had a broad appeal, being valued not only for their science but also for their descriptions of peoples and places little known in the West. Often they circulated internationally, being translated into multiple European languages. Some recounted maritime, hydrographical ventures in the tradition of eighteenth-century navigators like James Cook and Louis Antoine de Bougainville. Notable anglophone examples include Matthew Flinders’s circumnavigation of Australia (1802–3), the voyages led between 1818 and c.1855 by John Ross, William Parry, John Franklin, and others in search of a Northwest Passage (and later to discover the fate of Franklin’s disastrous last expedition), and the 1831–6 voyage of the *Beagle* on which Charles Darwin served as naturalist. However, attention was increasingly shifting to inland explorations. The most influential early nineteenth-century exploration accounts were the volumes published from 1807 onwards by the Prussian explorer Alexander von Humboldt. Spanning multiple topics and disciplines, these disseminated observations gathered over five years in South America.¹⁹ Western knowledge of

¹⁷ Anon., *Woman: As She Is and As She Should Be*, 2 vols. (London: John Cochrane, 1835), vol. 1, p. 67.

¹⁸ *Eclectic Review*, 15 (1821), 42–56 (at p. 42).

¹⁹ For an overview of Humboldt’s publications, see Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840: ‘From an Antique Land’* (Oxford University Press, 2002), chap. 6.

other landmasses was similarly extended by explorers and surveyors such as Lewis and Clark in North America (1804–6), Charles Sturt in Australia (1828–30, 1844–6), and Alfred Russel Wallace in the Malaysian archipelago (1854–62). The Arctic exploration begun by Ross and Parry was later continued by Fridtjof Nansen (1888, 1893–6) and Robert Peary (1886, 1891, 1898–1902). By the second half of the century, however, the main locus of British exploratory endeavour and public fascination was Africa. Its vast interior and iconic rivers were slowly mapped by figures such as David Livingstone, Richard Burton, Henry Morton Stanley, and John Hanning Speke.

These expeditions could vary significantly in aims, attitudes, practices, and outcomes. Some were undertaken by solo travellers, others by large teams; most received considerable assistance from local guides and informants. Some ventures were funded and coordinated by major state agencies or leading scientific societies such as, in Britain, the Admiralty and the Royal Geographical Society; others were self-funded or commercially sponsored. Scholars therefore stress that there was no single, monolithic style, culture, or ideology of exploration across the nineteenth century.²⁰ Yet a major focus was always the accumulation of cartographical, natural historical, and ethnographic data that might assist a range of commercial and strategic agendas. In this spirit, regions were scrupulously mapped, and flora, fauna, and other natural resources exhaustively catalogued, in keeping with the Linnaean paradigm dominant in Western science since the eighteenth century. Dissemination of this data was then one function of any subsequent exploration narrative.

It is misleading, however, to regard these texts solely as a form of scientific discourse, or as objective, inherently factual documents standing in stark contrast to the more literary or subjective modes emerging elsewhere in nineteenth-century travel writing. Some explorers adopted in places an impersonal, ostensibly objective style, presenting observations seemingly gathered by a dispassionate, disembodied all-surveying 'I'/eye, or by a growing battery of scientific instruments designed to minimise human error and subjectivism. Yet such austere objectivism was seldom maintained throughout the volume. Accounts such as Parry's *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (1821), Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857), and Burton's *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (1860) conform to a template that combined an overarching personal

²⁰ See esp. Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

narrative incorporating some scientific discussion with chapters or appendices offering more consolidated treatments of scientific and scholarly issues. As it had long done in travel writing, the personal narrative served to convey expertise and moral character, thereby strengthening the traveller's credibility. It similarly performed a rhetorical, 'public relations' role for the establishments and nations that had dispatched the explorer, and for Western science in general. Not least, it gave scope for anecdotes, adventure, and exotica – and it was these ingredients, as much as their science, which ensured the popularity of exploration narratives.²¹

Nineteenth-century accounts of exploration were thus literary as well as scientific constructs. They did not necessarily exclude the traveller's subjective impressions or emotional responses. Humboldt stood in a tradition of Romantic or sentimentalised science which looked inwards as well as outwards, recording and then relaying in print (as another strand of important empirical data) details of the travelling/observing self. Humboldt also utilised literary techniques such as the sublime to convey nature's grandeur and dynamism. Later explorers like Stanley similarly crafted their accounts with considerable skill and calculation, although by this date the stylistic influences and rhetorical strategies had evolved. Stanley was a journalist by training, and volumes such as *How I Found Livingstone* (1872) and *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) borrow descriptive techniques from the contemporary sensationalist press, and from colonial adventure fiction, to create a more vivid and heroic account.

In so doing, Stanley's narratives reflected the considerable mythology that now surrounded the figure of the explorer. By the late nineteenth century, explorers were widely viewed as almost saintly figures, emissaries of Progress and Civilisation who risked their lives in pursuit of knowledge and for the betterment of humankind. Thus Stanley announced his readiness, at the beginning of *Through the Dark Continent*, to become 'the next martyr to geographical science'.²² Exploratory endeavours had indeed produced many fatalities, including Cook in Hawai'i, Mungo Park and other travellers in West Africa, and the major disaster of the 1845 Franklin expedition, where 129 lives were lost. Early exploration accounts did not usually dwell on such

²¹ For the multiple agendas, complex editorial procedures, and generic norms underpinning nineteenth-century exploration accounts, see Innes M. Keighren, Charles, W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (University of Chicago Press, 2015).

²² H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent . . .*, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1878), vol. 1, p. 1.

perils and hardships; however, they often featured in the wider cultural representation of the explorer, with the deaths of Cook, Park, Livingstone, and others frequently depicted in poems, paintings, and other media.²³ And as the century unfolded it became more common for narratives to foreground misadventure and suffering, in vignettes (often illustrated) such as Livingstone's famous account of being mauled by a lion.

The growing 'myth of the explorer', as one scholar has dubbed it, was further promoted by the diffusion through nineteenth-century culture of explorers' adventures and findings, via literature and art, museum exhibitions, public lectures and popular shows, panoramas and dioramas, even toys and decorative household goods.²⁴ This mythology served ideological ends and usually worked to foster imperial attitudes.²⁵ Many nineteenth-century exploration accounts are highly ethnocentric, with non-Western peoples almost invariably positioned at a lower point in an assumed hierarchy of cultural development. From mid-century, these stadial theories were increasingly infused with the dubious racial categorisations promoted by contemporary science. Racist and imperialist attitudes became more pronounced during the era of 'High' or 'New Imperialism' in the latter decades of the century; however, there were also, across the whole century, counter-voices opposing these tendencies. The militaristic expeditions of figures like Stanley and Samuel Baker aroused considerable outrage and protest, and were dubbed by critics 'exploration by warfare'.²⁶ Some travellers and explorers – for example, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt – rejected the supposed superiority of Western values and knowledge, and denounced European imperialism.²⁷ Whatever individual explorers' avowed intentions and affiliations, however, the data they gathered often worked

²³ For this tendency in Arctic exploration, see Adriana Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration* (Cambridge University Press, 2016); also Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*.

²⁴ Beau Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer: The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery* (Oxford University Press, 1993); see also Russell Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture 1818–1870* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

²⁵ The classic account of the ideological inflection of much nineteenth-century exploration remains Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). See also Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900* (Manchester University Press, 1994).

²⁶ See Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 117–45; Youngs, *Travellers in Africa*, esp. chaps. 4 and 5.

²⁷ See Michael Berdine, *The Accidental Tourist, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, and the British Invasion of Egypt in 1882* (London: Routledge, 2005); and for other anti-imperialist travel writers of this era, Geoffrey P. Nash, *From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East, 1830–1926* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

practically to enable Western enterprises around the world. And ideologically, the popular conception of the 'explorer' gave moral legitimacy to many of those enterprises, firmly locating the West and its travellers on the side of rationality, Enlightenment, and altruism, in counterpoint to the supposed savagery, superstition, and backwardness of regions like 'darkest Africa'.

Explorers were not the only travellers mediating the non-Western world to European and American audiences. Reports and narratives flowed from diplomats, traders, and army and naval officers (less commonly from lower-rank writers). Missionary narratives were a popular branch of nineteenth-century travel writing, reflecting an upsurge of overseas evangelism promoted by organisations such as the London Missionary Society (founded 1795). Examples include William Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* (1829) and Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*. Accounts were also produced by colonial administrators, settlers, journalists, and others. These different roles might be combined, as with Livingstone; most of these travellers sought to contribute to knowledge and the Western intellectual archive. Many were accomplished amateur scientists, well trained in natural history and other disciplines. So-called 'explorers' and their narratives thus sit within, and are not always distinguishable from, a wider spectrum of travellers and texts broadly engaged in 'exploratory' activity.

The occupations just outlined were mostly the preserve of men. Similarly, the honorific label 'explorer' was only conferred on men, and represented for many contemporaries the epitome of heroic, imperial masculinity. Conversely, women were strongly associated with safer, touristic forms of travel, and the majority of nineteenth-century female-authored travelogues recount journeys in Europe and the settled East Coast of America. Yet women travelled to the colonies and beyond, to what seemed to Western eyes 'frontier' regions and as yet 'uncivilised' cultures, although they still usually did so accompanying men as wives and daughters. Many wrote private letters and journals recording their experiences; some published these accounts. Examples include the depictions of colonial India produced by Maria Graham, Fanny Parkes, Emily Eden and others; the narratives of settlers such as Catherine Parr Traill in Canada and Louisa Anne Meredith in Australia; and Mary Wallis's luridly titled *Life in Feejee; or Five Years Among the Cannibals* (1851). As the century wore on, it became increasingly possible for women to travel independently beyond contemporary tourist circuits, sometimes taking up the roles discussed above; for example, women journalists and missionaries (as opposed to missionary wives) became more common in

the decades after 1850. And figures such as Ida Laura Pfeiffer, Isabella Bird, Mary Kingsley, and Gertrude Bell built successful authorial careers relaying in print observations of peoples and places still little known in the West.²⁸ Women like Bird, Kingsley, and Bell were often engaged in activities and inquiries broadly similar to those of contemporary male explorers. Yet none used this label or adopted such a heroic self-fashioning in print; they usually presented themselves in self-deprecating fashion, apologising for lack of expertise even as they gathered useful scientific information.

Literary Travellers, Tourists, and Anti-Tourists

For canonisation in the popular imagination as ‘explorers’, nineteenth-century travellers had to push well beyond the established tourist infrastructures of their day. Yet the reach of these touristic networks, and of comparatively comfortable, reliable transport systems, was constantly extending. In 1841 Thomas Cook pioneered ‘package’ holidays and excursions. By the 1860s, his company offered steam cruises up the Nile, and Mark Twain could make a chartered voyage from New York to Palestine. In the 1880s, the ‘Orient Express’ was launched, linking Paris and Istanbul by railway. Recreational travel had become a desirable lifestyle choice or commodity for almost all levels of society in the industrially developed nations of Western Europe and North America. Working-class tourism was largely limited to domestic itineraries but for more affluent travellers – both male and female – the geographical range of accessible destinations expanded with every decade.

These developments impacted in diverse ways on contemporary travel writing. One consequence was the emergence of guidebooks in a recognisably modern form. These offered a more systematic and comprehensive introduction to popular destinations, eschewing the personal narratives usually found in earlier guides and instead presenting much of their information in objectivist formats such as tables and lists. Building on earlier innovations by Mariana Starke and others, the publishing firms of John Murray and Karl Baedeker established themselves in the 1820s and 1830s as market leaders in this branch of nineteenth-century travel writing. The proliferation of

²⁸ Useful accounts of Victorian women’s accounts of the wider world include Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (London: Guilford Press, 1994); Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women’s Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

tourist handbooks in turn influenced other modes of contemporary voyages and travels. Factual reporting of other peoples and places, and the relaying of cultural and historical information about destinations, was traditionally a fundamental function of travel writing. This task was becoming redundant, however, for much-visited sites and regions. As Charles Dickens wrote in *Pictures from Italy* (1846), ‘if you would know all about the architecture of [Lyons cathedral], or any other, its dates, dimensions, endowments, and history, is it not written in Mr Murray’s Guidebook[?]’.²⁹

Dickens was one of many highly regarded professional authors to take up the travel writing genre in the nineteenth century, with figures like Washington Irving, Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Henry James similarly producing travelogues as an adjunct (or prelude) to successful literary careers. In France, a travel narrative became almost a rite of passage, and ‘badge of modernity’, for aspiring poets and novelists like Stendhal, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and Gérard de Nerval.³⁰ The number of women travellers continued to grow, with notable mid- to late-century authors including Anna Jameson, Harriet Martineau, Julia Pardoe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Amelia Edwards, and Vernon Lee (Violet Paget).³¹ Works such as *A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs Nancy Prince* (1853) and *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs [Mary] Seacole in Many Lands* (1857) also reflect the increasing number of accounts from travellers of colour, both male and female. Some were produced by black American and European writers, others by travellers from further afield, as globalisation and imperial entanglements brought non-Western travellers from the colonies to the metropolitan centres of empire.³² Examples include J. Nowrojee and H. Merwanjee’s *Journal of a Residence of Two Years and a Half in Great Britain* (1841) and B. M. Malabari’s *The Indian Eye on English Life or Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (1893).

Authors seeking to publish accounts of popular, easily accessible destinations now faced a very crowded marketplace. Regions like Italy – long revered for its classical and Renaissance associations, and in the eighteenth

²⁹ Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (1846; London: Penguin, 1998), p. 17.

³⁰ Thompson, *French Romantic Travel Writing*, p. 24.

³¹ For Victorian women’s travel writing in touristic contexts, see Maria Frawley, *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England* (London: Associated University Presses, 1993); Judith Johnstone, *Victorian Women and the Economies of Travel, Translation and Culture, 1830–1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

³² On ‘reverse travelling’, see Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Michael H. Fisher, ‘Early Indian Travel Guides to Britain’, in Tim Youngs (ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling in the Blanks* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), pp. 87–106.

century the main focus for the Grand Tour – had been exhaustively described by previous travellers, and were also the primary sites targeted by the new guidebooks. Much nineteenth-century travel writing is consequently haunted by a sense of belatedness, of travelling in the footsteps of earlier, more illustrious travellers. Writers also had to negotiate the belittlement increasingly heaped on the tourist industry which to some degree enabled their travelling. The new forms of tourism, it was alleged, offered only a vulgar, commodified pastiche of the educative and civic ideals traditionally associated with travel. Here complaints about the cocooning influence of tourist infrastructures and tourism's effects on destinations were often mingled with straightforward class snobbery and gender chauvinism.³³

Most nineteenth-century travel writers therefore sought to distinguish themselves from the figure of the 'tourist', a label that by mid-century was often intended pejoratively. As Francis Kilvert pronounced in 1870, 'of all noxious animals . . . the most noxious is a tourist'.³⁴ Many travelogues similarly incorporated anti-touristic rhetoric and imagery, denouncing the supposed 'herd' mentality of tourists, their over-reliance on guidebooks, and their closed minds. This dovetailed with a growing tendency to foreground more prominently the traveller's own personality. As the need for factual reportage receded, travel writing became increasingly a form in which writers could showcase a distinctive sensibility and style, offering idiosyncratic, impressionistic treatments of destinations. Many writers took their lead from Byron's boast in his poetic travelogue *Childe Harold*:

. . . in the crowd
 They could not deem me one of such; I stood
 Among them, but not of them; in a shroud
 Of thoughts which were not their thoughts . . .³⁵

Thus a more pronounced subjectivism emerged in some travel accounts, partly as a response to the growing objectivism of contemporary guidebooks. And it was at this juncture – dating from roughly the 1840s – that many published travelogues began to exhibit a more marked Romanticism, as reflected in the adoption of more evocative or novelistic titles such as

³³ See James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford University Press, 1993).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁵ Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 3.13.5–8, in *The Major Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (1986; Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 137.

Pictures from Italy, *Eothen* (meaning 'From the East', 1844), and *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys* (1873).³⁶

Byron also demonstrated another useful strategy for achieving individuation through travel, by departing from the contemporary tourist circuit of his day to reach seldom visited regions such as the eastern Mediterranean and Albania. Getting off 'the beaten track' was by mid-century a well-established trope in travel writing. This endeavour was again often couched in Romantic, primitivist rhetoric, with many travellers proclaiming their desire to escape modernity and what A. W. Kinglake termed 'the stale civilization of Europe'.³⁷ In early nineteenth-century travel writing, scenes of pristine nature and visits to premodern communities typically generated fairly sober, moralistic commentary. By mid-century, encounters of this type were often described rhapsodically, as bringing about a liberation or rejuvenation of the self.

In *Eothen*, Kinglake uses the railway to symbolise the mechanised, oppressive modernity he seeks to escape in the less developed Balkans and Middle East. The transformative effects of new transport systems are unsurprisingly a common theme in nineteenth-century travel writing, including vivid accounts of the sensory adjustments – variously thrilling and dislocating – brought about by steam travel.³⁸ In similar vein, James Glaisher's *Travels in the Air* (1871) celebrates the transcendent perspectives enabled by hot-air balloons, as landscapes pass beneath the balloonist 'like a grand natural panorama'.³⁹ Many travellers, however, followed Kinglake in avoiding modern forms of transport, embracing instead traditional modes such as walking and horse-riding. Here Romantic primitivism merged with an equally Romantic taste for misadventure. Dangers and discomforts became for some the markers of true, 'authentic' travel. Such suffering ostensibly distanced travellers from the pampered, lazy tourist, aligning them instead with the revered explorer, whose arduous travelling supposedly yielded real knowledge. Accounts of tramping and other lowlife experiences soon constituted a new subgenre within voyages and travels, notable examples being Twain's *Roughing It* (1872) and Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey* (1879) and *The Silverado Squatters* (1883). The nineteenth century also saw the emergence of distinct subgenres of adventurous travel writing, including the

³⁶ By Dickens, A. W. Kinglake and Amelia Edwards respectively.

³⁷ A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen* (London: J. Ollivier, 1844), p. 27.

³⁸ For a classic study, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Space and Time in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Anselm Hollo (New York: Urizen, 1979).

³⁹ James Glaisher, *Travels in the Air* (London: Richard Bentley, 1871), p. 20.

mountaineering narrative, exemplified by Leslie Stephen's celebration of Alpine climbing, *The Playground of Europe* (1871), and the yachting or maritime narrative, such as Joshua Slocum's *Sailing Alone Around the World* (1900). These travelogues often overlapped with contemporary exploration literature. Here, however, the traveller's ordeal was usually undertaken as a challenge, producing a narrative emphasis on personal development and growing self-knowledge rather than dissemination of scientific data.

The decades after 1840 also saw travel writing's traditional narrative mode – a retrospective, fairly summative reporting of incidents and observations – frequently supplanted by a more detailed, novelistic rendering. Writers now recreated more fully on the page the original travel experience, enabling readers to share vicariously their momentary thoughts, feelings, and sense impressions. This reflected developments in contemporary fiction, yet was also perhaps a response to the immersive travel experiences offered by visual attractions like the panorama: it is noteworthy, for example, that Dickens entitles the closing section of *Pictures from Italy* 'A Rapid Diorama'. In the hands of late-century authors like Henry James and Lafcadio Hearn, alternatively, travel writing is at times pushed in the direction of contemporary symbolist poetry, with places and encounters seemingly transmuted into objective correlatives intended to convey some deeper spiritual truth or existential condition. Thus Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894) recounts a disappointing trip to a temple that houses no statue or image of a presiding deity but only 'a round pale disk of polished metal' showing 'my own face therein, and behind this mockery of me a phantom of the far sea'. Yet the mirror is soon artfully crafted into an emblem of a dilemma haunting many travellers: 'whether I shall ever be able to discover that which I seek – outside of myself!'⁴⁰

In this way, some travel accounts became in the nineteenth century more aesthetically ambitious. Few texts, however, entirely abandoned travel writing's traditional role as a knowledge genre. By 1900, the end was perhaps in sight for the travelogue's capacity to offer a blend of learning and entertainment acceptable to both 'loungers' and 'philosophers' (in the *Annual Review*'s 1805 terminology). With expansion of the university system and growing academic specialisation, many forms of disciplinary inquiry traditionally conducted through and disseminated as 'voyages and travels' – e.g. geography, ethnography, natural history – now sought to dissociate themselves

⁴⁰ Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), vol. 1, p. 24.

from a genre increasingly associated with anecdotalism and amateurism. Yet this development was still unfolding in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Even in this latter period voyages and travels remained a medium where one might make meaningful interventions across a broad range of disciplines and discourses. Thus Vernon Lee's *fin-de-siècle* travel essays – for example, in *Genius Loci: Notes on Places* (1899) – anticipate Modernism in their fragmentary form and heightened concern with the psychological effects of place, yet also stand in a long-standing nineteenth-century tradition of using travel writing as a forum for debating art history, aesthetics, and connoisseurship. Similarly, from R. H. Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) to Elizabeth Banks's *Campaigns of Curiosity: Journalistic Adventures of an American Girl in London* (1894), many tramping or lowlife travelogues encompassed an element of serious sociological inquiry and campaigning reportage. Another prominent strand of *fin-de-siècle* travel writing was the investigative accounts of social reformers like William Booth, whose *In Darkest England* (1890) spoke to a late-century sense of imperial crisis and potential decline as it transposed the stock motifs of colonial exploration on to supposedly civilised Britain. Many nineteenth-century travelogues therefore possessed a more complex, multifarious valence than we tend to recognise today, and the genre as a whole retained a prominence in print culture and intellectual debate that it has arguably since lost.

Travel Writing after 1900

TIM YOUNGS

The years after the nineteenth century encompass the death of Queen Victoria, two world wars, many other armed conflicts, decolonisation, neocolonialism, globalisation, the intensification of motorised and air travel, mass tourism, space flight, and technological advances that have revolutionised communications. Intellectual currents and artistic movements of the era have altered the ways that people view things and one another and how they express themselves. So far as travel writing is concerned, the period takes us from Edward Thomas's book on the ancient track, *The Icknield Way* (1913), to astronauts tweeting from the International Space Station, and back again to renewed interest in Thomas and nature writing. The present chapter surveys some of the British-authored travel writing that results from these developments.¹

The modes of transport introduced or developed in the late nineteenth century – the bicycle, motorcycle and auto car – allowed users new experiences of the countryside. Many welcomed the faster pace and the ease of longer journeys that these enabled. Contrary to what some might think now, motor vehicles were often hailed as a means of getting closer to nature rather than despoiling it, though the negative reactions are the ones more familiar to us. Eric Newby laments in the 1950s that 'If there is any way of seeing less of a country than from a motor-car I have yet to experience it.'² George Orwell complains two decades earlier that 'for the passenger in an express train or a luxury liner his journey is an interregnum, a kind of temporary death'.³ Orwell strikes a pragmatic note, however, accepting that 'No human

¹ The travel writing of other national traditions is discussed in this volume's next section, 'Travel Writing in a Global Context'. Readers are also referred in particular to Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); and Steve Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed, 1999).

² Eric Newby, *A Short Walk in the Hindu Kush* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), p. 6.

³ George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937), p. 232.

being ever wants to do anything in a more cumbrous way than is necessary.⁴ Underlying this grudging accommodation was an ambivalence about mass transport: as Carl Thompson observes, what some hailed as a 'laudable democratisation of travel', others regarded 'as a deplorable vulgarisation'.⁵

There were mixed responses to the broader processes of mechanisation as well. Visiting Oran, in Algeria, Wyndham Lewis despairs that 'Our Machine Age civilization has pushed its obscene way into the heart of their [the "Berbers"'] country'.⁶ His complaint of despoliation fits into a tradition of European travellers using non-Western societies as a measure by which to critique aspects of the Western world, but the distaste for mechanisation expressed by Lewis also proceeds from the slaughter of the First World War. Critics have noted the reaction against that in other postwar literature and visual art, a prominent example of the former being T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922), but it is present as an undercurrent in travel writing, too.⁷ Often the journeys recorded are perceived as a flight from the devastation, but they also represent an attempt to come to terms with it. One of the most poignant and geographically distanced expressions of this is Apsley Cherry-Garrard's *The Worst Journey in the World* (1922). The author, assistant biologist on and chronicler of Captain Scott's last expedition to the Antarctic, served in the war and was damaged by it. His record of the expedition reflects intermittently upon how wartime experience affected the party. Cherry-Garrard's book also conveys a strong sense of the passing of an established type of heroism, though the enduring appeal of a romantic, heroic figure's exploits is apparent in the continued national fascination with T. E. Lawrence, whose *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* was published in 1926.

For literary travel writers and adventurers, a consequence of the mechanical age and of the reappraisals of Britain's changing relationship with its colonies was an underlining of their own distinctiveness. In many texts the journey seems a way of settling on an identity between cultures, emphasising the traveller's uniqueness. D. H. Lawrence, for example, visiting Italy after the First World War, complains about the Italians, who 'hate one's Englishness, and leave out the individual'.⁸ This focus on the personal is

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 232.

⁵ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 57.

⁶ Wyndham Lewis, *Filibusters in Barbary* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932), pp. 23–4.

⁷ Many of the journeys made in the years after 1918 were a response to the ending of wartime restrictions on private travel. On this and on the British literary diaspora, including Norman Lewis and Lawrence Durrell, see, for example, Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), esp. pp. 9–11.

⁸ D. H. Lawrence, *Sea and Sardinia* (1921; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1944), p. 52.

accompanied by the undermining of a collective view. Several notable texts from the 1920s and 1930s, in particular, question the very basis of the generalisations upon which travel writing depends. Opening *Mornings in Mexico* (1927), D. H. Lawrence writes of books whose titles suggest a survey of an entire country, or even of a continent, that it is a shame when reading them we do not ‘immediately visualise a thin or a fat person, in a chair or in bed, dictating . . . or making little marks on paper with a fountain pen’.⁹ Graham Greene admits of his own impressions in Mexico: ‘I was taking the tourist view – on the strength of one prosperous town on the highway, on the strength of a happy mood, I was ready to think of Mexico in terms of quiet and gentleness and devotion.’¹⁰ Evelyn Waugh, in his account of the Italian–Abyssinian crisis of 1935 and his own role as a correspondent, is scornful of the uses to which travel writing is put and of its claims to authority: ‘Abyssinia was News. Everyone with any claims to African experience was cashing in’, and ‘Files were being searched for photographs of any inhospitable-looking people – Patagonian Indians, Borneo head-hunters, Australian aborigines – which could be reproduced to illustrate Abyssinian culture.’¹¹

Waugh admits that after signing up with the ‘only London newspaper which seemed to be taking a realistic view of the situation’, he ‘had an inkling of what later became abundantly clear to all, that I did not know the first thing about being a war correspondent’.¹² This assured self-deprecation, to be found in his contemporary Peter Fleming and in a later generation of travellers such as Redmond O’Hanlon and the Anglophile Bill Bryson, is typical of a strain of male-authored travel texts. Public self-deprecation is a display of controlled authority and goes hand in hand with the phenomenon outlined by Helen Carr: that increasingly in the twentieth century travel writing became ‘a more subjective form’.¹³ We see this when D. H. Lawrence terminates his brief description of the cathedral in Cagliari with an insistence on the impressionistic, exclaiming: ‘For the rest I am not Baedeker.’¹⁴ The distancing from the guidebook function could not be more emphatic.¹⁵

⁹ D. H. Lawrence, *Mornings in Mexico* (London: Martin Secker, 1927), p. 9.

¹⁰ Graham Greene, *The Lawless Roads* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 42.

¹¹ Evelyn Waugh, *Waugh in Abyssinia* (1936; London: Penguin, 1986), pp. 39–40.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³ Helen Carr, ‘Modernism and Travel (1880–1940)’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 70–86 (at p. 74).

¹⁴ Lawrence, *Sea and Sardinia*, p. 58.

¹⁵ On guidebooks, see Agnieszka Sobocinska and Richard White’s discussion of travel writing and tourism in Chapter 36 below.

The interwar attention to perspective, the questioning, self-deprecation, and individuation arose from various factors, many of them linked to the loss of confidence in Britain's leading role in the world. In *English Journey* (1934), J. B. Priestley writes of men in Gateshead, in the northeast of England, who 'live . . . in a workshop that has no work for them. They are the children of an industrialism that has lost its industry, of a money-making machine that has ceased to make money.'¹⁶ Many travel narratives of the period express doubt about Britain's rectitude and superiority. Some do so indirectly by seeking an escape or through finding positive alternatives abroad, such as in their celebration of the primitive. After the 'death-blows' of 1914–18, Wyndham Lewis finds 'the atmosphere of our dying European society . . . profoundly depressing'. Seeking '[s]ome relief', he thinks 'Perhaps nothing short of the greatest desert in the world, or its proximity, would answer the case.'¹⁷

Others, like Priestley, articulate their criticism by condemning the social conditions they find within Britain. George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937), with its excoriation of poverty, inequality, and class difference, is perhaps the best known of this type. Orwell, who served in the Indian Imperial Police in Burma 'as part of an oppressive system', draws parallels between the put-upon working class in England, including the miners' families with whom he stays for several weeks, and the victims of colonial injustice.¹⁸ The decline of former glory resounds also in H. V. Morton's *In Search of England* (1927), whose very title conveys the sense of uncertainty about national identity.

Much of the most significant travel writing produced between the wars consists of modernist or modernist-inflected texts. Modernism lent to travel writing, as it did to other art forms, an 'emphasis on fragmentation, unexpected juxtapositions . . . and the imprint of the faster lifestyle and the disorientating kinesis . . . seemingly characteristic of modernity'.¹⁹ The first two of these elements, at least, are especially evident in W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice's *Letters from Iceland* (1937), which offers an assemblage of forms, including poems, verse and prose letters, photographs, and statistics. The authors move frequently between modes, addressing themselves and their readers, whom they inform: 'It is a collage that you're going to

¹⁶ J. B. Priestley, *English Journey: Being a Rambling but Truthful Account of What One Man Saw and Heard and Felt and Thought during a Journey through England during the Autumn of the Year 1933* (London: William Heinemann in association with Victor Gollancz, 1934), p. 306.

¹⁷ Lewis, *Filibusters*, pp. vii–viii.

¹⁸ Orwell, *Road to Wigan Pier*, p. 179. For the parallels, see pp. 180–1.

¹⁹ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 57.

read.²⁰ Theirs is, as Stan Smith puts it, a book that ‘plays deliberative games with the travelogue format’.²¹ Auden and Christopher Isherwood’s *Journey to a War* (1939), telling of the authors’ travel to the Sino-Japanese war, likewise presents both authors’ voices and contains prose, poems, and photographs.²² Graham Greene’s *Journey Without Maps* (1936), overtly influenced by Freudianism, constructs a parallel journey between the unconscious and the West African interior. Such works stretch the composition, function, and outlook of travel writing. They reflect modernist views of perception as partial, contingent, and dependent on standpoint, though their artful handling of form and the cultivation of an idiosyncratic voice invests them with a different type of authority, one in which narrative persona and the aesthetics of form take centre-stage.²³ Yet their critical stance on the genre in which they work is joined with a knowingness of strategy that can sometimes appear smug and which leaves even seemingly self-disparaging writers comfortably in command. In *Brazilian Adventure* (1933), Peter Fleming, who insists that ‘the dangers which we ran were considerably less than those to be encountered on any arterial road during a heat wave’, plays with audience expectations: ‘the observant reader is probably relying on me to curdle his blood for him before we go much further . . . the observant reader will get pretty fed up’.²⁴ As Thompson notes, a ‘distinctly patrician air’ is evident in these cases, especially in those written by men, many of whom were privately educated, had strong links to the establishment, and whose mobility was enabled by the ‘privileges accruing from their social standing’.²⁵ Much of this profile fits Robert Byron, whose *The Road to Oxiana* (1927), cited by several writers, including Colin Thubron and William Dalrymple, as the most influential travel book of the twentieth century, combines a deep appreciation for architecture with a cultivated idiosyncratic narrator and

²⁰ W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), p. 21. For more on Auden’s travel writing, see Tim Youngs, ‘Auden’s Travel Writings’, in Stan Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 68–81.

²¹ Stan Smith, ‘Burbank with a Baedeker: Modernism’s Grand Tours’, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 8/1 (2004), 1–18 (at p. 6).

²² W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *Journey to a War* (New York: Random House, 1939).

²³ Stacy Burton observes that in ‘the literary context of modernism’, after the First World War, ‘writers question the travel narrative’s foundational premises, particularly the presumption of narrative authority, far more directly than ever before’. Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 30.

²⁴ Peter Fleming, *Brazilian Adventure* (1933; London: Penguin, 1985), pp. 9, 39.

²⁵ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 59.

a studied spontaneity in its journal entries. Even there, though, we find echoes of the war, Byron referring to an age of weapons that ‘deal death from a distance’.²⁶

Post-1945

Writing in 1945, Evelyn Waugh mournfully declares ‘There is no room for tourists in a world of “displaced persons”.’ Although Waugh’s ‘own travelling days are over’ and he ‘rejoice[s] that I went when the going was good’, his statement seems to proceed from a feeling of the inappropriateness, as well as the difficulty, of travelling for pleasure in the wake of the Second World War.²⁷

In post-1945 British travel writing it is striking how the focus falls even more upon the narrators, who are often uncomfortable in their Britishness. This discomfort becomes more pronounced later in the century, against the background of accelerating decolonisation, the Cold War, the Suez crisis, the Vietnam war, pop and counterculture, feminism, postcolonialism, and postmodernism. In her magisterial *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1942), Rebecca West writes of her warm feelings for the German tourists who share her train from Salzburg to Zagreb. She contrasts their delight at a view of the snowfields in the Alpine Pass near Bad Gastein in Austria with the typical disposition of her compatriots: ‘If anyone in a railway carriage full of English people should express great enjoyment of the scenery . . . his companions would feel an irresistible impulse . . . to persuade themselves that there was something despicable and repellent in that scenery.’²⁸ Such disassociation from one’s fellow nationals is not unique to the twentieth-century British travel narrative, but it represents a growing tendency. Even in her wartime travelogue, West writes of empires that ‘the hideousness outweighs the beauty’ and that ‘Empires live by the violation of law.’²⁹

West makes her point about her compatriots humorously in the train scene quoted above, but it is a serious and lasting one. In *Coasting* (1986), Jonathan Raban, who was born in the year that *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* was published, communicates his own lack of attachment: ‘England really was my father’s land, not mine. It was the country where the uniformed

²⁶ Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (1937; London: Penguin, 1992), p. 47.

²⁷ Evelyn Waugh, *When the Going Was Good* (1946; London: Reprint Society, 1948), p. xi.

²⁸ Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1941; Edinburgh: Canongate, 2006), p. 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

warrior-priest, returned hero and man of God, was at home.³⁰ Raban refers to the 'coaster' as someone who 'never stays in one berth longer than he can help . . . He is a betwixt-and-between man, neither exactly a citizen nor exactly a foreigner.'³¹ Raban paints himself as such a figure by situation and disposition, and by profession: 'The writer, sitting alone in a room, watching society go past his window and trying to recreate it by playing with words on a page, has his own kind of sea-distance.'³² Raban's 'happy metaphor for a life on the fringe' becomes 'actual' when, just shy of 40, he buys and fits up a boat to use 'as a floating house' that he can use 'to sail alone around the British Isles'.³³ It is this journey that forms the basis of the book in which, combining an investigation of himself and Britain, he denounces Thatcherism, xenophobia, and 'the dirty and invidious distinctions of the English class set-up'.³⁴

For the travel writer, the detached observation outlined by Raban often applies twofold: that is, to the travelling and the writing, for the journey is often undertaken alone (or at least is presented as if it were made unaccompanied). Paul Theroux, in his *The Old Patagonian Express* (1979), the book generally regarded as reviving a new wave of interest in travel writing, insists: 'Travel is at its best a solitary enterprise: to see, to examine, to assess, you have to be alone and unencumbered.'³⁵ In *The Happy Isles of Oceania* (1992), he professes that 'alienation was my natural condition'.³⁶ V. S. Naipaul, whose critical attitudes towards formerly colonised countries and peoples further mark his own individuality and make him a difficult model for other non-white authors to follow despite the importance of his travel books, admits to his taste for 'the solitary or less crowded life'.³⁷

The postwar mood and its implications for travel writing are illustrated by Eric Newby's *A Short Walk in the Hindu Kush* (1958), one of the best-known travel books of the twentieth century. In it, Newby writes of giving up his job

³⁰ Jonathan Raban, *Coasting* (1986; London: Picador, 1987), pp. 17–18.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20–1.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³⁵ Paul Theroux, *The Old Patagonian Express: By Train through the Americas* (1979; London: Penguin, 1980), p. 182. There are of course exceptions: postwar examples of travel books that highlight the author's companion(s) include Redmond O'Hanlon's *Into the Heart of Borneo* (1984) and *In Trouble Again: A Journey between the Orinoco and the Amazon* (1988), both recounting journeys undertaken with James Fenton; and the co-authored *Moon Country: Further Reports from Iceland* (1996), by Simon Armitage and Glyn Maxwell, which follows Auden and MacNeice's *Letters from Iceland*.

³⁶ Paul Theroux, *The Happy Isles of Oceania: Paddling the Pacific* (London: Penguin, 1992), p. 446.

³⁷ V. S. Naipaul, *India: A Million Mutinies Now* (London: Heinemann, 1990), p. 148.

as a fashion-seller in order to go on an expedition with his friend Hugh Carless in the Nuristan region of Afghanistan. The confident adventurer of old is replaced by a bumbling, apologetic, ill-at-ease protagonist who is at times comically caught up in farcical situations. This is epitomised when Newby plunges into ‘a well or shaft full of the most loathsome sewage’ in order to rescue a child whom he subsequently finds had wandered into a nearby house and was not in the muck at all.³⁸

Wilfred Thesiger’s *Arabian Sands* (1959), the other most celebrated book of the decade, is remarkable for its deep sense of a type of life on the cusp of change. It is not only the ways of the Bedu that are threatened with disappearance but the kind of travel a Briton can make into a space that allows reflection on the unencumbered self. In a subsequent preface Thesiger recognises the benefits that modernity and technology may bring, but his outlook, inclined to nostalgia, and his asceticism mark a transition from earlier, romantic desert narratives. Bruce Chatwin’s *The Songlines* (1987) owes something to the subject and mood of Thesiger’s text, with Chatwin drawing on and, some critics assert, appropriating Australian Aborigines’ journeys, knowledge, and stories of the land.³⁹ *The Songlines* displays an even more intense fascination with the nomadic life, which it fashions into a universal philosophy of the wandering instinct that Chatwin purports to trace in human history and in his own biography and character.

These two texts fall before and after the 1970s, the decade widely seen as heralding ‘a decisive shift in modern travel writing’.⁴⁰ A key author here is Anglo-American Paul Theroux, whose *The Old Patagonian Express* appeared in close proximity, as Hulme notes, to Patrick Leigh Fermor’s *A Time of Gifts*, which recounts a journey made on foot in the early 1930s across Europe to Constantinople, and which was published in 1977. That same year saw the appearance of Chatwin’s inventive *In Patagonia*, a text acclaimed by some as postmodern in its fragmented style, its blending of truth and fiction, and its self-knowingness: one scholar writes that Chatwin ‘moves as much among texts as among Patagonian places’; and indeed, Chatwin describes himself and Theroux as ‘literary travellers’, likely to be excited as much by a ‘literary reference’ as by ‘a rare animal

³⁸ Newby, *A Short Walk*, p. 60.

³⁹ See, e.g., chap. 2 of Robert Clarke, *Travel Writing from Black Australia: Utopia, Melancholia, and Aboriginality* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁰ Peter Hulme, ‘Travelling to Write (1940–2000)’, in Hulme and Youngs (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 87–101 (at p. 87).

or plant'.⁴¹ Australian Robyn Davidson's *Tracks*, an especially important book for women readers, was published in 1980, and the Trinidadian-born Briton V. S. Naipaul's *India: A Wounded Civilization* in 1977. Certainly, the genre seemed to many to be in need of revivifying. Earlier that decade, in 1973, Eric Newby explained that he had quit as travel editor of the *Observer* after nine years because in that time the mechanism of travel had changed out of all recognition:

The great majority of travellers, myself included, were now moved around the world en masse ... and just like freight when they reached their destinations they were lifted out of the bowels of the aircraft and delivered to their hotel rooms.⁴²

The growth of cheaper air travel in particular contributed to the feeling – which was already present earlier, as we have seen in Orwell's comments – that travel in an age of mass tourism was an anonymous, undistinguished affair. This helps explain the renewed focus on the individual travel-narrator, which frequently coincides with an emphasis on the mode of storytelling, such that both author and text aim to stand out from the crowd.

It is easily forgotten that one of the influences on travel writers of the late 1970s and 1980s was the Cold War. Chatwin, born in 1940, writes of how, amid the fears of the 'Cannibal of the Kremlin' and the seeming inevitability of war, 'the Cold War woke in me a passion for geography'.⁴³ Paul Theroux, born in 1941, writes of growing up (in New England) in 'post-war dreariness and repression, expecting a cataclysm'.⁴⁴ The fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening up of countries formerly under Soviet control led to a number of travel books, such as Christopher Robbins's *In Search of Kazakhstan: The Land that Disappeared* (2007), on nations that were previously difficult for Westerners to access. Writing at the turn of the millennium, Russian-speaking Colin Thubron remarks that 'For the first time in Russia's history a foreigner could wander Siberia at will' and that on his trip 'The exhilaration of this freedom never quite left me.'⁴⁵

⁴¹ Manfred Pfister, 'Bruce Chatwin and the Postmodernization of the Travelogue', *Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, 7/3–4 (1996), 253–67 (at p. 259); Bruce Chatwin and Paul Theroux, *Patagonia Revisited* (London: Picador, 1993), p. 7.

⁴² Eric Newby, 'Leaving *The Observer* (1973)', in *A Traveller's Life* (1982; London: Picador, 1983), pp. 300–2 (at 300).

⁴³ Chatwin, *In Patagonia*, pp. 6–7.

⁴⁴ Paul Theroux, 'Traveling Home: High School Reunion', in *Sunrise with Seamonsters* (London: Penguin, 1986), pp. 185–94 (at 191–2).

⁴⁵ Colin Thubron, *In Siberia* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999), p. 49.

Similarly, as can happen in other countries that remain obscure to most Westerners, Lois Pryce finds in her motorcycle travelogue, *Revolutionary Ride* (2017), that going to Iran ‘made me realise, even in our world of information overload, how little of daily Iranian life is known outside of its borders, and how rare it is to be able to arrive in a country with the sensation of an utterly blank canvas waiting to be filled’.⁴⁶ Pryce’s book paints the country and its people in a positive light, breaking down the negative stereotypes that dominate much of political and media discourse.

Engaging in warm dialogue with other people is one thing, but attempting to give them a meaningful presence in the narratives is another. One of the most interesting and widely read experiments by a British author to do so is anthropologist Hugh Brody’s *Maps and Dreams* (1981), which recounts not only the author’s journey in northwest Canada but also those of the Beaver Indian inhabitants. Brody employs alternate chapters to convey their and his journeys. As Graham Huggan points out: ‘This contrapuntal structure is combined with the interpolation into the text of a series of palimpsestic maps in which the Native Indians’ hunting routes are superimposed onto the standard Ordnance Survey grid.’⁴⁷ The people show and explain to Brody ‘far more than I could see or understand’.⁴⁸ This display of the author’s limited knowledge, though demonstrative, is not a self-serving self-deprecation, and it shows a postcolonial sensibility.

Yet it is another step again to have indigenous and non-white voices directly represent themselves. The late 1980s onwards sees black British writers using travel within and beyond Britain to explore questions of belonging. Caryl Phillips’s *The European Tribe* (1987), a revisioning of the Grand Tour, is ‘a narrative in the form of a notebook in which I have jotted various thoughts about a Europe I feel both of and not of’.⁴⁹ Born in Saint Kitts in 1958, Phillips describes himself as ‘a first-generation migrant’ who arrived in Britain at the age of twelve weeks and ‘grew up riddled with the cultural confusions of being black and British’.⁵⁰ As its title

⁴⁶ Lois Pryce, *Revolutionary Ride: On the Road in Search of the Real Iran* (London: Nicholas Brealey, 2017), p. 37.

⁴⁷ Graham Huggan, *Interdisciplinary Measures: Literature and the Future of Postcolonial Studies* (Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 147. On cartography and travel writing, see Chapter 27 below.

⁴⁸ Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (1981; London: Faber and Faber, 1986), p. xix.

⁴⁹ Caryl Phillips, *The European Tribe* (1987; London: Faber and Faber, 1989), p. xiii.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

suggests, his book reverses the conventional gaze of colonial-era travel narratives: here is a black man looking at Europe and pronouncing on its faults and ills. He insists that 'Britain's and Western Europe's days of imperialistic glory are history.'⁵¹

Ferdinand Dennis, who was born in Jamaica and moved to Britain as a child, journeys in the winter of 1987 from his home in London to Liverpool, Sheffield, Birmingham, Cardiff, Bristol, and Bath and then makes several visits to Brixton. Dennis tells his readers: 'The purpose of my journey was to write a travelogue about black Britain.'⁵² Just as Phillips reverses the idea of the Grand Tour by travelling through Europe as a black man, so Dennis revises the traditional view of the rural: 'somehow I have never been able to appreciate it as an actuality . . . I have no rapport with it. I am an urban person . . . A consequence of being an immigrant, a foreigner?'⁵³ The ironic title of Gary Younge's *No Place Like Home* (1999) conveys the author's ambivalence about the Britain into which he was born and in which he grew up. Younge travels to and around the southern United States, in the tracks of the freedom riders of the Civil Rights movement, but despite his identifying more with African American culture than with British, his accent signals his Britishness, which keeps him at a remove from black Americans, while reactions to his skin colour from whites in England prevent him from feeling fully at home there.

A 'progressive urbanite' is how Nigerian-born, British-raised Noo Saro-Wiwa describes herself.⁵⁴ Saro-Wiwa's travelogue *Looking for Transwonderland* (2012) has her visiting Nigeria, the land of her parents, as she attempts to come to terms with the country responsible for the killing of her father, the activist Ken Saro-Wiwa. Although by the end she has 'come to love many things about Nigeria', and travelling there as an adult 'helped [her] to . . . start a new relationship with the country', it still 'couldn't seduce me fully when all roads snaked back to corruption, the rotteness my father fought against and the cause he died for'.⁵⁵

One of the most important features of twentieth-century travel writing is the proliferation and popularity of women travel authors and the renewed

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵² Ferdinand Dennis, *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988), p. ix. Dennis explains that he uses the 'problematic term "black" only in relation to people of African descent' (p. ix).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵⁴ Noo Saro-Wiwa, *Looking for Transwonderland: Travels in Nigeria* (London: Granta, 2012), p. 304.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 304.

attention to those from earlier in the century, such as Gertrude Bell, Stella Benson, Freya Stark, Rose Macaulay, and Rosita Forbes. Dervla Murphy's travel-writing career spans half a century, from *Full Tilt: Ireland to India with a Bicycle* (1965) to *Between River and Sea: Encounters in Israel and Palestine* (2015). Jan Morris (who transitioned from James in the 1970s) has similarly published travel books and essays between the mid-1950s and 2010, though, like many other authors of travel writing, she is ambivalent about the term.

Sara Wheeler is one of several women for whom it has been important to retrace the steps of nineteenth-century female predecessors. This she does in *O My America! Second Acts in a New World* (2013), a work which also reflects on travelling to and in middle age. In their anthology of women's new travel writing, Wheeler and co-editor Dea Birkett state that readers have had enough of adventures undertaken for adventure's sake: 'a sweat-soaked and life-threateningly dangerous journey no longer justifies a travel book. We've had a surfeit of willies in the jungle.'⁵⁶ (Although not a particular target, Redmond O'Hanlon's self-mocking *Into the Heart of Borneo*, 1984, has 'dick' jokes running through it, an illustration of how even a text that parodies and ironises masculinity ends up reproducing aspects of it.⁵⁷) Birkett and Wheeler insist that 'the writer's inner journey is the most important part . . . of any travel book. It doesn't matter where you go; it's your interpretation of it that matters.'⁵⁸ They declare that 'now that writers have been everywhere', it is 'the psychological journey that is paramount' in this 'new writing'.⁵⁹ In Birkett and Wheeler's view, an 'emotional journey' has replaced the 'long red line drawn across continents'. And women have the advantage, for 'the emotional terrain is traditionally seen as the territory of women writers'.⁶⁰

Wheeler's own *Terra Incognita* (1996) has her confronting the male-dominated environment of the Antarctic base in which she is resident ('British men doing what they did best – reverting to childhood and behaving like gits'⁶¹) and challenging the masculine view of the continent, over which

⁵⁶ Dea Birkett and Sara Wheeler, 'Introduction', in Dea Birkett and Sara Wheeler (eds.), *Amazonian: The Penguin Book of Women's New Travel Writing* (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. vii–xiii.

⁵⁷ Redmond O'Hanlon, *Into the Heart of Borneo: An Account of a Journey Made in 1983 to the Mountains of Batu Tiban with James Fenton* (Edinburgh: Salamander Press, 1984); see, e.g., pp. 11–12.

⁵⁸ Birkett and Wheeler, 'Introduction', pp. viii–ix.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. ix. For an example, see Jenny Diski's *Skating to Antarctica* (1997).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁶¹ Sara Wheeler, *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 196.

'Men had been quarrelling . . . since it emerged from the southern mists, perceiving it as another trophy, a particularly meaty beast to be clubbed to death outside the cave'.⁶² Yet she arrives at a grudging respect for the polar explorers, in particular for Captain Scott, and subsequently published a biography of Apsley Cherry-Garrard.

If travel writing after 1900 is often characterised by an awareness of subjectivities and generic conventions, so too it increasingly demonstrates a heightened sense of moral responsibility regarding the effect of travel upon the environment and upon host communities, as well as for how one represents others.⁶³ Colin Thubron, for example, declares in *Omsk*: 'in this August sunlight I was touched by the traveller's confusion: the gulf between the inhabitant and the stranger. A little architectural charm, or a trick of the light, could turn other people's poverty to a bearable snapshot.'⁶⁴ Graham Huggan writes of 'specific forms of "responsible tourism"' that emerge from "'global consciousness": the heightened ethical awareness of living in a socially divided but ecologically interconnected world'.⁶⁵ For some, travellers' self-consciousness does little to alleviate the structural inequalities of leisured travel, but for others it is a significant step in raising awareness of one's imprint and constitutes a gesture, at least, towards a less exploitative relationship with other people and with nature. The ethical impulse extends to the use of historical research to challenge misunderstandings or wilful misrepresentations. Thus, William Dalrymple's concern in his several travel books and histories of India to show a tradition of more positive Anglo-Indian and Muslim-Hindu exchanges and to challenge the 'clash of civilisations' theory prevalent after 9/11. This journey into the past is as important an antidote to insularity as is physical travel.

The so-called 'new nature writing' (along with the 'slow travel' movement) has enjoyed particular popularity, propelled by ecocritical principles and by a reaction against modern technology and the increase in speed it brings.⁶⁶ Robert Macfarlane, whose books include *The Wild Places* (2007), *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (2012), and *Landmarks* (2015), is the most prominent practitioner of this type of writing. Other relevant works include

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶³ See, e.g., Corinne Fowler, Charles Forsdick and Ludmilla Kostova (eds.), *Travel and Ethics: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

⁶⁴ Thubron, *In Siberia*, p. 51.

⁶⁵ Graham Huggan, *Extreme Pursuits: Travel/Writing in an Age of Globalization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), p. 6.

⁶⁶ On the former, see in particular Jos Smith, *The New Nature Writing: Rethinking the Literature of Place* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

Kathleen Jamie's *Findings* (2005) and *Sightlines* (2012), and Jules Pretty's *This Luminous Coast* (2011).⁶⁷ But this literature, though undoubtedly meeting an urge to reconnect with nature, coexists with rather than displaces writing about the city. For example, Matthew Beaumont's *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London* (2015) looks at the nighttime representations of the capital city by authors from Chaucer to Dickens; Iain Sinclair's *London Orbital* (2002) and *London Underground: A Day's Walk around the Ginger Line* (2015), among his several books on the capital, follow a circular route, providing an oblique, offbeat view of the metropolis and its history; Lauren Elkin's *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (2016) offers a female revisioning of an activity usually associated with a male figure; and there is a sizeable corpus of urban exploration texts, like Bradley Garrett's *Explore Everything: Place-hacking the City* (2013), many of which deal with underground places or with other sites that are out-of-bounds. Outside Britain, cities have been explored in reflective travel memoirs, such as Jan Morris's *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere* (2001), and in part-history, part-travel books, notably William Dalrymple's *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi* (1993) and Suketu Mehta's *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found* (2004). Mehta, born in Kolkata, raised in Mumbai, and resident in New York, exemplifies the transnationalism and globalisation that drive much modern travel writing and against which the new nature writing may in part be a reaction.⁶⁸

Carl Thompson claims that globalisation 'has unsettled, or at least complicated, the traditional binarisms of "home" and "abroad", "them" and "us", that we tend to assume are fundamental to travel writing'.⁶⁹ This is so because of the interconnectedness of the modern world (though one should not overlook the extensive reach of trading networks in the ancient world) and because of the pace of travel, with 'the longing for speed quickening a hunger for new technologies'.⁷⁰ One of the perceived results of that speed is the increasing number of people who feel themselves to be living 'between categories', as Iyer puts it, counting himself in that bracket.⁷¹

⁶⁷ See also Chapter 24 below on wilderness by Debbie Lee.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 19 below on the city by Victoria E. Thompson.

⁶⁹ Carl Thompson, 'Travel Writing Now, 1950 to the Present Day', in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 196–213 (at p. 204).

⁷⁰ Pico Iyer, *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls and the Search for Home* (2000; London: Bloomsbury, 2001), p. 12.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The movements and developments surveyed in this chapter, along with both the popularity of books by celebrity travellers such as Michael Palin and Charley Boorman, known also for presenting television series, and the invigoration of literary form in works such as W. G. Sebald's historically and personally meditative *Rings of Saturn* (1998), might suggest the vitality, responsiveness, and endurance of travel writing. Yet in a 2017 issue, *Granta*, a magazine hailed by many for reviving interest in the genre, asked several writers, 'Is Travel Writing Dead?'⁷² As Colin Thubron wryly notes in his response, 'The death of travel – and of the travel book – has been predicted for almost a century.'⁷³ The inquiry seems predicated on an assumption that the more people travel the less they will want to compose or read factually based, first person stories about travel experiences and destinations. In her answer, Alexis Wright observes: 'Some of the most important kinds of travel writing now are stories of flight, written by people who belong to the millions of asylum seekers in the world.'⁷⁴ There is an increased demand that travel writing present such voices and experiences and a growing recognition that it should. With its journalistic and aesthetic properties, its documentary and entertainment functions, even when these are in tension, travel writing is a genre capacious enough to accommodate these essential stories and, at the other extreme, the narrative experiments of leisured travellers. Repeated questions about the death of travel writing attest to its respiration and adaptability.

⁷² Peter Hulme notes that *Granta's* first Special Issue on travel writing was published in 1984, reprinted thirteen times by 2002, and 'did much to rekindle popular interest in the genre'. Hulme, 'Travelling to Write', p. 93.

⁷³ Colin Thubron, 'Is Travel Writing Dead?', *Granta*, 138 (Winter 2017), 95–6 (at p. 95).

⁷⁴ Alexis Wright, 'Is Travel Writing Dead?', *Granta*, 138 (Winter 2017), 93–4 (at p. 94). For examples of such writing, see Jennifer Langer, ed., *Crossing the Border: Voices of Refugee and Exiled Women* (Nottingham: Five Leaves Press, 2002); and, though retold by poets and novelists, Ali Smith et al, *Refugee Tales* (Manchester: Comma Press, 2016) and *Refugee Tales II* (Manchester: Comma Press, 2017).

PART II

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TRAVEL WRITING IN
A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Arabic Travel Writing

DANIEL L. NEWMAN

Arabic travel writing boasts a varied history that goes back some twelve centuries. This chapter will focus on its key developments, typology, and salient themes. The emergence of the genre is bound up with the importance of travel in Islam. In the Qur'an, travel often appears as a duty, whether in respect of the pilgrimage or, simply, to 'see how God originated creation' (Qur. 29:20). In addition, travel was vital in the quest for knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), and an obligatory rite of passage for any would-be scholar, to consult libraries or to study under famous teachers. One of the most famous sayings (*ḥadīth*) of the Prophet in this respect instructed believers to seek knowledge 'even if it is in China' (*uṭlub al-ʿilm wa law bi 'l-Šīn*). It is a Qur'anic term for travel or journey, *riḥla*, which early on also came to denote a travelogue.

The etiology of travel, then, combined both piety and education, within an established epistemological framework, and took place primarily within Muslim territories, known as the *Dār al-Islām* ('House of Islam'), which was contrasted with the non-Muslim *Dār al-Ḥarb* ('House of War') or *Dār al-Kufr* ('House of Unbelief'). In early Islam, this is perhaps best exemplified by scholars travelling to the holy sites of Islam to collect *ḥadīths* from famous transmitters. Travel as a way of 'conquering knowledge' was integral to the scholar's formal training through instruction from recognised authorities and their endorsement in the form of a written permission (known as *ijāza*) to teach their works.¹ *ʿIlm* (knowledge) as social and cultural capital bestowed status and ensured recognition, which could be 'translated' in paid employment, as a teacher or scribe. More importantly, in a society that set great store by lineage, there was a 'dynastic' dimension as status was passed down to the next generations.² To borrow Lévi-Strauss's words, the Muslim scholars'

¹ Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 97.

² Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800* (Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 224ff.

journey ‘occurred simultaneously in space, in time and in the social hierarchy’.³ In addition, many of the geographer-travellers were driven by wanderlust as much as by science, as al-Ya^cqūbī (d.897) stated in the preface to his *Kitāb al-Buldān* (‘The Book of Countries’):

In the prime of my youth . . . I had an interest in knowing the news of countries and the distances that separate one town from another, because I travelled uninterruptedly from my childhood onwards and my exile continued.⁴

Traders’ and Pilgrims’ Accounts

The earliest account of non-Muslim lands can be dated to the mid-ninth century, and was entitled *Akhbār al-Šīn wa ’l-Hind* (‘News of China and India’). It combined practical information about these far-flung corners of the known world with wondrous tales (‘*ajā’ib*’) redolent of the *Arabian Nights*, which emerged in the same period. The part on China is almost devoid of the mythical, and thus clearly had a different readership, consisting of traders who needed practical information, not myths. Besides the first descriptions of tea, porcelain, and Confucian ethics, it provides often detailed ethnographic comments regarding gender relations, toilet habits, or the treatment of Muslim traders. More importantly, the comments tend to be factual and in some cases even admiring; the foreign is worthy of interest and is approached in a detached, rather than judgmental fashion.

An embassy from the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad to the court of the Volga Bulghar in 921 gave rise to the very first Arabic travelogue, written by Ibn Faḍlān. The work already contained many of the elements that typify the *riḥla* in centuries to come. Combining travel and autobiography, the author-traveller intervened as an individual, thus combining a ‘collection of observation [. . . with] a record of private experience, an autobiographical account of a man pursuing an adventure’.⁵ The itinerary imposed the structure and rhythm of the travelogue, as the traveller provides almost a day-to-day account of his progress, and events are linked to places. Although dates are infrequently used, the period between stages marks events both temporally

³ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, trans. J. and D. Weightman (New York: Atheneum, 1974), p. 85.

⁴ Al-Ya^cqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1860), p. 2.

⁵ Ross Dunn, ‘International Migration of Literate Muslims in the Later Middle Period: The Case of Ibn Battuta’, in Ian Netton (ed.), *Seek Knowledge: Thought and Travel in the House of Islam* (Richmond: Curzon, 1993), pp. 75–85 (at p. 75).

and spatially. The introduction includes praise to God and the ruler or patron, the reason for the trip, and preparations for the journey. Fellow travellers generally remain 'hidden' and anonymous; they do not intervene in the travel experience, which is the preserve of the observer and actor, i.e. the narrator. The traveller journeys – or writes – not as a member of an ethnic or regional group, but as a Muslim.

Until the nineteenth century, the *riḥla* was mainly a product of North Africa (*Maghrib*) and al-Andalus (Muslim-controlled Spain). The predominant subgenre was related to the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) to the Hijaz (the western part of the Arabian Peninsula), and has thus become known as the *riḥla ḥajjiyya* or *ḥijāziyya*. In addition to the pilgrimage, there was the prestige to be gained by Maghribi scholars from visiting the mythical centres of learning in the East (*Mashriq*), Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo. As a result, scholars meticulously listed details about teachers they encountered and places they visited, especially those of religious interest, such as mosques or saints' tombs. This travel paradigm ran along well-traced ley lines of the faith and study; the epistemic journey of the travellers was a rite of passage in terms of their relationship with the faith and the Muslim community at large, the *umma*.⁶

The man who may be called the father of the pilgrimage *riḥla* was the Valencia-born Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217), who made several trips to the East, but chronicled only his first (1183–5). One of the most interesting features of his travelogue is the inclusion of both Christian and Muslim calendar dates, a practice which would not be repeated until the nineteenth century. It provides further proof of the Muslim perception – and acceptance – of the bicultural nature of the Mediterranean space within which they moved. Ibn Jubayr was a keen observer and provided abundant ethnographic information on the areas he visited. His simple narrative prose, interspersed with poetry, has served as a model for *riḥlas* up until the present day. Like Ibn Faḍlān, Ibn Jubayr came into close contact with the infidel, but his reactions defy preconceptions. On the one hand, the devout Muslim, whose pilgrimage was atonement for having drunk wine (albeit at the instruction of his ruler), was wary of passing too favourable a judgment on anything Christian, lest it tainted his faith. So, the reader is told to 'beware of entering their [sc.

⁶ Although women took part in the *ḥajj*, they remained conspicuous by their absence in the *riḥla ḥajjiyya*. None of the travellers mentioned any female companions, and while there are several known accounts of the pilgrimage by both Indian and Iranian female Muslim travellers in the premodern period (the earliest going as far back as 1692), no Arabic accounts seem to have come down to us.

Christian] lands', and 'mixing with the pigs'.⁷ Yet, they come in for praise, too, as Muslims often received kinder treatment at the hands of Christian rulers than they did from other Muslims.⁸ Furthermore, his admiration for the Mashriq is regularly tested by the behaviour of the inhabitants of the holy sites who have 'loosen[ed] the ties of Islam' and are interested only in 'dispossessing the pilgrims of their property'.⁹

Travel was highly dangerous; at sea, there was the threat of enslavement at the hands of pirates, or of shipwreck (which happened to Ibn Jubayr on the way home). On land, travellers had to contend with other challenges, best summarised by the geographer al-Muqaddasī (d.991), who recounted how he got lost in the desert, was forced to eat non-halal food, almost drowned several times, was thrown in jail because he was considered a spy, braved hot sandstorms and snow, survived numerous murder plots, and was stripped of his possessions umpteen times.¹⁰

In the second half of the thirteenth century a variant emerged in which the emphasis veered away from geographical and ethnographic descriptions, in favour of the prosopographical. Here, lists of scholars met by the author and/or residents (past and present) in the places they visited, books read, and *ijāzas* obtained, were liberally larded with sententious poetry. The destination hardly mattered, nor did the journey; it was about the enhancement of the traveller's scholarly capital and prestige through a cornucopia of references and quotations.

The most famous Arab traveller in history, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–77), departed his native Tangier at the beginning of June 1325, and only returned after nearly a quarter of a century (and two pilgrimages) of travelling across the globe, including China, Sumatra, Ceylon, and the Maldives. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account was 'ghosted' by a scholar by the name of Ibn Juzayy, which has, naturally, given rise to speculation and doubts regarding the content of the *riḥla*. Besides unacknowledged borrowings from, for instance, Ibn Jubayr, the scribe sometimes becomes visible in the text. In a discussion on Basra and its brackish water being due to the fact that it comes from the Persian Gulf, the following is inserted: 'Ibn Juzayy says: "it is because of this that the air in Basra is not good and the

⁷ *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Roland J. C. Broadhurst (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), pp. 119, 322.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁰ Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1906), p. 44.

complexion of its people yellowish and sickly, which has become proverbial.”¹¹ Gaining a reputation as a perceptive reporter and raconteur, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s name has become a byword for both a seasoned traveller and a fantasist.

Subsequent pilgrimage *riḥlas* tended to plough the furrow of Ibn Jubayr. Early on, the itineraries tended to be fixed, but the length of journeys varied considerably, from an average of one year to many decades. Travelogues were often written a long time after travelling; al-Balawī (d.1365) took almost twenty years to complete the record of his five-year journey to the Mashriq in 1335. Quite naturally, this implied a reprocessing of the experience, compounded in some cases by the use of a scribe. The amount of detail that was often included meant that authors must have relied on notes, as well as memory. The travelogues often used many other sources, such as historical chronicles, geographical manuals, or earlier travellers, even though they were not always acknowledged. In some cases, references were more than likely added when the author had access to his library, while others travelled with key works. After discussing essential tools, including needle and thread, to take for emergencies along the way, al-Ṭayyib (d.1756) added that ‘a knowledgeable person will also take what he needs in terms of books in all branches of knowledge’.¹²

The Age of Ambassadors and Priests

The seventeenth century saw a number of developments in the *riḥla* literature, in terms of authorship and destination, with, for the first time, a number of travelogues relating to journeys to European states. Shifts in the power balance in the Mediterranean in the fifteenth century, not least due to the Reconquista, led to increased contacts – both commercial and diplomatic – between European and North African states, several of which had resident European consuls as early as the sixteenth century. The first account of a diplomatic mission to Europe was written by a Moroccan of Andalusian descent, Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (d.1645), who travelled to France and the Low Countries (1611–13) to negotiate a treaty on behalf of the Moroccan sultan. Moroccan envoys were also sent to Europe to ransom Muslim captives; al-

¹¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharā’ib al-amṣār wa ‘ajā’ib al-asfār*, vol. 1, ed. M. A. al-‘Aryān & M. al-Qaṣṣāṣ (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-‘Ulūm, 1987), p. 200.

¹² Salah Al-Dihan, ‘Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, *Riḥla ilā ‘l-Hijāz*. Critical edition of Muhammad al-Ṭayyib’s manuscript “Travel to Hijāz”, PhD thesis (University of Salford, 2003), vol. 11, p. 63.

Wazīr al-Ghassānī went to Spain in 1690–1, whereas al-Miknāsī chronicled two such missions (Spain, 1779–80; Malta, Naples, and Sicily, 1781–3).

The travel experience of these ambassadors could not be more different from that of their pilgrim counterparts. For a start, they journeyed towards the ‘House of War’, which was highly problematic; not only was this censured by Islamic law, but it also necessitated close-quarter contact with Christians and unreligious practices (e.g. alcohol, the absence of halal food). Secondly, in many cases it involved travel to formerly Muslim territory and constant reminders of the ignominy of Christian conquest. Thirdly, the information gleaned often came mediated through a third party, as the delegations were given an interpreter, usually a Levantine cleric. Finally, even though the format of the ambassadorial *riḥlas* was similar to the pilgrimage travelogues, the former had a purely official intent, and a very limited distribution within court circles.

Travellers in this period felt compelled to preface their *riḥlas* with a ‘disclaimer’, explaining their reasons for travelling to Europe, in order to pre-empt accusations of interest in heathen matters and people. The usual preliminary apotropaic formulae thus took on an additional dimension. Experiences were viewed through a prism, not just of an encounter with the foreign, but with Christianity, onto which the humiliation of the Reconquista was projected. There was a disgust with all things Christian, while Spain was consistently referred to as *al-‘aduwa* (‘the enemy’), its king ‘the despot’ (*tāghiya*). Whenever mentioning a town formerly held by Muslims, the authors prayed ‘God restore it to Islam!’ (*ā‘ādahā Allāh dār al-Islām*). There was dishonour in the present, too, as the envoys were there to liberate Muslim captives. The relatively new practice of quarantine was also resented as a sign of Christian power, and al-Miknāsī refused confinement in the lazaretto, preferring, instead, to remain on his ship.

The sense of humiliation is bound up with another key aspect of the Moroccan ambassadorial accounts. Their principal quest is not for personal recognition or ‘soft capital’, but for signs of Muslim and regal power, both past and present. So, there are numerous references to the respect with which envoys are treated, thus conveying the importance of their ruler and, of course, by extension, the *umma*. Al-Ghassānī reported that the Spanish king ‘often asked questions about our Master, al-Manṣūr billāh, and as he mentioned his name, he doffed the sombrero (*al-shumrūrū*) he was wearing, as a sign of respect and esteem’.¹³

¹³ Muhammad al-Ghassānī, *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr*, ed. Nūrī al-Jarrāḥ (Abu Dhabi: Dār al-Suwaydī li ‘l-Nashr wa ‘l-Tawzī‘, 2002), pp. 70, 84.

When discussing areas once under Muslim control, authors focused on the lost glory of historical Muslim elements. Though Christian dogma and practices elicited opprobrium, the envoys related reasonably well to Christians on an interpersonal level, and found many favourable characteristics (e.g. cleanliness, kindness, charity). They faithfully recorded all aspects of European societies they visited, with special interest in their hosts' military capability as the sultan eagerly awaited information about defences, weaponry, shipbuilding, and naval infrastructure.

When it came to social practices, it was gender relations and sexual mores that attracted travellers' attention. Though shocked at the commingling of men and women and the absence of male jealousy, the Arab visitors were not immune to the charms of Christian women. Al-Ḥajāri had a romantic affair with a French woman, while a lovesick al-Miknāsī composed amorous poetry for an opera singer in Naples.

There is overwhelming evidence to gainsay the formerly accepted orthodoxy, most famously propounded by Bernard Lewis, that prior to the nineteenth century Muslims showed no interest in the outside non-Muslim (European) world.¹⁴ However, one should be wary of interpreting the favourable comments as a recommendation to adopt the inventions and wonders they observed, not merely because of the above-mentioned fear of being branded an infidel, but also to avoid the displeasure of the ruler.

Whereas Muslim travellers were constantly reminded that they were in enemy, 'infidel' country, there was another group of travellers in this period, namely Levantine clerics, whose journey was one of integration in the Christian ecumene. Here, too, piety often coincided with knowledge, and many of the travellers received their clerical training in Rome. The link with the seat of Western Christianity also explains the fact that of the seven known extant Levantine travelogues, four involved journeys to Italy. Two ventured much further afield: the Patriarch of Damascus, Makarius, travelled to Slav lands (Wallachia, Moldavia, Ukraine, Muscovy) in 1655–9 in order to raise funds for his congregation, and the Iraqi priest, Ilyās Ibn Ḥannā al-Mawṣulī, produced the first Arabic account of a lengthy stay in Central and South America (1668–83).

Just like the Muslim pilgrimage *riḥlas*, Christian travellers' itineraries contained a recognised set of religious sites (particularly churches), which are often described in great detail, as are feasts and festivals. Linguistically,

¹⁴ Bernard Lewis, 'The Use by Muslim Historians of Non-Muslim Sources', in Bernard Lewis & P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 180–91 (at p. 181).

the Christian travellers' accounts stand out, mainly through the informal style and often abundant use of dialectisms, which contrasted with the literary features of most of the Muslim *riḥlas*. As there was no established readership for the Christian travelogues, they very quickly receded into oblivion.

The Arab 'Renaissance'

Arabic travel literature really came into its own as a literary genre in the nineteenth century, not least due to the increased dissemination through the introduction of printing in the Arab world, and the expansion of infrastructure facilitating travel. In addition to the number of works, the destinations, too, grew exponentially; Europe, in particular, figured prominently in the collective consciousness as the 'New World'. Contact with the West often occurred through military conflict, starting with Napoleon's short-lived Egyptian campaign (1798–1801), which was followed by full-blown colonisation in Algeria (1830), Tunisia (1881), and Egypt (1881). The significant political, societal, and cultural changes in the region laid the foundations for the modern Middle East. As it came after an era of relative decline, the nineteenth century became known as the *Nahḍa* ('Renaissance'), in which travel literature occupied a unique position since it became a primary source of inquiry into Western progress and, thus, a major conduit of modernity.

Muslim rulers in the Arab world, as well as those in Turkey and Iran, turned to Europe for assistance with their modernisation schemes. Besides inviting foreign advisors, Muslims were for the first time being sent to the *Dār al-Kuḥr* for study. The most famous mission left Egypt for France in 1826 and involved over forty students. It was the imam of the group, Rifā^ca al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–72), who chronicled his five-year stay in the first printed *riḥla* on Europe. It remains one of the most extensive ever written, combining travel journal with manual for the new sciences and technologies, as well as geography and ethnography. The broad sweep of subjects made al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's *riḥla* eminently suitable as a textbook, and the Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ^cAlī Pasha had it distributed to his civil servants and students at the new schools. It was translated into Turkish the year after it was published in Arabic and sent to the Ottoman sultan in Constantinople, where it was equally avidly read.

For the first time, a wide Arabic readership, from Morocco to Iraq, was introduced to concepts ranging from parliamentary democracy and revolution to European table etiquette. From the outset, the aim was clear:

to observe in great detail everything that would take place on this trip, everything I saw and encountered that was strange and wondrous, and to write it down so that it could be useful to discover the face of this region, of which it is said that it is the bride among all regions, and in order for it to remain a guide for travellers wishing to go there.¹⁵

The introduction contained elements which would figure prominently in other travelogues of the century, such as the religious endorsement of travel in general, with the author pledging to ‘approve only that which does not run counter to the prescriptions of Muhammadan law’.¹⁶ Even later authors felt compelled to include this type of disclaimer. Writing in the 1880s, the Tunisian reformer Bayram V specified that travel to the *Dār al-Ḥarb* ‘is allowed if it is in the personal and general interest, but is to be condemned if it is done only in pursuit of trade and the vanities of the world’.¹⁷

In total, some forty-eight travellers left over sixty accounts of journeys to a wide variety of destinations in Europe – and beyond, including Brazil, Russia, and the United States of America. France topped the list as it was thought to be the embodiment of the modern West, crystallising all that was admired in Europe. No travelogue was considered complete without a visit to Paris. Just as in the past Western Muslims’ journeys to the East were an obligatory rite of scholarly passage, a visit to Europe became a mark of modernity and the coping stone of a modern education. For Muslim rulers, a visit to Europe became part of a narration of Muslim power and several of them left accounts to mark the occasion. While the Tunisian bey and the sultan of Zanzibar, who, respectively, visited France (1846) and England (1875) entrusted this to amanuenses, the Persian shah Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848–96) kept detailed journals of his journeys to Europe.

The pilgrimage of modernity had its own itinerary, landmarks, and shrines, such as libraries or the theatre. The technological inventions on display at the World Exhibitions were the object of no fewer than fourteen accounts. These events offered an unusual insight into the projection of the Self by the Other as Arab travellers were confronted with Orientalist recreations of their homeland, complete with imported natives. Yet, this aspect was all but ignored in favour of endless descriptions of wondrous new machines and industries.

¹⁵ Rifāʿa al-Ṭahāwī, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by An Egyptian Cleric (1826–1831)*, trans. Daniel Newman, 2nd edn (London: Saqi, 2011), pp. 104–5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–6.

¹⁷ Muḥammad Bayram V, *Ṣafwat al-iʿtibār bi-mustawdaʿ al-amṣār waʾl-aqtār*, 5 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Iʿlāmiyya, 1884–93), vol. 1, p. 15.

Several travellers produced multiple accounts of visits to Europe, and although travel diaries constituted the largest subgenre, many of the texts were hybrids, with elements of political geography, ethnography, and historiography. The reasons for travel varied in the course of the century, as perceptions of Europe changed, from the exotic to the threatening, and Western influence in the Arab world grew. Muḥammad al-Muwaylīḥī (1858–1930), who spent several years in Europe, divided Egyptian travellers into several categories: students who were taken in by appearances; tourists seeking entertainment and recreation, and who only wanted to see for themselves what others had written about, or impress their compatriots with the wonders they had seen there; government officials, who went there for study or tourism; and those who sought knowledge and made a careful examination of things (but unfortunately ended up being ‘turned’ by the West).¹⁸

America for the first time entered the Arab consciousness and, to some degree, became part of ‘the West’ towards the end of the period. It was, once again, the World Exhibitions that drew travellers, with the Egyptian Adwār Ilyās and the Lebanese Khalīl Sarkīs visiting those in Philadelphia (1876) and Chicago (1893), respectively. However, in both cases, their visit to the United States was secondary to their European journeys, to which they devoted most of their attention.

In addition to representing both preconceived and actuated images, the literature says as much, if not more, about the travellers’ own societies. Although the awe for all things European of the early travelogues gave way to more critical views, there remained much to be admired, but authors remained reluctant to promote the adoption of Western creations at home. The inevitable corollary to the European technological and material superiority was that the Muslim world was backward, and travellers tended to deal with this by underscoring Arab Muslim morality and virtues – areas in which Europe was considered to be sorely lacking – as well as the past achievements of Arab Islamic culture and the debt owed to it by Europe.

European women as a trope for the immorality of the Christian West continued to run through the (pre)modern Arabic *riḥlas*. Some authors praised the freedom women enjoyed in Europe, but none – not even the Christians – thought it appropriate for their own countries. European men, for their part, were taken to task for their lack of jealousy and submission to

¹⁸ M. al-Muwaylīḥī, *Ḥadīth ‘Īsā Ibn Hishām* [Cairo, 1984], pp. 216–17.

the whims of their women. Arab women, on the other hand, remained invisible in the travel literature.¹⁹

There were some noteworthy differences between travellers from the East and those from North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia). As in preceding centuries, Moroccan travelogues chronicled embassies, and the views expressed were surprisingly similar. These were not awestruck travellers lavishing praise on Western progress; interest in European technology and inventions tended to be limited to military hardware, and then only in order to destroy the infidels. But things were not all bad: Idrīs al-Salawī (1876) was impressed by English women working alongside men in factories and workshops, and al-^cAmrāwī's visit to a printing works in France in 1860 led to him praying that his ruler would have one soon.

As inhabitants of France's oldest Arab colony, the Algerians came to Europe at the behest of their foreign rulers, who realised the propaganda potential. The travelogues were printed at the government press and, in a bizarre twist, were translated into French to bolster support for the occupation in France. The 'colonial' *riḥla* paradigm was predicated in a quest for recognition of allegiance to the colonial ruler and self-positioning within modernity.²⁰ The title of Ould Qāḍī's travelogue, for instance, left little to the imagination as regards his aims: 'Al-Qāḍī's Journey in Praise of France and for the Enlightenment of the Bedouin People'.²¹

The body of Christian Arab travel literature grew considerably, too, with no fewer than ten authors (out of twenty-six), all of them from the Levant.²² Their works show many similarities with those of Muslim travellers, but there was an added dimension; their Europe was a metaphor for Christianity, welcoming its long-lost brethren with open arms. At the same time, the works of Christian authors reveal pride in their Arab roots, emphasising the nation (*waṭan*), as opposed to the *umma*.

The genre reveals salient traces of epistemological meditation on the hermeneutics of space – usually broken down into constituent sites – as

¹⁹ This excludes the *Memoirs* by the Omani princess Salmā Bint Sa^cīd (who became known as Emily Ruete after settling in Germany with her husband), as these were originally written in German (1886).

²⁰ Daniel Newman, "'Hell for horses, paradise for women": Power and Identity in Nineteenth-century North African Travel Literature', in Gesa Mackenthun, Andrea Nicolas & Stefanie Wodianka (eds.), *Travel, Agency, and the Circulation of Knowledge* (Münster: Waxmann, 2016), pp. 183–200.

²¹ Aḥmad Ould Qāḍī, *Al-Riḥla al-Qāḍiyya fī madḥ Faransa wa tabṣīr ahl al-Bādiyya / Impressions de voyage à Paris* (Algiers: Imprimerie Officielle, 1878), p. 33.

²² See Daniel Newman, 'Myths and Realities in Muslim Alterist Discourse: Arab Travellers in Europe in the Age of the Nahda (19th c.)', *Chronos*, 6 (2002), 7–76.

a text or script to be read, as well as added to, generating a palimpsest of movement, both temporal and spatial. The Europe in Arabic travel literature was a composite, within which merged the (semi-)mythical Europe of progress, industry, and science with the Europe of wonders. The importance of the travel accounts lies not just in how nineteenth-century Arabs saw Europe (the perception of the Other), but also in the way Europe saw itself and the image it conveyed of itself to the outside world (the perception and projection of the Self). In this respect, Arab visitors conveyed the West's image of its superiority and, by implication, the inferiority of non-European societies in general, and those of Muslim states, in particular. It is this view that would continue to loom large in the next period.

The Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

The twentieth century saw a number of dramatic changes in Arabic travel writing as regards destinations, motive, style, and authorship. Many of the changes were, as before, driven by reaction to conflict. The first of these was Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, which reverberated across the Muslim world. The country's modernisation programme was held up as an example by Muslim reformers and nationalists, many of whom harboured hopes of a Muslim Japan joining the Ottoman empire in the struggle against Western/Christian encroachments.

It is against this backdrop that ^cAlī al-Jirjāwī left his native Egypt to attend the 1907 World Congress of Religions in Tokyo. The mission had a pan-Islamist dimension as the aim was to spread Islam in Japan. The descriptions of Japanese history and society highlight the country's technological advances, as well as its deep historical roots. Comparisons with the author's own nation abound, whether in terms of architectural skills, patriotism, and the virtue of their women. As for the emperor, he was not only a champion of modernity, but also embodied the virtues associated with Muslim heroes of the past. The most interesting section of the book deals with the author's missionary campaign, whose success relied on 'the natural state of the Japanese which is highly conducive to embracing Islam because they are a people with a natural propensity to accept all that conforms to intellect and to reject everything that runs counter to it'.²³

Until World War II, travel remained the preserve of intellectuals and the elite, and tourism became the main reason for travel. Travellers' origins

²³ ^cA. al-Jirjāwī, *Al-Rihla al-Yābāniyya* (Cairo: Jarīdat al-Irshād, 1908), p. 118.

mirrored those of the previous century, as Egyptian and Levantine authors continued to dominate; it would take until the second half of the century for Gulf authors (mainly from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) to appear on the scene. There was a shift in religious affiliation as the contribution by Christian Arab travellers all but faded, and the *riḥla* once again became the preserve of Muslim authors.

The most famous travel writer in the first half of the century was the Egyptian secondary-school teacher Muḥammad Thābit, who put his summer holidays to good use. In the course of two decades (1926–46), he covered some 200,000 miles, travelling from Europe to the Far East, from Africa to Afghanistan, to the Americas and, finally, Australia and Hawai'i, producing a total of eight travelogues. The first to write about many of the places he visited (e.g. Australia, Hawai'i), Thābit took his educational role very seriously and provided his readership with a multitude of geographical, historical, and ethnological facts, as well as a multitude of photographs. There are some interesting differences in the treatment of Muslim and non-Muslim countries; in the former, he was most interested in the past and how it had survived, if at all, and, especially, in religious attitudes and practices.

In the aftermath of the Second World War and the subsequent decolonisation movement, another strand manifested itself in travel literature to the West as the travelogue sometimes became a tool in the anti-imperialist struggle. The main target was the USA, which replaced Europe as the centre of education and modernity. The first example – and still one of the most excoriating accounts of America – was *Amrīkā allatī ra'aytu* ('The America I Have Seen') by the Egyptian Islamist Sayyid Quṭb (1906–66). Based on his two-year study stay in Colorado (1948–50), it encapsulated some variations on the nineteenth-century paradigm, with a number of prominent tropes remaining very much in evidence, such as (Western) 'immorality', 'women', 'progress', and 'irreligiousness' – albeit now viewed through the prism of imperialism. Quṭb was arguably the first to draw a cartoonishly clichéd image of America, and by extension the West, that has perdured to the present day.

During the latter half of the century the travelogue became increasingly intertwined with autobiography and social and political commentary. This was in no small measure linked to the increasing number of Arab expatriates, whose experience in Western society was fundamentally different from that of their predecessors. In addition to the imperialist question, Arabic travel writing became increasingly dominated by the relationship between the Muslim world and the West, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and, more

recently, the perceived link between Arabs/Islam and terrorism, and Islamophobia. The problems of Muslim expatriate communities are the focus of the Saudi travel writer Muḥammad al-^cAbbūdī, who has been crisscrossing the globe since the 1980s, resulting in over 120 travel books.

The growing body of travel literature produced by those settled in the West addresses the highly complex issues of identity, as well as the politics of displacement, exile, alienation, belonging, and exclusion. The most interesting aspect of these works is the fragmentation of 'the Other', as authors negotiate the Western and multifarious immigration spaces. This genre often sits comfortably on the cusp of autobiography and fiction; on the former end of the spectrum one finds *'Irāqī fī Bārīs* ('An Iraqi in Paris', 2005) by Samū'īl Sham^cūn, one of the few Christian authors. The fictional end includes a number of novels with Arab travellers/exiles as their protagonists (and authors), such as Alaa Al Aswany's *Chicago* (2007) and Mirāl al Tahāwī's *Brooklyn Heights* (2012).

The events of 11 September 2001 marked a watershed in the perception and treatment of Arabs and Muslims, which travellers experienced first-hand; often, it becomes the prism through which they view the journey. The Saudi reformist (and sometime president of the Islamic Association of North America) Muḥammad al-Aḥmarī devotes a great deal of attention to the status of long-standing Arab communities in the United States and the question of Muslim versus American identity. He attributes the rising Islamophobia to pro-Zionist elements in the media, while decision-makers 'craft anti-Muslim and anti-Arab policies and laws against the American people' under pressure from the Jewish lobby.²⁴ That is not to say that this type of literature is reduced to mere diatribes against the wicked West; far from it. The critical comments about Western society and politics contrast with very favourable descriptions of its culture, individual encounters, and respect towards the Other.

The single biggest innovation in this period was the emergence of women's travel literature, which usually dealt with journeys to the West (particularly the USA) for study purposes. Arab female travellers are also overwhelmingly Muslim, with the exception of the Egyptian Copt Karīma Kamāl (*Bint Miṣriyya fī Amrīkā*, 'An Egyptian Girl in America', 1993). The first of these travellers was the Egyptian Jādhibiyya Ṣidqī, who in the early 1960s published *Amrīkā wa Anā* ('America and I'). The women's accounts often

²⁴ *Ayyām bayna Shīkāghū wa Bārīs; Riḥla ba^cda aḥdāth 11 aylūl* ('Days between Chicago and Paris; Journey after the events of 11 September', Riyad: Maktabat al-^cAbīkān, 2005), pp. 25–6.

address the same issues as those of their male counterparts, and tend to share their views, even with regard to Western women. Similar to twentieth-century Western travel literature, Arabic travel texts ‘as ethnography or social commentary’ transcend ‘gender boundaries . . . and male and female travellers have written self-reflexive texts that defy easy categorisation as autobiography, memoir, or travel account’.²⁵

Some, like the Moroccan Laylā Abū Zayd’s *Amrīkā: al-wajh al-ākhar* (‘America: The Other Side’, 1986) concentrated on the ills of America (media, poverty, education). Others took a more measured approach, such as Raḍwā ʿĀshūr’s chronicle of her student days in the 1970s, which wonderfully captures the zeitgeist. This is how she described watching the fall of Saigon in the student common room:

For us, . . . the sons and daughters of the world under the imperialist yoke, this was not a story of liberation but of the raising of the revolutionaries’ banner over Saigon. Merely joyful news peddled by news agencies and which made [the people’s] aspirations come true. In fact, the thing that concerned us and formed the core of our stories, histories and futures was the assurance that . . . the banner of imperialism had fallen and that we had seen how!²⁶

In 1986, the Egyptian physician, feminist, and political activist Nawāl al-Saʿdāwī published *Riḥlātī fi ‘l-ʿālam* (‘My Travels Around the World’), which covers her travels in the 1960s and 1970s to a number of destinations both within the Arab world (Algeria, Jordan) and without (France, USA, Finland, USSR, Iran, India, Thailand, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Senegal). In addition to being the only travelogue by a female author to cover a multitude of countries, al-Saʿdāwī’s work also stands out by its focus on subjects that figure prominently in her other works: colonialism, imperialism, women’s rights, poverty, health care, education, and racism.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that al-Saʿdāwī is one of the few Arab travellers to discuss racial segregation in America, which she experienced first-hand during her stay in North Carolina:

The toilet in the club had two doors. On one was written, for whites, on the other, for coloureds. I stood in front of the mirror to check the colour of my skin – I did not know which of the doors to enter. I went through the ‘coloureds’ door.²⁷

²⁵ Susan Bassnett, ‘Travel Writing and Gender’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 225–41 (at p. 225).

²⁶ R. ʿĀshūr, *Al-Riḥla: Ayyām ṭālība Miṣriyya fī Amrīkā* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1987), pp. 156–7.

²⁷ Nawal El Saadawi, *My Travels Around the World*, trans. Shirley Eber (London: Methuen, 1991), pp. 35–6.

Race is a key theme in the book, and is often linked to Western colonialism, though things are not always clear-cut, as she suffers discrimination from an African stewardess, who kowtowed to white passengers but ignored al-Sa^cdāwī.²⁸ After witnessing an official at Cairo airport swearing at an Egyptian woman and spitting on her passport, al-Sa^cdāwī remarks: 'I felt alienated in my homeland, and outside it I also felt like a stranger. We were still living in the age of slavery.'²⁹ She noted the similarities between African Americans and the Egyptian poor, especially in education and health care, and was horrified that conditions at the Harlem hospital were far worse even than the ones she saw at the hospital she worked at in Cairo. The Other in al-Sa^cdāwī's work is often the dispossessed, the 'non-aligned' in the parlance of the time, whose cause she champions, whether it be the tea-pickers in India or the Tashkent peasant. Underlying all of this is an insatiable quest for knowledge, and profound interest in, as well as affection for, the Other, whomever they may be.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 199.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 200.

Indian Travel Writing

SUPRIYA CHAUDHURI

And in this first India there begins, as it were, another world.¹

So wrote the fourteenth-century Dominican friar Jordanus Catalani, later bishop of Columbum (Kollam) in southern India, on entering the first of what medieval travellers called the *three* Indias, extending from coastal Africa and the Middle East to the hinterland of Southeast Asia. More anciently, India was the name (from the river Indus, Sanskrit *Sindhu*) given by Greek geographers to the diamond-shaped landmass bounded to the south by the Indian Ocean, to the north by the Himalayas and their sister ranges. Today this is home to seven countries including modern India (Bharat in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, circa first millennium BCE). Travel writing from this region, in the twenty-two listed languages of the Indian Constitution as well as in Persian and English, the Mughal and British ‘languages of power’, constitutes a complex, many-layered archive, as much a site of *trans-latio* (carrying over) and cross-fertilisation, as of discovery.

Pilgrimage, Trade, Conquest

Pilgrimage, trade, and conquest drove the earliest subcontinental travels. Hindu mythological texts, the *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas*, include *sthalamahātmyas*, guides to sacred sites for priests and pilgrims, listing their special virtues, travel routes, and topographies. Examples are the *Kāśi-mahātmya*, written in praise of Kashi or Varanasi, and the *Kerala-mahātmya*, describing how the sage Paraśurāma, ‘after making a gift of the country he conquered, created anew the Kerala (Malabar) region, [and] how he consecrated the

¹ See *Une image de l’Orient au XIVe siècle: les Mirabilia Descripta de Jordan Catala de Sévérac*, ed. and trans. Christine Gadrat (Paris: École des Chartes, 2005), p. 247. All translations mine unless otherwise stated.

various holy waters and places therein'.² Narratives of exile and conquest feature in the Hindu epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* (fifth to fourth centuries BCE) and appear in classical Sanskrit literature, such as Kalidasa's *Kumārasambhavam* ('The Birth of Kārtikeya') and *Meghadūtam* ('The Cloud-Messenger', circa fifth century CE) with its memorable account of an imaginary journey. The latter inspired a genre of *sandēśa-kāvya*s or *dūta-kāvya*s (messenger-poems) composed in Malayalam and Tamil as well as in Sanskrit. Military invasion of the subcontinent, and its trading links, produced an ancillary literature, whether fabulous or factual: as in Herodotus's *History* (fifth century BCE), the *Indica* (c. 300 BCE), of Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus Nicator at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, and *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a first-century guide to coastal Indian Ocean trade. Detailed travel accounts were composed by the Chinese Buddhist monks Faxian (Fa-Hsien), who visited India between 399 and 414 CE in search of Buddhist texts, and Xuanzang (Hsüan Tsang), who came to India by the Silk Route (629–45 CE). Muslim chroniclers accompanied invading armies from the tenth century onwards, and the Mughal emperor Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, who conquered northern India in 1526, wrote his memoirs, the *Bābur-nāma* (1529), in Chaghatai Turkic, leaving vivid descriptions of customs, people, flora, and fauna in the lands he traversed. Within the subcontinent, the earliest Nepali travelogue, *Rājā Gagarirāj ko yātrā* (1493), records a royal progress. Two centuries later, when the Assamese king Rudra Simha sought support from Ratnamanikya, king of Tripura, for an invasion of Bengal, his envoys, Ratna Kandali Sarma and Arjundas Bairagi, described their journey in a remarkable text, the *Tripurā Buranjī* (Assamese, early eighteenth century).

Pilgrimage, however, dominates medieval travel texts, such as the *Tīrthāvali* of the saint Namdev (Marathi, thirteenth to fourteenth centuries CE), or the *Līlācaritra*, a late thirteenth-century account of the travels of Shri Chakradhara by his disciple Mahimbhatta. Centres of Jaina devotion are described in the *Tīrthakalpa* (Sanskrit/Prakrit, c.1330) by Jinaprabha Suri, Ambadeva's *Samara rasa* (Rajasthani, c.1314), Sangha Kalash's *Samyakatva rasa* (Rajasthani, 1448), and the Jaina saint Manikyachandra Suri's *Prithvicandracaritra* (Rajasthani, 1421). The Maithili poet Vidyapati's *Bhūparikramā* (Sanskrit, early fifteenth century) offers a geographical survey of Hindu pilgrimage sites. For the medieval pilgrim, following the steps of

² M. Rangacharya, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, vol. 1v, part 2: *Upapurānas and Sthalamahātmyas* (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908), p. 1676.

wandering teachers like the Buddha and Mahavira, the experience of travel itself is linked to religious self-realisation. Early modern genres of religious poetry like the Bengali *mangalakāvya*s link merchants and their trading voyages in the Bay of Bengal to the institutions and practices of folk devotion. A late example, the physician Bijayram Sen's *Tīrthamangala* (1770), narrating in verse the author's pilgrimage to Kashi (Varanasi) with his patron Krishnachandra Ghoshal, in response to a command received in a dream, subsumes mythical, sacred, and mercantile voyages into an 'everyday' pilgrim framework. The pilgrimage of the legendary King Bhagyachandra of Manipur to Navadvip, centre of Hindu Vaishnavism, was recounted after his death by specially appointed scholars in *Chingthāngkhombā Mahārāj Gangā Chatpā* (Manipuri, 1801–3).

Enugula Veeraswamy's Telugu journal *Kāśīyātrā-caritra*, compiled from his letters, records his pilgrimage (May 1830 to September 1831) from Madras to Varanasi and back by way of Calcutta along the course of the Ganges. Veeraswamy was an official interpreter for the Madras Supreme Court, favourably disposed towards the British, anxious to exploit his colonial connections and stay on good terms with local landowners while pursuing private religious ends. Still, his pilgrim journal includes acerbic comments on the rapacity of colonial commerce, especially at the shrine of Tirupati in southern India:

The East India Company is obtaining a lakh of rupees as revenue at the Tirupati temple by way of offerings made to the Lord. Every proceeding and rite on the hill entails the payment of suitable fees to the Government here. While the Lord is bestowing his blessings on his devotees cleansing away their sins, they are also out of pocket due to the system of collection of various fees here.³

Where Veeraswamy, part of the endless traffic of pilgrims crossing the Indian subcontinent and congregating at sacred sites, comes closest to modern travel writing is in his awareness of the human protagonist who must negotiate the secular boundaries of sacred journeys. His text conveys the 'blurring' of genres that the physical experience of travel produces in spatial, psychological, and aesthetic terms. For pilgrimage is also a way of re-enacting the metaphysics of the travelling human soul in motion towards enlightenment, as in medieval devotional (*Bhakti*) traditions founded by wandering ascetics

³ *Enugula Veeraswamy's Journal*, Telugu original compiled K.S. Pillai, ed. and trans. P. Sitapati and V. Purushottam (Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, 1973), p. 4.

like Akka Mahadevi (c.1130–60, Karnataka), Chaitanya Mahaprabhu (fifteenth century, Bengal), or Kabir and Mirabai (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, north India). Itinerant Dalit poet-preachers such as Sant Ravidas (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, Uttar Pradesh-Punjab) made travel, with its dissolution of social boundaries, an instrument of powerful anti-caste movements, while latter-day mysticism, like that of the Bauls in Bengal, draws on the experience of the open road and the metaphor of the soul's journey. The Hindu monk Vivekananda travelled throughout India and abroad, commenting on his experiences in *Parivrājaka* and *Prācya o Pāścātya* (1902). Later, pilgrimage to Hindu sacred sites such as the Kumbha Mela became a major literary theme, as in *Amrita Kumbher Sandhāne* (1954) by Samaresh Basu (Kalkut), *Marutīrtha Hinglāj* (1955) by Avadhut, and *Mahāprasthāner Pathe* (1937) by Prabodhkumar Sanyal. The sociologist Irawati Karve, in her brilliant pilgrim-memoir 'On the Road' (1962), records a travelling archive of music, poetry, and social forms, with caste and gender dynamics caught up in a collective synaesthesia of motion:

Everything was in motion in the wind-swept atmosphere – the ends of the saris of women, the branches of the trees, the stalks of millet in a few unploughed fields, the walking crowds, and the clouds overhead. I was walking on and on in a space filled with colour, sound, and wind. When I looked down, I saw innumerable feet moving up and down onward to the rhythm of *tal* and *mrdang*. I felt I was a drop in this vast stream of human beings, that instead of walking, I was being carried forward by the surrounding motion. Even at night when I slept, I dreamt that I was walking and when I got up in the morning, I was surprised that I lay still at the spot where I had fallen asleep.⁴

Muslims making the *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca, a religious duty that received state support during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar, record an equally powerful faith in travel as constitutive of spiritual community (*umma*). Their legendary exemplar, the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, whose *Rihla* describes his twenty-four years as a *hajji*, arrived in India in 1333 during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and visited the Sufi saint Shah Jalal in Sylhet in 1345. By contrast, Akbar's aunt Gulbadan, setting out in 1575, returned from Mecca and Medina in seven years. Her presence in Aden in 1580 is recorded in the brief *hajj* narrative included in the memoirs of the Mughal dignitary Bayazid Bayat, who made the pilgrimage between 1578 and 1584. Not until much later do we find substantial written accounts of the *hajj*

⁴ Irawati Karve, 'On the Road: A Maharashtrian Pilgrimage', trans. Dinkar Dhondo Karve, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 22/1 (1962), 13–29 (at p. 18).

pilgrimage from India, as by Maulana Rafiuddin Muradabadi (1786–9). Despite the perils of the journey before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, increasing numbers attempted it, setting up links with global pilgrimage networks and circles of Muslim piety, and deepening their own awareness of regional difference.

Muslims went on pilgrimage (*ziyārāt*) within the subcontinent as well, especially to Sufi shrines like those of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi, Baba Farid in Pakpattan, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar in Sehwan, or the *mazār* of Shah Jalal in Sylhet. But *hajj* narratives occupy a special status, given the intense spiritual obligation driving the pilgrim towards the longed-for unity of the *umma*, coupled with feelings of isolation and strangeness. Such narratives, facilitated by colonial transport and the advent of print, include two remarkable early accounts by female rulers of Bhopal: Nawab Sikander Begum's *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, published in English translation in 1870 from what may have been an Urdu *roznāmcha* (journal) compiled around 1864, and her granddaughter Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum's *The Story of a Pilgrimage to the Hijaz* (1909). As Siobhan Lambert-Hurley notes, the texts reveal

the factors that went into writing a Muslim journey in a colonial environment, the process by which notions of the self were redefined against a Muslim 'other', and the way in which Arabia was constructed by a colonial subject as part of a modernist discourse about 'the Orient'.⁵

This complexity is reflected in other colonial *hajj* narratives, many of them composed in Persian and translated into Arabic, Urdu, or English. The form itself admits of great variety, from the detailed descriptions in the Urdu *Safarnāma-yi Hijaz* (1895; *A Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 1896) of Mirza Irfan Ali Beg, Deputy Collector of Mainpuri district, Uttar Pradesh, to the thoughtful and pious *roznāmcha* of Amir Ahmad Alawi (*Safar-i-Saadat*, 1929) and Abdul Majid Daryabadi's travel account, *Safar-i-Hijaz* (1929), denouncing the decline of Muslim social values and the impact of Western modernity.

In their rich and engrossing study of early modern travellers from India, Safavid Iran, and Central Asia, Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam argue for the Indo-Persian cultural zone to be considered a single extended region of contact and exchange.⁶ Theirs is an archive in which

⁵ Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, 'Muslim Women Write their Journeys Abroad', in Shobhana Bhattacharji (ed.), *Travel Writing in India* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2008), pp. 28–39 (at p. 31).

⁶ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 3–4.

autobiography, history, and travel book mingle: Minhaj al-Siraj's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (mid thirteenth century) is the major source for Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji's conquest of Bengal in 1204. But Alam and Subrahmanyam focus not so much on travel accounts with terms like *safar* or *rihla* in their titles, as on 'the dominance of travel as an organizing notion in the narrative . . . accompanied by an explicit, and even philosophical, reflection on the meaning of travel'.⁷ Perhaps the most engaging and remarkable of the texts they discuss is that by Mahmud Wali Balkhi, described as 'a sort of seventeenth-century Central Asian Jack Kerouac'.⁸ Focusing on travellers *out* of Mughal India, however, we have the *Bayān-i Wāqi* of Khwaja Abdul Karim Shahristiani, a native of Shahjahanabad, who visited Central and West Asia after Nadir Shah's invasion of India in 1738–9, or the *Waqā'i-i Manāzil-i Rūm*, a diary of the journey to Istanbul (1786–9) of Khwaja Abdul Qadir, a scribe attached to the embassy of Tipu Sultan, ruler of Mysore, and the *safarnāma* (travel account) composed by the Hindu poet and scholar Anand Ram 'Mukhlis', a *wakīl* at the Mughal court. Shahristiani's text contains the seed of a *hajj* narrative, since he joined Nadir Shah's entourage out of a desire to visit Mecca. But he goes beyond this, offering a 'true relation' of many of Nadir Shah's military campaigns, interspersed with personal memories like his visit to his paternal grandfather's tomb in Kabul, where he was 'much delighted with the gardens, and other places in this country'.⁹ On the homeward voyage from Jeddah, he visited Pondicherry, Madras, and the port of Hugli in Bengal, commenting on the European settlements he saw there. In the English camp at Madras, he notes, 'women of all ranks appear in public, and go about where-ever they please, the same as the men'; Calcutta has been settled by 'various nations of Europeans, viz. French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Germans, &c', and 'their gardens are laid out in the European taste'.¹⁰

Travels to Europe and Beyond

Eighteenth-century Indo-Persian travels extended to Europe, and some were widely circulated in translation, such as Mirza Sheikh Itesamuddin's Persian *Shiguruf namah-i-vilaet* (1785) describing his journey to France and England

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁹ Khwaja Abdul Karim Shahristiani, *The Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, A Cashmerian of Distinction*, trans. Francis Gladwin (Calcutta: William McKay, 1788), p. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 146.

(1766–9), quickly translated into Urdu, and into English by J. E. Alexander (1827); or Mirza Abu Talib Khan Isfahani's *Masīr-i Tālibī fī bilād-i afranjī* (translated by Charles Stewart in 1810 as *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799–1803*). Others, like Munshi Ismail's *Tārīkh-i jadīd*, survive only in manuscript. All convey key themes of pre-colonial travel to Europe: *wonder*, expressed through the rhetoric of the marvellous (*ajāib*); *admiration* for inventions and laws; and *comparison* of East and West. But there is anxiety too: Itesamuddin, who describes the ship and European navigational science in scrupulous detail, mentions mermaids, whales, and flying fish as marine sights, and confesses to 'the terrifying thought that the ocean might have no end', so that 'the sight of dry land and human habitation infused new life into my frame'.¹¹ Impressed by British social institutions, he eagerly debates the merits of his own culture compared to those of Europe, and offers critical observations on society and religion, taking special interest in theological differences between Muslims, Jews, Hindus, French Catholics, and English Protestants, though he also reveals racial prejudice, and is obsessed with his own dietary observances. Asked the secret of his good health, he responds:

'Abstinence,' I replied. 'When I set out for Vilayet I was anxious on account of the temptations that lay in wait for me. I therefore prayed to Allah, 'O Lord! Preserve me from drinking wine', and from then onwards led a very temperate life.'¹²

While certain categories of Indian – merchants, seafarers, soldiers, and pilgrims – had always voyaged abroad, from around the sixteenth century onwards hardening caste taboos forbade upper-caste Hindus from crossing the 'black water' (*kālā pāni*), just when colonial transport systems were making travel easier. Many early accounts of trips to Europe are by Christians, Muslims, or Parsis. The first Malayalam travelogue, *Varthamānappusthakam*, narrates the eight-year journey (1778–86) of Cathanar Thomman Paremmakkal and his companion, Malpan Joseph Cariattil, from Kerala to Rome via Lisbon to gain the pope's support in bringing the Malabar Church under native control. An early Urdu account, *Tārīkh-i Yūsufi*, or *Ajaibat-i firang*, by Yusuf Khan Kambalposh, describes his journey to Arabia, Egypt, France, and England in 1836–8. Jehangeer Nowrojee and Hirjeebhoy Merwanjee, who wrote a *Journal* describing their residence in Britain in 1840, and Ardaseer

¹¹ Mirza Sheikh Itesamuddin, *The Wonders of Vilayet: Being the Memoir, Originally in Persian, of a Visit to France and Britain in 1765*, trans. Kaiser Haq (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 2002), pp. 47–8, 50.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 143. For racial prejudice, see pp. 40–2.

Cursetjee, who produced a *Diary of an Overland Journey from Bombay to England, and of a Year's Residence in Great Britain* in 1841, were members of a Parsi ship-building family that had long served the East India Company. Describing these travelogues as 'precolonial', Simonti Sen argues for this term as indicative not merely of temporal precedence but of 'a different vision of world order, a different sense of historicity and most significantly a different sense of I and other'.¹³ Early nineteenth-century travellers were yet to internalise fully what Johannes Fabian calls 'allochronic' discourse, inserting a sharp break between the time of the other and the time of the self, so that a spatial journey was also a temporal progress towards the 'advanced' European civilisation.¹⁴ Colonial education altered Indian subjects' relation to the West, evident in accounts by two Hindu reformers who sailed to England in the 1860s, facing ostracisation by their caste brethren in Gujarat: Mahipatram Rupram Neelkanth's *England nu Musāfari nu Varnan* (1864) and Karsandas Mulji's *England ma Pravās* (1866, with over a hundred illustrations). Despite some individual experiences of discomfort, these early Gujarati travelogues communicate a strong belief in the values of modernity and civility upheld by England for 'reformed' subjects. Both writers view their travels as exemplary, holding up a mirror to an 'advanced' society whose structure and institutions they wish to describe for their countrymen (though Mulji, the more outspoken reformer, was never accepted back into his caste group). Responding to the pressure to look westward, the Standing Committee on the Hindu Sea-Voyage Question wrote in its report (1894) that people who 'feel themselves driven by sheer necessity to try their fortune in remote countries' should not be ostracised by their caste brethren.¹⁵

More disaffection is evident in travelogues composed towards the end of the century. Romesh Chunder Dutt, only the second Indian to qualify for the Indian Civil Service, wrote a memoir of his stay in England (1868–71) titled *Three Years in Europe*, later adding records of other visits. Dutt's text begins on shipboard, with the moment of crossing 'the line between the reddish Hooghly and the greenish sea', and the traveller's profound sense of *mise-en-abyme*: 'we have left our home and our country . . . recklessly staking

¹³ Simonti Sen, *Travels to Europe: Self and Other in Bengali Travel Narratives 1870–1910* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2005), p. 28.

¹⁴ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 32.

¹⁵ Standing Committee on the Hindu Sea-Voyage Question, *The Hindu Sea-Voyage Movement in Bengal* (Calcutta: J. N. Banerjee and Son, 1894), p. i.

everything on an almost impossible success'.¹⁶ Arriving in England, Dutt is moved by the natural beauty of the countryside, and the political engagement of citizens, but criticises urban poverty, the class system, and the evils of aristocracy. The Brahmo preacher Sivanath Sastri, making a late trip to London in 1888 after missionary travels all over India, also cast a critical eye on social life in his *Englander Diary* (1888), as did the Parsi Behramji Malabari, a 'pilgrim-reformer' in England in 1890 who found London 'a vortex of high-pressure civilization':

People live in a whirlwind of excitement, making and unmaking their idols almost every day. They seem to be consumed by a mania for novelty: everything new serves to keep up the fever of excitement. To-day they will set up a fetish, anything absurd, fantastic, grotesque, and worship it with breathless enthusiasm.¹⁷

A traveller at the height of empire, conscious of the unequal power relations between rulers and subjects, Malabari urges his English acquaintances not to 'patronize but befriend us'.¹⁸ Even the loyalist Trailokyanath Mukharji, a curator at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, was conscious of the 'ethnographic gaze of powerful others', transfixing Indians into commodities on display:

We were very interesting beings no doubt, so were the Zulus before us, and so is the Sioux chief at the present time. Human nature everywhere thirsts for novelty, and measures out its favours in proportion to the rarity and oddity of a thing.¹⁹

In his remarkable study of the relations between autobiography, travel, and nationalist identity formation, Javed Majeed comments on the 'decorporealization' of the eye and its separation from the 'embodied self' by early Indian travellers to the West, contrasting the technologies of objective third-party vision with the adventures of interior sight in Muhammad Iqbal's Persian poem *Jāvīd Nāma* (1932), as well as attempts by Jawaharlal Nehru and M. K. Gandhi to reintegrate *seeing* into the vulnerable, embodied being of the traveller.²⁰ Early travelogues, writes Majeed, 'often read like case studies

¹⁶ Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Three Years in Europe, 1868–71*, 4th edn (Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri, 1896), pp. 1–2.

¹⁷ Behramji M. Malabari, *The Indian Eye on English Life, or Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (London: Constable, 1893), p. 39.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁹ Trailokyanath Mukharji, *A Visit To Europe* (Calcutta: W. Newman, 1889), p. 99. For 'ethnographic gaze', see Javed Majeed, *Autobiography, Travel, and Postnational Identity: Gandhi, Nehru and Iqbal* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 83.

²⁰ Majeed, *Autobiography*, pp. 62–8.

of technological progress and fieldwork accounts of modernity', while Gandhi, Nehru, and Iqbal – and, we might add, Rabindranath Tagore and B. R. Ambedkar – are personally shaped by the modern sense of a self in movement as they engage with the problematics of modernity itself, developing contrasted models of Indian nationalism.²¹ In Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927–9), physical travel becomes 'a way of contesting modern technology rather than a means of celebrating it', while Nehru's anxious, doubt-ridden engagement with India, approached 'via the West', and mediated by extended prison terms (when he wrote *The Discovery of India*, 1942–6) produces a sense of travel as a mental activity, a *discovery*.²² For the architect of India's Constitution, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, the intense social discrimination he faced during his formative journeys in India, England, and America was also deeply constitutive of selfhood.²³ The young Tagore, who had accompanied his father Debendranath on his mystical exploration of the western Himalayas, was sent to England at the age of seventeen, and reached Paris at the time of the 1878 Exhibition, finding a city within a city. Bewildered, he climbed the unfinished Eiffel Tower (as did Gandhi after its completion in 1889), and proceeded to London, to him a place of darkness, full of smoke, mist, rain, mud, and a press of people in a constant state of agitation. Small boys pursued their carriage, calling out 'Jack, look at the blackies!'²⁴ Despite this dismal start, Tagore remained an untiring traveller throughout his long life, producing memorable sketches of the lands he visited, including Japan, China, Indonesia, North and South America, Europe, Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Nepal (*Europe-prabāsīr patra*, 1878; *Jāpān Jātrī*, 1916; *Jāvā Jātrīr Patra*, 1927; *Pāraśye*, 1932). These journeys exemplify the practice of travel as part of a new modernist aesthetic, and of the transnational politics shared by Tagore and his contemporaries.

Global travels inspired a new cosmopolitanism. In 1846, the Kashmiri Munshi Mohan Lal, probably an intelligence gatherer for the British, published an account of his travels in Central Asia and Europe, a book that Nehru read with enthusiasm.²⁵ Earlier, Mir Izzatullah (d.1825) had

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 108–10.

²³ See B. R. Ambedkar, 'Waiting for a Visa', in *Writings and Speeches*, ed. Vasant Moon, 13 vols. (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1993), vol. xii, Part 1, pp. 661–91.

²⁴ Rabindranath Tagore, *Europe-prabāsīr patra* (Letters from Europe), in *Rabindra Racanābali* (Complete Works), vol. 1 (Kolkata: Visva Bharati, 1939), p. 548.

²⁵ See Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Panjab, Afghanistan, Turkistan, to Balk, Bokhara, and Herat, and a Visit to Great Britain and Germany* (London, W. H. Allen, 1846); C. A. Bayly, *Empire*

composed his *Kitāb-i-masīr-i-Izzatullah*, translated by Henderson in 1872 as *Travels in Central Asia*. Almost at the end of the century, in 1894, Shibli Nomani wrote his *Safarnāma-i-Rūm-o-Misr-o-Sham* (Urdu, 'Travels in Turkey, Egypt, and Syria') and in 1898, an anonymous travelogue in Punjabi, *Asia di Sair*, was published in Lahore. The Bengalis, Protap Chandra Mozoomdar (*Sketches of a Tour Round the World*, 1884) and Chandrasekhar Sen (*A Tour Round the World*, 1890) recounted global peregrinations, while Shyamal Mitra and Suresh Chandra Biswas, having served in the army, wrote travelogues about Africa and Asia. In the next century, Indubhushan De Majumdar's *Mārkin Yātrā* (1915) recounted a trip to America, while Kalidas Nag published his letters from China, *Ciner Cithi* (1925). Benoy Kumar Sarkar's sketches of Japan and China were published in the journal *Prabāsī*, Syed Mujtaba Ali's *Deśe Bideśe* (1948) was set in Kabul, and Krishnalal Basak, who had toured the world as a circus performer, recounted his 'wonderful travels' in *Bicitra Bhraman* (1921). The spirit of adventure impelled four young men (a woman applicant was rejected) to bicycle around the world in 1926–37 (described in Bimal Mukherjee, *Du Cākāy Duniyā*); their feat was repeated, solo (1931–3), by the 'Round-the-world Hindoo Traveller' and travel writer Ramnath Biswas.

Travelling Women

The *hajj* narratives of the begums of Bhopal are early instances of travel writing by women. Maimoona Sultan, daughter-in-law of Nawab Sultan Jahan, described her stay in England for King George V's coronation in a secular travelogue, *Siyāsat-i-Sultāni* (Urdu, n.d.; English, *A Trip to Europe*, 1913). Earlier, Krishnabhabini Das accompanied her husband to England in the late nineteenth century. Her Bengali memoir *Englānde Bangamahilā* (1885) was, like Sultan's, sharply critical of the freedom of English society. Other Indian women describing travel in England and America include the scholar-reformer Pandita Ramabai (Marathi: *Englānda Prāvās*, 1883–5, and *United States-ci Lokasthiti aṇi Prāvāsvritta*, 1885). By the last decade of the century, women's travel experiences were appearing in the emergent print genre of the periodical essay. From its inception in 1863, the Bengali women's journal *Bāmābodhinī Patrikā* had carried accounts by female pilgrims (often in verse): these were soon

and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870 (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 230; and Majeed, *Autobiography*, pp. 71–2.

augmented by secular narratives. In 1878, the journal *Paricārikā* published a vivid English account of 'The White Hills of Jabbalpore' by an unnamed Bengali woman:

In place of the solemn stillness which I have described, we heard now a deep and continuous roaring that came from . . . [a] huge heap of water rushing down with tremendous force in the deep gulf below; the declining rays of the sun were reflected upon it, sparkling, burning, and producing a variety of colours. There, whirling round and round continuously with a wonderful rapidity, boiling, foaming, raging, it burst into the rocks below and flowed away.²⁶

Such writing, emerging several decades after the Englishwoman Emily Eden's sketches and letters from India, reflects a new sensibility. Sunity Devee, Maharani of Cooch Behar, incorporated a travel account into her *Autobiography of an Indian Princess* (1921), and Cornelia Sorabji's *India Calling* (1934) documents the need to 'live hard days, to face rough travelling' as a pioneering woman lawyer journeying into the heartland of northern India.²⁷ Other women described journeys abroad, such as Atiya Fyzee in *Zamāna-i-tahsil* (Urdu, 1922), and Abala Basu, writing about India, England, Europe, America, and Japan for young readers in the Brahma journal *Mukul* (early twentieth century). The sociologist Indira Sarkar published her *Travels in Italy* in 1949. Earlier, for conservative Hindu and Muslim women, pilgrimage had provided the only means of escape from the domestic politics of enclosure. Secular women travellers bear witness to a new experience of physical space, though their tone is often pedagogic, as though to justify their hard-won freedom. Shanta Devi and Sita Devi, who wrote of their travels in their father Ramananda Chatterjee's Bengali journal *Prabāsī*, belonged to the reformed Brahma sect. More variety and independence is reflected in women's travel narratives from the twentieth century, like Nabaneeta Dev Sen's engaging account of a journey to India's northeast, *Truck-bāhone McMāhone* ('By Truck to the McMahan Line', 1984).

Ghumakkar Śāstra: The Science of Wandering

For Indians, India remained the major site for the experience of travel. Placed on the boundary between home and abroad is *The Travels of Dean Mahomet* (c.

²⁶ 'The White Hills of Jabbalpore', in Damayanti Dasgupta (ed.), *Amadiger Bhramanbrittanto [Our Travelogues]* (Kolkata: Gangchil, 2016), p. 98.

²⁷ Cornelia Sorabji, *India Calling: The Memories of Cornelia Sorabji* (London: Nisbet, 1934), p. 117.

1793–4) an epistolary memoir often claimed as the first Indian English ‘novel’, since it uses the fashionable pretext of letters addressed to a friend, and incorporates elaborate reflections. Mahomet assumes the role of native Indian informant as he narrates his travels as a camp follower of the East India Company’s army, going on in the second part to his life in Ireland and England. Travel defines Mahomet’s life as one of the many ‘subalterns’ displaced and inducted into new ways of life by an alien army. A less fictionalised account, also in English, is *The Travels of a Hindoo* (1869) by Bholanauth Chunder, a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, describing his journey up the Ganges from Calcutta. Pictorially evocative, often poetic, Chunder’s account of historical, archaeological, and religious sites on both banks interestingly overlays the pilgrim journal with secular antiquarianism, following British exemplars like Francis Buchanan-Hamilton and Alexander Cunningham:

From on board the steamer, the town rose full in sight on a steep precipitous bank, and opened upon our eager eyes with its high stone ghauts, its various buildings half shadowed by trees and half abutting on the river, its remains of old walls, towers, and bastions, and its multitude of trading vessels, all combining to make up a striking frontage, that stretched along the river till it was lost in the murky distance.²⁸

Such writing draws upon the new science of cartography – James Rennell had published *A Bengal Atlas* in 1781 – while following established pilgrim routes. The secular travelogue in the Indian languages, made possible by new print technologies and transport systems, also demonstrates a characteristic ‘blurring’ of motives and genres. Even Himalayan journeys – sacred routes for followers of at least four religions including Hindus and Buddhists – were being appropriated by the politics of colonial surveying, ethnography, espionage, and new ideologies of ‘sport’. In 1853, Jadunath Sarbadhikari set out from a small village in Bengal to walk to the sacred shrines of Kedarnath and Badrinath in the Garhwal Himalayas, returning in 1857, the year of the Revolt, and chronicling his travels in *Tirtha Bhraman* (Bengali, 1865). Earlier, the reformer Rammohun Roy and Krishnakanta Basu undertook a political mission to Bhutan, described by Basu in Bengali and translated in the journal *Asiatic Researches* (1825). T. G. Montgomerie’s training of native ‘pundits’ for the work of the Great Trigonometric Survey of India led to some remarkable Himalayan travel narratives, such as ‘Babu’ Sarat Chandra Das’s *A Journey to*

²⁸ Bholanauth Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India*, 2 vols. (London: N. Trübner, 1869), vol. 1, p. 112.

Tashilhunpo (1879) and *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (1883, proscribed until 1899). Das, probably Rudyard Kipling's model for Hurree Babu in his 'travel' novel *Kim* (1910), was not only a spy but also a Tibetan scholar: his narratives contain fascinating cultural material as well as evocative images:

The roar of the cataract deafened me for nearly two hours. The stupendous scenery of the peak from which it issues, the irregular disposition of the rocks through which it cuts its way, the immense height from which it falls, combine to make it one of the most sublime spectacles in the Himalayas.²⁹

Das is supposed to have taken a camera to Lhasa, thus pioneering a new vogue of travel photography (practised in the Himalayas by Samuel Bourne) that replaced the older representational medium of the traveller's sketchbook. This is an important motive in later Himalayan (and global) travel. But there is also a textual tradition of mountain literature, as written by Bengali pilgrim-adventurers like Ramananda Bharati (1838–1900), Jaladhar Sen (1860–1939), and Umapasrad Mukherjee (1902–92), or in Kakasaheb Kalelkar's Gujarati *Himālayāno Pravās* (1929). Even recent mountain writing, like Bill Aitken's *Seven Sacred Rivers* (1992) and Stephen Alter's *Sacred Waters: A Journey to the Many Sources of the Ganga* (2001), combines the sacred and the secular.

Travel in the heartland of the Indian plains is recorded in Vishnubhat Godse's pioneering *Mājhā Pravās* (Marathi, 1883), describing his journey from Maharashtra to 'Hindustan' in 1857, the year of the Revolt: a fascinating record of a pious, observant Maharashtrian Brahmin travelling at a time of historical crisis through what he considered almost a foreign country. The strangeness of what is near at hand is a recurrent theme in Indian travels: as in Ardeshar Mus's *Hindustāni Musāfari* (Gujarati, 1870), Sanjibchandra Chattopadhyay's Bengali account of *Pālamāu* (1882) in the Chota Nagpur plateau, or Fakirmohan Senapati's Odiya *Utkalabhramana* (1892) and Sasibhusan Ray's *Dakṣiṇātyabhramana* (1896). K. V. Sastry's *Dakṣiṇa Bhārati Yātrā* appeared in Kannada in 1890, and there are verse travelogues in Tamil from the same period. By the twentieth century travel literature had acquired a huge popular readership. In Marathi, Anant Kanekar's lyrical and powerful *Dhukyātūn lāl taryākde* (1940) described his travels in Russia. The globe-trotter S. K. Pottekkat popularised the travelogue in Malayalam, as did A. K. Chettiyar in Tamil. Several great Bengali novelists, from Sharatchandra Chattopadhyay and Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay to more contemporary authors like

²⁹ Sarat Chandra Das, *Narrative of a Journey to Tashilhunpo in 1879* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1881), p. 10.

Samaresh Basu, have composed travelogues: much-loved classics are Annadasankar Ray's *Pathe Prabāse* (1931) and Nirmal Kumar Basu's *Paribrājaker Diary* (1940).

But perhaps the greatest of modern Indian travel writers is the Buddhist-Marxist polymath Rahul Sankrityayan (1893–1963), single-handedly responsible for elevating the Hindi travelogue to a literary form, who spent over forty years of his life travelling (not counting three in a British jail during the freedom movement), wrote nearly a hundred books, and formulated what he called the Science of Wandering (*Ghumakkar Śāstra*). 'In my judgement', he says,

the best thing in the world is wandering. No one can be of greater benefit to society or to persons than the wanderer . . . Primitive, natural humans were supremely nomadic. Free of agriculture, gardening or housekeeping, they roamed around the earth like birds in the sky. If they were here in winter, they would be two hundred *kros* away in the summer.³⁰

Sankrityayan studied Buddhist scriptures in Sri Lanka and then travelled clandestinely to Tibet, where he spent over a year (*Tibbat mein savā baras*, 1933). His early visit to Europe is recounted in *Meri Europe yātrā* (1935), but he also travelled to Iran, China, the republics of the former Soviet Union, Central Asia, and the most inaccessible regions of the Himalayas, writing with energy, wit, sympathy, and close social observation about places and persons. His collection of short stories, *Volgā se Gangā* (1943) offers a fictional and unorthodox account of the migration of Central Asians into the sub-continent, reading 8,000 years of history as a process of travel.

Global Travels

Much travel writing is exchanged between the modern Indian languages without appearing in English, while journals with *bhraman* (travel) in their titles have devoted readerships. But in English, travel writing is able to access both Indian and global readerships: in that respect its impact is disproportionate to its presence on the Indian map. The importance of travel as a controlling theme in postcolonial literature, given the facts of migration, diaspora, and exile, makes for significant and memorable work, from Ved Mehta's *Walking the Indian Streets* (1960) to Dom Moraes and Sarayu Srivatsa's *Out of God's Oven: Travels in a Fractured Land* (2002). Moraes and Srivatsa

³⁰ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Ghumakkar Śāstra* (The Science of Wandering) (Delhi: Raj Kamal Prakashan, 2000), p. 1.

collaborated on a biography of a celebrated early modern English traveller, Thomas Coryate, in *The Long Strider* (2003). Pankaj Mishra's *Butter Chicken in Ludhiana* (1995) is a classic travel book about small-town India, written with a sharp eye for brash, kitschy ostentation. The travel book is also used for powerful documentary purposes by journalists like P. Sainath in *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* (1996) and Sudeep Chakravarti in *Red Sun: Travels in Naxalite Country* (2008). For the best modern novelists working in and out of India, the travelogue is a lens through which land, people, and contemporary reality are viewed, as in Vikram Seth's *From Heaven Lake: Travels through Sinkiang and Tibet* (1983), Salman Rushdie's *The Jaguar Smile: A Nicaraguan Journey* (1987), Pico Iyer's *Video Night in Kathmandu and Other Reports from the Not-So-Far East* (1988), and Irwin Allan Sealy's *From Yukon to Yucatan: A Western Journey* (1994). But of all contemporary writers, it is perhaps Amitav Ghosh alone who makes physical travel, and the experience of the migrant or exile, fundamental to his literary sensibility. Voyage and journey function as controlling motifs through his entire oeuvre, so that the formal travel book, such as *Dancing in Cambodia, At Large in Burma* (1998), is only part of a larger – partly historical, partly contemporary – reconsideration of the relations between time, space, and the human traveller.

Chinese Travel Writing

XIAOFEI TIAN

'Travel writing', like the term 'autobiography', is a category defined by content rather than by formal features. In the Chinese tradition, it encompasses a variety of genres such as poetry, rhapsody, essay, diary, letters, and so on, with a history spanning two thousand years. Despite great historical changes over the centuries, we see a certain cultural coherence built upon a continuous tradition of writing and shared reading. People have always moved through space – trading, soldiering, relocating, and resettling – since antiquity, but their movement only began to be written about in earnest from early medieval times (roughly referring to the first through tenth centuries in the Chinese context). These writings are what made places visible on a cultural map, and have been consumed by eager readers and recycled in their own travel writings. Imagine a travel guide, which an educated travelling reader may consult before arriving at a new place. It tells the reader where to go and what to see, and this in turn determines what the reader will write about the place: the only difference is that this premodern Chinese travel guide consisted of poems and prose accounts describing travels undertaken by the writers to or within the place. Furthermore, the poems were frequently inscribed on the physical landscape such as the cliff of a mountain, or written either directly on the walls of a structure at a famous site or on wooden boards hanging on those walls. The poems on the boards, referred to as 'poetry boards' (*shiban*), were regularly changed and updated; but poems by famous writers, local luminaries and, on occasion, emperors were engraved on stelae and thus became a more permanent part of the site. As the title of Richard Strassberg's ground-breaking anthology of Chinese travel writing, *Inscribed Landscapes*, indicates, these texts literally become part of the place, intensifying its aura and thickening its history, embedding it deeply in a web of cultural memory.¹

¹ Richard E. Strassberg (ed. and trans.), *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

This is perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of Chinese travel writing: the heavily inscriptive quality of a place through an accumulation of writings that condition a latecomer's view. Meanwhile, there are locales that fall into obscurity, cast into the dark by the bright light of the well-known and well-inscribed places around them. In the Chinese literary tradition, travel is never entirely an experience of space alone, but also of time – in the sense that a traveller often ruminates on history at a celebrated site and adds his or her own writings to its textual record. From the tenth century on, travel writing increasingly became a conscious attempt to echo and to contend with voices from the past, even as one was always obliged, especially if one was a renowned writer, to participate in the textual life of the place.

When the great poet Su Shi (1037–1101) visited Mount Lu in South China, he at first decided not to write any poem, but he was being recognised everywhere in the mountain by people who saw him, and he could not help writing a poem about it, and then he wrote another, and another. Then someone sent him a copy of a friend's guide to the mountain, which quotes poems by earlier poet-visitors Li Bai (701–62) and Xu Ning (fl. c.813). Thereupon Su wrote another poem commenting on Li Bai's and Xu Ning's Mount Lu poems. The meta-travel-account finally ends with one more quatrain by Su Shi, which became so famous that its last couplet has attained the status of a common saying in the Chinese language: 'I cannot tell the true visage of Mount Lu, / Only because I myself am right here in the mountain.' Upon this Su Shi drolly concludes: 'My Mount Lu poems are summed up in this.'² Su Shi's wry account of his Mount Lu experience sums up some of the most salient features of Chinese travel writing.

In his 1994 anthology of premodern Chinese travel literature, Richard Strassberg, in a pioneering effort to dispel the Western reader's misconception of Chinese travel writing being 'much like our own' and to show the tradition in Chinese terms, introduced the 'mainstream of travel writing' as being 'concerned with travel in China itself.'³ By 'mainstream', however, Strassberg refers to the canonical travel accounts in the Chinese literary tradition, and such a focus, even as it gives a good basic introduction to Chinese travel literature, obscures its multifariousness. Not only did people constantly go beyond the borders of the Chinese empire and write down their experiences in the premodern period, but accounts of travel abroad increased exponentially in the nineteenth century. The current chapter aims

² For a translation of this account, see Stephen Owen (ed. and trans.), *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), p. 622.

³ Strassberg (ed. and trans.), *Inscribed Landscapes*, p. 4.

to strike a balance between writings about domestic travel and those about travel abroad.

Travel Inside the Empire

The heading, chosen for expediency, is a little misleading, since an important part of Chinese travel writing, indeed its very origin, is as much about mythologised geography as about real geography, as much about the cosmos as about the Chinese empire. ‘Encountering Sorrow’ (‘Li sao’), a poem of 187 couplets attributed to the shadowy courtier figure Qu Yuan (c.340–278 BCE), relates the aristocratic protagonist’s suffering in an ignominious world and his decision to go on a celestial journey to seek, unsuccessfully, an ideal mate, traditionally read as a political allegory of the historical author’s quest for a good king. The poem is preserved in an anthology known as the *Verses of Chu* (*Chu ci*), whose received version came from the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). The moralistic-historical interpretative framework into which Han and later commentators cast this extraordinary poem does little to obscure the fantastic nature of the exotic imagery or of the speaker’s encounters with goddesses and shamans through a mystical landscape. Another poem in the same anthology, ‘Far Roaming’ (‘Yuan you’), possibly dating to the second century BCE, likewise depicts a cosmic journey in the four directions, but has a happier ending as the protagonist finally reaches the centre of the universe and the ‘great beginnings’ of time, achieving spiritual transcendence and physical immortality. A poetic exposition, ‘The Great Man’ (‘Daren fu’), attributed to the court writer Sima Xiangru (c.179–117 BCE), bears resemblance to ‘Far Roaming’ but has an imperial ruler as the cosmic traveller, who obtains and affirms his supreme power by roaming the universe.

These poems establish some of the most important topics of Chinese travel writing: the political exile’s search for consolation and meaning in wild landscape, journey as spiritual quest and the attainment of transcendence during travel, extraordinary encounters on the road, and the traveller’s desire to go home, which is sometimes paradoxically configured as ‘forgetfulness about return’, much like the story of the lotus-eaters. The more immediate influence of the poems is manifested in Han ‘poetic expositions’ or ‘rhapsodies’ (*fu*) about travel, a famous early specimen of which is Ban Biao’s (3–54 CE) ‘My Northward Journey’ (‘Beizheng fu’), dated to the year 25 CE. It relates the author’s flight from the fallen imperial capital Chang’an (modern Xi’an) to Tianshui (in modern Gansu) during the chaotic years of dynastic transition. Marked by a sombre mood, the rhapsody describes the places the author

passes through on his journey. The poet uses familiar formulae from 'Encountering Sorrow', such as 'In the morning I set out from X; at evening I stay over at Y', and sometimes recycles a line almost verbatim, such as 'I lament the many travails of human life.' But the difference is also striking, as the fantastic celestial roaming is replaced by a secular journey through uninhabited wilderness, foggy valleys, and unmelted snow. The most remarkable difference is the shift of focus from mythology to history, as the places marked in Ban's textual map are historical sites where he contemplates past events and personages, and this mode of travel writing, like the fabulous travel in the *Verses of Chu*, exerted a powerful influence on the later tradition. In this type of writing, space and time define each other as history is mapped spatially, based on the author's travel itinerary.⁴ 'Meditation on the past' (*huaigu*) at a historical site became a prominent theme in subsequent poetry, and the sites are, ironically, remembered through these poetic texts more than through the events commemorated in the texts. As Stephen Owen says, 'The vagaries, capricious choices, and powerful images in [these] texts *are* the past for later ages.'⁵ In fact, such texts often recreate a site. In Yangzhou, Level Mountain Hall, first built by renowned writer Ouyang Xiu (1007–72) and immortalised in his 'Account of Level Mountain Hall', was destroyed many times through the centuries but rebuilt just as often, because travellers to Yangzhou, familiar with Ouyang Xiu's writing, expected to find the hall there. As a seventeenth-century account states, the rebuilt Level Mountain Hall gave visitors 'a joyous admiration for both the landscape and things of culture' as they came here, drinking, composing poetry, and by doing so paying tribute to the former writer.⁶

The fourth through sixth centuries – a time when the Chinese empire was divided between north and south, with North China under the rule of non-Han peoples – witnessed the next important moment in Chinese travel writing. Two remarkable phenomena dominate the age. One is the appearance, in the southern regime, of an abundance of 'records' (*ji*) of travel, written in plain prose. These records were generally associated with military campaigns undertaken against the north in this period. In contrast with

⁴ See David R. Knechtges, 'Poetic Travelogue in the Han *Fu*', in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), pp. 127–52; Xiaofei Tian, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2011), pp. 77–82.

⁵ Stephen Owen, 'Place: Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 50/2 (1990), 417–57 (at p. 420).

⁶ Owen (ed. and trans.), *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p. 635.

a travel *fu*, which narrates a journey with lyrical rhymed prose in an elevated language, a *ji* is characterised by its incorporation of everyday details and mundane incidents on the journey that bring the representation of travel to life. For instance, in *A Record of the Western Campaign* (*Xizheng ji*), the army officer and writer Dai Yanzhi (fl. early fifth century) relates an amusing anecdote: during the campaign of 417, when he was sailing upstream to investigate the river course at the command of his general, the locals in a northern town called Sanle, who had never seen a southern-style boat before, ‘gathered like ants on the river banks and doubled over with laughter’. The laughter of the Sanle residents at the strange sight of a boat is an important moment in Chinese travel writing: if the *fu* author is always the active agent of looking and reflecting, the author of a *ji* can be both the subject and object of observation, wonder, or even ridicule – as Mirza I’tisam al’din, who travelled from India to England in the 1760s, remarked, ‘I journeyed for a spectacle and became a spectacle myself.’⁷

The other cultural phenomenon that would produce an immense influence on the later tradition is the ‘discovery’ of the beauty of landscape. An oft-cited passage by Yuan Song (d.401) describes his self-conscious amazement at the beauty of the Three Gorges on the Yangtze River:

Written records and oral accounts all warn people about the perils of traveling on the River, but no one has ever said anything about the beauty of the landscape. When I came to this place, I was absolutely delighted . . . The layered crags and striking peaks, with their strange and extraordinary forms, are beyond description . . . I lingered there for several days and nights, and quite forgot to return . . . If the mountains and waters had consciousness, they too would certainly marvel at *me* as the first person in a thousand years who appreciates them.⁸

This period witnessed the birth of ‘landscape poetry’ and ‘landscape painting’, both of which are closely associated with travel. Zong Bing (374–443), renowned landscape painter and writer, says that in his old age

⁷ Cited in Vasant Kaiwar and Sucheta Mazumdar (eds.), *Antinomies of Modernity: Essays on Race, Orient, Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 100.

⁸ Cited in Li Daoyuan’s (d.527) *Commentary on The Classic of Rivers* (*Shuijing zhu*), translated in Strassberg (ed. and trans.), *Inscribed Landscapes*, p. 90; also translated, and discussed, in Tian, *Visionary Journeys*, pp. 142–3. Li Daoyuan cites copiously from more than 300 earlier sources in writing his commentary on *The Classic of Rivers*, a geographical text from the first or second century CE. While Li had personally investigated many waterways in North China, he had never travelled to the south because China was politically divided at the time. Although Li is often hailed as a great writer of travel literature, any description of the southern landscape in his commentary is drawn from textual sources by southern writers such as Yuan Song himself.

he painted from memory the landscape he had seen in his youthful wanderings so that he could be a 'recumbent traveller' surrounded by the images. Xie Lingyun (385–433), the younger contemporary of Yuan Song, is the first great travel writer in Chinese history, noted for his active exploration of little-frequented spots in the wilderness, seeking marvellous sights even during his exiles. An avid traveller, he even invented special footwear, dubbed 'Duke Xie's Sandals', for mountain climbing. His experience also reminds us of the drastically different conditions for travel and sight-seeing in the fifth century: as an aristocrat commanding vast material and human resources, Xie was able to deploy several hundred retainers to cut down trees and open a path through the mountains on one of his excursions. This story from his biography presents a striking contrast with his nature poems, which portray a beautiful, yet solitary landscape with the poet speaker as the lone rambler. Aesthetic appreciation of nature was made possible by the labour of retainers and servants, which is never mentioned in the writings of this period, not even in poems lamenting 'the hardship of travel', a favourite motif in Chinese literature.

The insatiable desire for the wonders of nature and the penchant for travel went hand in hand with an inward turn: the representation of landscape came to be linked with a belief, inflected by Buddhism, that what you are determines what you see, and that the mind has the power to transform the place.⁹ Some of the most memorable travel pieces are actually about imagined landscape. Sun Chuo's (320–77) poetic exposition 'Roaming the Heavenly Terrace Mountain' ('You Tiantai shan fu') is inspired by his viewing of paintings of this sacred mountain and a meditative experience. The great poet Li Bai wrote a famous poem on roaming on the Tianmu Mountain in a dream ('Meng you Tianmu yin liubie'), which is still a staple school text in mainland China. The motif of dream travel or visionary journey undertaken with a strong spiritual purpose had many ramifications in later times.

The Tang dynasty (618–907), the golden age of Chinese poetry, saw a flurry of travel writings in diverse genres. In 809, Li Ao (c.772–c. 841) was assigned to office in Guangdong, and embarked on the journey with his pregnant wife. The 'Record of Coming South' ('Lai nan lu'), in a little more than 1,000 words, gives a succinct account of the trip from Luoyang to Guangzhou. Starting on 6 February 809, he arrived on 24 July; halfway through his journey, at Quzhou (in Zhejiang), his wife gave birth to a daughter, and

⁹ See Xiaofei Tian, 'From the Eastern Jin through the Early Tang (317–649)', in Stephen Owen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, vol. I: *To 1375* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 199–285 (at pp. 213–16).

they stayed awhile so that the mother and baby could rest. Though always hailed as the first extant Chinese travel diary, Li Ao's is more precisely a chronicle with important dates marked with dry, brief entries. Occasionally, however, the prose stylist peeks out from underneath the cloak of the impassive chronicler: 'On the *wuyin* day, we went into the Dongyin Mountain, and I spotted a huge bamboo shoot the size of a baby!' One is tempted to relate this remark to the author's recent experience of becoming a parent.

Liu Zongyuan's (773–819) 'Eight Records of Yong Prefecture' ('Yongzhou baji'), a series of eight essays about the scenic sites of Yongzhou (in modern Hu'nan), are considered the gems of Chinese travel writing. Yet these exquisite essays are more about local landscape than about the dynamic experience of travel itself, which finds its fuller expression in contemporary poetry. Du Fu (712–70), commonly regarded as China's greatest poet, wrote many poems relating his journeys as he fled from war and chaos after the An Lushan Rebellion devastated the Tang empire. 'Northward Journey' ('Beizheng'), a narrative poem of 140 lines written in 757, consciously evokes Ban Biao's poetic exposition of the same title. It is a virtuoso performance that mixes anguished concerns for the state and tender compassion for his family and alternates between a grand historian's style and the sensitive, even whimsical, lyricist. Even more important for the tradition of Chinese travel writing is his series of twenty-four poems written on a journey from Qinzhou (in modern Gansu) to Chengdu (in Sichuan); the poems, each with a place name in the title, map out a clear itinerary. Xie Lingyun's poems written en route to exile might have been a model, but Du Fu goes beyond his predecessor by using poems as signposts that mark the topography throughout his journey. Each of Xie's poems is self-contained, but the poems in Du Fu's series together constitute a journey narrative with a well-conceived structure. After Du Fu, poetic series recounting a journey became a standard feature in Chinese travel literature and is continued today by poets writing in both classical and modern forms.

In the Song dynasty (960–1279) there was an increase in textual output, partially thanks to the spread of printing and the better circulation and preservation of texts. Writers produced voluminous travel writings in poetry and prose.¹⁰ Many canonical travel accounts are from this period; the genre of travel diary deserves special note. Unlike Li Ao's short chronicle, these diaries

¹⁰ James M. Hargett focuses on prose only and in particular discusses Song travel writings in detail in 'Travel Literature', in Victor H. Mair (ed.), *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 555–9.

are much more extensive, recording the sights and customs of places visited and passed through. Given the material conditions of travel, it is no surprise that many such diaries were kept during river voyages, since boat travel must have been more comfortable, and more amenable to writing, than riding a horse or sitting in a carriage or sedan chair. Lu You's (1125–1210) 'Account of My Journey into Shu' ('Ru Shu ji') and Fan Chengda's (1126–93) 'Boat Trip to Wu' ('Wu chuan lu') are well-known examples.¹¹ But we would miss a large part of the picture of travel writing if we constrained our survey to prose. As poetry increasingly takes on the role of a diary by recording a poet's everyday experience, the poetic travel diary serves a different function from its prose counterpart.¹² Again Fan Chengda's case furnishes a good example. Fan lived at a time when North China was under the rule of the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234), and the Jin and Song regularly dispatched emissaries to each other. Fan Chengda served as a diplomat on behalf of the Song government in 1170, and he wrote two records of the trip: one in prose known as 'Account of Holding the Reins' ('Lanpei lu'), and one in a series of 72 poems with copious notes provided by the poet himself. Compared with the prose account, the latter is much more detailed, and perhaps not surprisingly, more personal and emotionally intense, as the poet passed through the former Song territory occupied now by the Jurchens.¹³

Journal-style travel poetry, especially in the form of quatrains built from the seven-syllable line, offers snapshots that capture 'moments of being' on a journey. Yang Wanli (1127–1206), who travelled extensively in South China on official assignments, is a notable poet in this regard. His travel poems, frequently grouped in sets, are compiled into collections organised chronologically and often with a geographical focus, such as *The Collection of the*

¹¹ The former has been translated into English twice: as *South China in the Twelfth Century: A Translation of Lu You's Travel Diaries, July 3 – December 6, 1170*, trans. Joan Smythe and Chun-shu Chang (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981); and *Grand Canal, Great River: The Travel Diary of a Twelfth-Century Chinese Poet*, trans. Philip Watson (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007). The latter is available to English readers as *Riding the River Home: A Complete and Annotated Translation of Fan Chengda's (1126–1193) Diary of a Boat Trip to Wu (Wuchuan Lu)*, trans. James M. Hargett (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007).

¹² For a discussion of the productive tension between poetic and prosaic accounts recording the same travel experience but giving different manifestations, and of the critical role played by genre in travel writing, see Tian, *Visionary Journeys*, pp. 215–24. For a discussion of this issue using Lu You's poetic and prosaic accounts of his river journey to Shu as a case study, see Ronald Egan, 'When there is a Parallel Text in Prose: Reading Lu You's 1170 Yangzi River Journey in Poetry and Prose', in Paul W. Kroll (ed.), *Reading Medieval Chinese Poetry: Text, Context, and Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 221–50.

¹³ A translation of Fan's prose account can be found in *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126–1193)*, trans. James M. Hargett (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), pp. 147–79.

South Sea (Nanhai ji) that centres on Yang's sojourn in Guangdong from 1180 to 1182. Many of the poems are charming vignettes, and when read cumulatively, as they are intended to be, present a fascinating autobiography of a keen, witty mind. The following quatrain is a typical specimen:

Feeling sorry about the sedan chair cutting into the carriers' shoulders,
I dismount and walk till I get holes on the bottom of my feet.
The traveler's heart is filled with anxiety about dusk approaching,
And the emerald clouds, just to frustrate me, cover half the sky.¹⁴

Numerous authors from the late imperial period (fourteenth through nineteenth centuries) left an enormous quantity of travel writings, but the name to be inevitably mentioned is the remarkable Xu Hongzu (1586–1641), better known as Xu Xiake. Xu was something like a professional traveller who devoted his life to travel and braved many hardships and dangers, not compelled by political circumstances as most scholar-elite travellers in premodern China were, but out of a pure passion for exploration. Throughout his wanderings, spanning over thirty years and covering sixteen provinces, Xu kept a diary that amounts to 600,000 characters; it is a precious record for literary scholars, historians, and scientists alike, as he was one of those rare premodern Chinese travel writers who provided a meticulous witness account of the geographical and geological features of the landscapes he visited, such as the amazing cave formations in the southwest. Xu was not trying to produce a 'literary artifact' by contemporary aesthetic standards, yet occasionally his unadorned, detailed narrative, such as a vivid account of a robbery, appeals to a modern reader, with its earthy depiction of 'real travelling'.¹⁵

Two authors, obscure as they are in the traditional Chinese canon, nonetheless deserve mention because their travel accounts represent the ethos of their times. A gifted painter Huang Xiangjian (1609–73), the son of a Ming official, walked from his native place Suzhou to Yunnan during the chaotic years of the Ming–Qing transition to find his father there and bring him back home. He not only left a travel account but also a number of landscape paintings depicting his journey.¹⁶ Then, in the late nineteenth century, Zhang

¹⁴ This is No. 4 of the poetic series entitled, 'As I Journeyed through the Slope Trail, Big Trees Blocked the Sky for More Than Fifty Leagues, So I Wrote Seven Quatrains to Cheer Myself Up'. *Quan Song shi* ('Complete Song Poetry'), 72 vols. (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1991), vol. XLII, p. 26299.

¹⁵ The phrase is used by Pan Lei (1646–1708) in his foreword to Xu's diaries, translated in an appendix to Julian Ward's book, *Xu Xiake (1587–1641): The Art of Travel Writing* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), p. 206.

¹⁶ The account, known as *Filial Son Huang's Journey Record* ('Huang xiaozi jicheng'), was printed in 1655. Some of the paintings are preserved in the Suzhou Museum, some in the

Daye (b. 1854), a son of a Zhejiang scholar-official, wrote *The World of a Tiny Insect* (*Weichong shijie*), an autobiography structured as a travelogue. While the book's opening and final sections recount the author's travels in adult years, its middle section relates the author's childhood wanderings over the same territory during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64). At seven years old, Zhang Daye had fled with his mother from place to place in Zhejiang, their journey filled with macabre scenes of death and cruelty depicted through a child's eyes. Subsequently, much of his travel as an adult sought to dispel the ghosts haunting him from the past.¹⁷

Both Huang's and Zhang's accounts are products of a war-torn age; both deal with travel, personal trauma, and national disaster. Lyrical and nightmarish, elegiac and violent, Zhang's work harks back to a long tradition of Chinese travel writing; but with its fragmentation and flashbacks of a remembered landscape, it also stands at the birth of the modern literary tradition.

Travel Outside the Empire

Chinese travel was never 'primarily internal'.¹⁸ The Chinese empire was constantly engaged in colonial enterprises and trade networking from the Han dynasty on, and travel writing served the empire as a powerful apparatus. Yet a small, but significant, part of writing about travel abroad is religious, and the original motivations for these travels had little to do with the political or economic interests of the empire.

Again we must look to the fourth and fifth centuries, the time when mobility reached an unprecedented level and all sorts of travel writing flourished, and when Buddhism, a foreign religion, penetrated into Chinese society and made its permanent imprint on the native culture. People moved around in a politically divided 'China' and across the traditionally defined Chinese borders, not just to conduct trade, but also to go on religious pilgrimages. The first extant travelogue by a Chinese author about his foreign travels was written by a Buddhist monk, Faxian (c.340–c.421), who embarked on a journey to India in 399 CE in search of the complete Vinaya Piṭaka, a text

Nanjing Museum, among others. See Elizabeth Kindall, *Geo-Narratives of a Filial Son: The Paintings and Travel Diaries of Huang Xiangjian (1609–1673)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center Press, 2016).

¹⁷ Zhang Daye, *The World of a Tiny Insect: A Memoir of the Taiping Rebellion and its Aftermath*, trans. Xiaofei Tian (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

¹⁸ Strassberg (ed. and trans.), *Inscribed Landscapes*, p. 3 (my emphasis).

outlining rules and regulations for Buddhist monks and nuns. The land journey took him through some thirty kingdoms of Central Asia and India; thirteen years later, he finally boarded a merchant ship from the 'Kingdom of Lions' – Sri Lanka – and returned to China via the sea route. In 413 he arrived at the capital of the southern empire, Jiankang (modern Nanjing), and became a sensational figure in Buddhist and secular circles alike. He wrote an account of his travels shortly after his return, but it seemed too brief to satisfy the curiosity of his readers. A few years later, he was prompted to relate his travels in greater detail, and that is presumably the travelogue we have today, commonly referred to as *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (*Foguo ji*). This work became an inspiring precedent for a number of similar pilgrimage travelogues thereafter, the best preserved and most famous of which is the Tang monk Xuanzang's (c.600–64) *Account of the Western Regions During the Great Tang* (*Da Tang Xiyu ji*). Xuanzang's work not only has been of great importance for historians of medieval Central Asia and India but also for the later literary tradition, as his story constitutes the core narrative of the sixteenth-century novel *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji*), commonly attributed to Wu Cheng'en (1501–82).¹⁹ This novel was produced during the late imperial period, the heyday of the classical Chinese novel. It notably combines the philosophically transcendent dimension with the empirically fantastic element of early and early medieval Chinese travel literature, so that the journey to the Western Paradise is also a figure of a person's spiritual quest.

Nevertheless, religious travelogues take up only a small portion of overseas travel writing, the majority of which are closely related to the missions and concerns of the empire. In the first comprehensive history of China, the *Historian's Record* (*Shi ji*), the famous traveller Zhang Qian's (d.113 BCE) exploration of Central Asia is framed as an oral report made to the Emperor Wu of the Han (r.140–87 BCE), who had adopted an expansionist policy during his long, vigorous rule. The traveller's account was designed to present basic information about a place such as its geographical location, population, administrative system, local customs, and products; these data were of potential use to the state and conveyed knowledge of economic and military value, and the relation to 'elsewhere' was one of trade or of colonisation. This distinctly utilitarian mode of travel writing persisted through imperial China, most notably in state-sponsored dynastic histories, but also in private compilations.²⁰ It is sometimes adopted in domestic travel

¹⁹ In the English-speaking world the novel is best known as *Monkey*, an abridged version translated by Arthur Waley (1889–1966).

²⁰ For a detailed discussion, see Tian, *Visionary Journeys*, pp. 159–65.

writing, but the latter is characterised by its diversity in style and content, whereas writings about travel abroad tend to be more practical than aesthetic.

Sometimes an empire's failed ventures would lead to unexpected benefits. The Tang empire had many armed conflicts with the Islamic caliphates in the eighth century, and its Korean general Gao Xianzhi (Go Seonji, d.756) suffered defeat in the Battle of Talas in 751, which marked the end of Tang's westward expansion. Nevertheless, it resulted in the spread of paper-making technology to Central Asia and also occasioned the writing of *My Travels* (*Jingxing ji*) by Du Huan, a prisoner of war who travelled through the Arab countries and finally managed to return to Tang via the sea route in 762. His travelogue, no longer complete, is notable in that it is not only the earliest Chinese eyewitness account of the Arab countries but also was the first documented Chinese presence in Africa and left a rare contemporary record of the ancient trade-based empire Aksum.²¹

Many travelogues from the Song were composed by emissaries to the Liao (Khitans) and Jin (Jurchens) dynasties, such as the one by Fan Chengda mentioned above. Two records were composed by Southern Song envoys to Mongolia, one completed in 1221 and the other in 1237.²² The Mongol Yuan empire generated a surge of travel writing, much of which is about westward journeys following the Mongol conquest routes. Yelü Chucai (1190–1244), a descendant of the Khitan Liao royal family, became a trusted advisor to Genghis Khan (r.1206–27), who affectionately called him Urtu Saqal ('Long Beard'). He joined the khan's campaigns in Western Asia and subsequently authored *A Record of Westward Journey* (*Xiyou lu*) in 1228. *The Perfected Master Changchun's Travel to the West* (*Changchun zhenren xiyouji*), details the Daoist master Qiu Chuji's (1148–1227) arduous journey to the Hindu Kush to meet with the khan; it was compiled by Qiu's disciple Li Zhichang (1193–1256), who had accompanied the master.

The Ming dynasty's (1368–1644) maritime ambitions saw the famous voyages of the eunuch admiral Zheng He (1371–1433) to Southeast Asia,

²¹ Wolbert Smidt, 'A Chinese in the Nubian and Abyssinian Kingdoms (8th Century): The Visit of Du Huan to Molin-guo and Laobosa', *Chroniques yéménites*, 9 (2001), 17–28.

²² These are Zhao Gong's *The Comprehensive Record of the Mongol Tartars* (*Mengda beilu*), and Peng Daya's *A Summary of the Dark Tartars* (*Heida shilue*) with supplementary notes by another diplomat, Xu Ting. They are translated into German by Erich Haenisch, Yao Ts'ung-wu, Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks under the title *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lieh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980). Parts of them are translated into English based on the German translation in Tabish Khair et al. (eds.), *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing* (Oxford: Signal, 2006), pp. 104–11.

South Asia, Western Asia and East Africa. Several accounts were produced from the voyages by men who accompanied the admiral on his expeditions, and all exhibit the utilitarian mode of travel writing in their mixture of ethnographic observations and practical geographical directions for the purpose of expanding and enriching one's native state.²³ Gong Zhen's depiction of the Majapahit kingdom on the island of Java, for instance, proceeds from the depiction of its location, climate, flora, and fauna to the customs of its society. Like most accounts of the other kingdoms in his work, it ends with a confirmation of the kingdom's subordinate status vis-à-vis the Chinese empire. Another notable account from late imperial China is the *Small Sea Travelogue* (*Pihai jiyou*) produced by Yu Yonghe (fl. late seventeenth century) about his expedition to Taiwan, where he was sent by Fujian officials to obtain sulphur for the sake of manufacturing gunpowder.²⁴ Along with Chen Di's (1541–1617) *Record of the Eastern Frontiers* (*Dongfan ji*), this is one of the earliest accounts of the island of Taiwan and its indigenous inhabitants, and stands out among travel writings for its lively style and vivid details.

The late Qing dynasty (1644–1911) saw a new phase in overseas travel writing, as members of the scholar elite ventured far beyond the normal orbits of previous elite travellers to Europe and America, and authored a series of extensive travel accounts in which issues of identity and alterity come to the fore. Of particular note were the first such travellers, namely Bin Chun (b. 1804) and Zhang Deyi (1847–1918), who were among the first official emissaries dispatched to the Western world by the Manchu Qing government in the 1860s. With few previously published travelogues to consult regarding their destinations, they had to negotiate between the brave new world, itself in fast, dramatic change, unfolding before their eyes and the existing tradition of writing about the Other. This resulted in some of the most fascinating travel accounts, in both prose and poetry, a counterpart of the Western travel writings about China from the same period.²⁵

Absence in representation is often mistaken as a lack in social reality, but women likely travelled as much as men did in premodern times, even though they did not always leave behind travel writings. Bin Chun and Zhang Deyi heralded a fast-growing body of travel literature about the Western world, and among the prominent travel writers, Shan Shili (1858–1945) was the first

²³ See Tian, *Visionary Journeys*, pp. 159–65.

²⁴ See Emma Teng's discussion and translation of excerpts in her book, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2004).

²⁵ Tian, *Visionary Journeys*, pp. 153–214.

elite female traveller outside of China to write about her travels extensively.²⁶ As a matter of fact, a woman stands at the beginning of Chinese travel literature, and this is Ban Zhao (c.49–c.120), writer, historian, and trusted advisor to the female regent of the Han empire, Empress Dowager Deng Sui (81–121). In 95, seventy years after her father Ban Biao composed ‘My Northward Journey’, Ban Zhao wrote a poetic exposition, ‘My Eastward Journey’ (‘Dongzheng fu’), when she accompanied her son to his first official post.

Another often ignored aspect of Chinese travel writing is the travel of an emperor himself. Such travel largely took place within the Chinese territories; nevertheless, whether it was an inspection tour through the empire or an outing to the suburbs of the capital, the royal progress was an ostentatious spectacle and ritual necessity that displayed and asserted power. The Han poetic exposition on ‘The Great Man’, mentioned above, is about an imperial cosmic journey. Not coincidentally, the first prose account of travel in the Chinese tradition, dated to the third century BCE, is about the fantastic travels of an ancient king from the tenth century BCE; it is known as *The Story of King Mu* (*Mutianzi zhuan*). And another of the earliest prose travel accounts was written by a courtier following Emperor Guangwu of the Han (r.25–57 CE) on an expedition to the sacred Mount Tai to perform sacrifices to heaven and earth in 56 CE.²⁷ The tradition of imperial perambulation continued throughout imperial times. Emperors commissioned their courtiers to commemorate the occasions with writings, and beginning in the early medieval period emperors themselves increasingly took up literary composition. In terms of productivity, however, no Chinese emperor could rival the Manchu Qing monarch Qianlong (1711–99), who left behind a staggering number of over 40,000 mediocre poems. Many of these were composed on his outings near and far, especially during his six tours to South China between 1751 and 1784, and were inscribed on stelae at famous sites. Su Shi would truly have been reduced to silence.

Travel Writing in Modern Times

While overseas travel writing continued to be written in the first half of the twentieth century, travel writings about China by Japanese, European, and

²⁶ For a discussion of Shan’s travelogue about Japan and Russia, *Travels in the Guimao Year* [1903] (*Guimao lixing ji*), see Ellen Widmer, ‘Foreign Travel through a Woman’s Eyes: Shan Shili’s *Guimao lixing ji* in Local and Global Perspective’, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 65/4 (2006), 763–91.

²⁷ Strassberg (ed. and trans.), *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 57–62.

American travellers, among others, also proliferated.²⁸ For Chinese readers, such accounts provided a fresh perspective on one's society and culture, making it possible to look at things with new eyes. This external perspective was so appealing that the great writer Shen Congwen (1902–88) once authored a satiric novel, dubbed *Alice's Travels in China* (*Alisi Zhongguo youji*), in the form of a travelogue with just such an outsider – a fictional character nonetheless – as its protagonist.

One of the distinct characteristics of modern Chinese travel writing, which we have already seen in Zhang Daye's *World of a Tiny Insect*, is the combination of travel account with stories, whether of oneself or of others, and with remembrances. Shen Congwen's *Miscellaneous Sketches of Xiang Travels*, a powerful account of his journey back to his homeland in western Hu'nan (Xiang), is marked throughout by his reminiscences about his colourful adolescent experiences, his observations on local events and characters, and their past and present. The violent reality of the land torn apart by warlords' infighting, ethnic conflicts, and armed revolts is juxtaposed with the otherworldly beauty of the landscape. As Hu'nan is the old land of Chu and of the legend of Qu Yuan and 'Encountering Sorrow', cultural history and personal history interweave and form intricate layers, and the geographies in Shen's work are at once real and mythical, brutal and romantic. In the 2000 Nobel Laureate Gao Xingjian's (b. 1940) *Soul Mountain* (*Ling shan*), an autobiographical novel, we see the same elements – travel account, personal narrative, fantastic geographies, and issues of ethnicity, class, and gender.

With the economic rise of China and the advent of the Web in the 1990s, there has been a monumental shift in the ways in which Chinese travel writing is produced, circulated, and consumed in the twenty-first century. Through the premodern period, giving a first person account of travel was by and large an elite activity, but now many of the Chinese tourists roaming worldwide are ordinary, albeit well-to-do, citizens. They share their travel experiences on the internet, posting blogs and pictures on social media such as Weibo. Writing a poem or one's name

²⁸ See Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945* (Stanford University Press, 1996); Nicholas R. Clifford, *A Truthful Impression of the Country: British and American Travel Writing in China, 1880–1949* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). Leilei Chen's study, *Re-orienting China: Travel Writing and Cross-Cultural Understanding*, focuses on six Canadian and American travel writers in post-1949 China (University of Regina Press, 2016).

on the surface of a structure at a famous site may be an offence punishable by a fine today, but taking a selfie to demonstrate one's presence at the site is legitimate and can be broadcast to all who care to see it. Chinese travel writing is profoundly changed in the globalised, 'connected' world.

Travel Writing from Eastern Europe

ALEX DRACE-FRANCIS

'Eastern Europe' is a familiar term in English, featuring regularly in the mainstream media, in the titles of history books and guidebooks, and as a significant destination in classic English-language travel texts such as Rebecca West's *Black Lamb, Grey Falcon* (1941) or Patrick Leigh Fermor's *Between the Woods and the Water* (1986). During the twentieth century, political factors brought the region into sharp relief, contributing to its perception as being both near and remote, alluring and threatening. Such framings were not simply a product of Cold War politics, but rather built on a long tradition of external representations, from the cartography and geography of the Enlightenment to the popular novels of Jules Verne, Anthony Hope, and Bram Stoker.¹

Despite this, 'Eastern Europe' is not a label necessarily recognised or accepted by writers from the region it purports to designate. Transylvanian-born scholar Andaluna Borcilă has described, for instance, how she encountered the concept not in her home country but upon relocating to the USA in the 1990s.² Borcilă's compatriot Ștefan Borbély was even more disconcerted when, on a research stay in an Oxford University college, he was told to sign the meals register not with his own name, but with the letters *EES*, which, the college butler explained, stood for 'East European Scholar'. 'I forgot my identity in the space of a month', Borbély wrote sardonically, 'and I was glad on return to see the customs officer's profiteering snarl, in order to regain it.'³ Bosnian émigrée Vesna Marić, after spending several years in

¹ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius, 'Welcome to Slaka', *Third Text*, 18 (2004), 25–40.

² Andaluna Borcilă, 'How I Found Eastern Europe', in Magdalena J. Zabrowska and Elena Gapova (eds.), *Over the Wall / After the Fall: Post-Communist Cultures through an East-West Gaze* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 42–64 (at p. 42).

³ Ștefan Borbély, 'EES', in Wendy Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations: An Anthology of east European Travel Writing* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), pp. 369–70.

England in the same decade, wryly acknowledged having ‘become Eastern European’, but only in reaction to the way she was perceived by her hosts.⁴

These examples show how people from ‘Eastern Europe’ both write about their travels and express their discomfort with labels that the wider world places on them. Research into East European travel writing has used the term hesitantly, using mainly linguistic parameters, to investigate travel texts written in Albanian, Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, or Ukrainian.⁵ The region’s complex transnational and imperial history has meant that users of most of these languages have been in long-term contact with other languages, including Latin, German, Italian, Russian, Turkish, French, and English; as well as with those of important diasporic communities, notably Yiddish, Armenian, and Greek. Yet another language, Romanes, has been used in the region for at least a millennium by the Roma, who have been perceived as archetypal travellers, although few literary texts have been produced in the language.⁶

For all the bewildering linguistic diversity, the shifting borders, and the lack of agreement on a name, there are many texts from the region which provide great insight into the problems of representation, identity, and power that have been at the forefront of the inquiry into travel writing’s multiple significations and cultural functions. This chapter provides a brief historical tour of the development of travel writing in the above languages, commenting on how writers have utilised the genre. I make particular reference to strategies of identity and othering, which are recognised to be strongly present in the region’s cultures, and significant for the wider debates over the nature and function of travel writing in a global context.

Although quite large states emerged in late medieval eastern Europe, the institutionalisation of writing and geographical knowledge was slow compared to western Europe. However, the mid-sixteenth century saw the appearance of a number of texts, often the product of imperial or diplomatic

⁴ Vesna Marić, *Bluebird: A Memoir* (London: Granta, 2009), p. 66.

⁵ See the attempts to lay down some provisional parameters in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008); and Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *A Bibliography of East European Travel Writing* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008). Noting the term’s indeterminacy, Bracewell and Drace-Francis spell ‘eastern’ with a small e; this chapter adopts the same convention, except when reference is made to symbolically loaded understandings of ‘Eastern Europe’.

⁶ On Romani writing and identity issues, see Paola Toninato, *Romani Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

missions, especially Habsburg and Polish missions to the Ottoman empire. These included the writings of Croatian prelate and diplomat Antun Vrančić (Antal Verancsics, Antonius Verantius), Bohemian merchant Hans (János) Dernschwam, Slovene emissary Benedikt Kuripečič (Benedict Curipeschitz), and the Poles Erazm Otwinowski and Mikołaj Radziwiłł-Sierotka. Czech nobleman Kryštof Harant produced one of the most significant Renaissance accounts of Egypt and the Holy Land. Travels to the East were in fact more common than to western Europe, which was not generally a prominent destination before the nineteenth century. As well as diplomatic relations, the encounter with the Ottoman empire also produced a number of captivity narratives, including that of the Czech Václav Vratislav z Mitrovic, and the hugely popular *De afflictione* (1544) of Bartolomej Đurđević (Bartolomäus Georgius, Bartholomäus Georgevitz), self-styled ‘pilgrim to Jerusalem’, which detailed both the author’s travails and the customs of the Turks.⁷

These texts were usually composed in international languages – Latin or German – and writers did not tend to affirm their national identity (the above labels should be considered as retrospective approximations). However, from the seventeenth century, travel accounts began to appear in the vernacular: these include the Hungarian Márton Szepsi Csombor, whose *Europica varietas* appeared in 1620. Csombor’s work is notable for being a well-structured standalone book, published shortly after the journey itself was undertaken, and with an ambition to treat a theme, that of ‘European diversity’, in a coherent fashion, while using spontaneous observation and a somewhat informal register.⁸ Csombor also referred explicitly to his national identity in order to account for his feelings of difference: for example, upon rejecting the advances of an innkeeper’s daughter in Rochester, England, he stated that ‘being Hungarian, I was not used to such ceremonies’.⁹ Other consistent early narratives include Czech Daniel Vetter’s account of his 1638 journey to Iceland (published in 1673); and the anonymous Polish *Diary of Peregrinations in Italy, Spain, and Portugal* (1595, but not published until 1925). While east European writers participated only in a limited way in the wider European trends of anthologising and theorising about travel, the *Medulla geographiae practicae*

⁷ Laura Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the Making of Czech Identity, 1453–1683* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013). For more on Georgevitz (or Georgievits), see Chapter 4.

⁸ Márton Szepsi Csombor, *Europica varietas*, trans. Bernard Adams (Budapest: Corvina, 2014).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

of David Frölich (Bardejov, 1639), a compendium aimed at providing practical geographical information for travellers, is worth mentioning.¹⁰

Many of the above journeys, and their resulting texts, were facilitated by religious and educational networks, perhaps Protestant ones in particular. The Roman Catholic Church also proved to be a catalyst of travel, not least through its missionary activities, sponsoring travellers such as the Croat Ivan Rattkay who did pioneering ethnographic work in seventeenth-century Mexico in the service of the Society of Jesus.¹¹ Seventeenth-century eastern Europe also saw the appearance of the first Yiddish travel accounts of the Holy Land; of the first modern Armenian travel text, Simeon of Poland's account of his pilgrimage to Rome; and the beginnings of travel writing in Ottoman Turkish, including the work of Evliya Çelebi, whose ten-volume *Book of Travels* must constitute one of the largest works of travel literature produced at that time or since.¹² In the Orthodox world, there were travellers in Russian imperial service, including the Moldavian Greek Nikolai Spafarii [Nicolae Milescu], who wrote an extensive account of a journey to China in 1675.¹³ Spafarii's steps to China were retraced a generation later by Sava Vladislavich-Raguzinskii, a Serb from Dubrovnik who had entered Russian service.¹⁴ By the eighteenth century a number of accounts bore witness to the flourishing networks of Orthodox religious travel, both within the region and to western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁵

The period from the late seventeenth century to 1815 saw a dramatic restructuring of power relations in eastern Europe. Austria, Prussia, and Russia extended their dominions to the detriment of Poland, Sweden, Venice, and the Ottoman empire. This has led some scholars to see the

¹⁰ Attila Hevesi, 'The Life and Scientific Work of Dávid Frölich', in *Térkép – Tudomány. Tanulmányok Klinghammer István professzor 65. születésnapja tiszteletére* (Budapest: ELTE-Térképtudományi és Geoinformatikai Tanszék, 2006), pp. 169–78.

¹¹ Ivan Čižmić and Matjaž Klemenčič, 'Croatian and Slovene Missionaries as Inventors and Explorers of the American Midwest', *Društvena istraživanja*, 11/4–5 (2002), 761–83.

¹² Jean Baumgarten, 'Jerusalem in Seventeenth-Century Travellers' Accounts in Yiddish', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 7 (1992), 219–26; Simeon of Poland, extract in Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 25–7; Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, trans. J. von Hammer, 3 vols. (London: Parbury, Allen, 1834–50).

¹³ Rudolf Loewenthal, 'Nikolai Gavrilovich Spafarii-Milesku (1636–1708): A Biobibliography', *Monumenta Serica*, 37 (1986–7), 95–111; Mark Mancall, *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 70–110.

¹⁴ Mancall, *Russia and China*, pp. 236–65.

¹⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides, 'Balkan Mentality: History, Legend, Imagination', *European History Quarterly*, 19 (1989), 149–90; texts in Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 48–9, 54–8, 92–100.

region as a partly 'colonised' space, although it was not generally subject to the same degree of settlement and exploitation as parts of the world under the domination of western Empires.¹⁶ While in the long term this led to the development of anti-imperial movements among most of the thus subordinated nations, it also precipitated exile to other countries and cultural comparison in search of models of development. Some of the first travel writers from the region were exiles, such as the Greek Nikandros Noukios, whose move from Ottoman Corfu to Venice preceded his employment in Habsburg service, and led to his writing the first extensive Greek-language account of Western Europe (1545, first published 1841); the Transylvanian Hungarian Kelemen Mikes, whose *Letters from Turkey* (1735, first published 1794) paint a vivid picture of life in Ottoman Istanbul in the early eighteenth century; and the Moldavian Demetrius Cantemir, whose *Descriptio Moldaviae* (c.1716, first published 1771) is an ethnography of his homeland written in exile in St Petersburg for the benefit of a learned international audience.

As the eighteenth century progressed, contacts with western Europe increased. Stanisław August, the last king of Poland, wrote extensive letters (in French) recording – not uncritically – his encounters with French and British manners and customs. Greek merchants and scholars also used the letter form to describe their sojourns in Amsterdam, Paris, and other cities. The Serbian monk Dositej Obradović travelled east and west in the 1770s and 1780s, and published an extensive account of his *Life and Adventures* in Leipzig in 1788, one of the first modern narrative works in Serbian. It contains eulogistic descriptions of Paris and London, which made him feel 'as if I had been born into a new world' (the same phrase that Lady Mary Montagu had deployed to describe her feelings on entering the Ottoman world in 1717).¹⁷

Certain travellers also went beyond the confines of Europe. These included the adventurer and self-proclaimed 'King of Madagascar' Maurice, Count de Benyovszky (of mixed Polish, Slovak, and Hungarian heritage), author of a volume of memoirs dating from the 1780s; Jan Potocki, whose *Voyage en Turquie et en Egypte* (1788) preceded the famous Napoleonic expedition; and the Bohemian-German Thaddeus Haenke, a leading member of the Malaspina expedition (1789–94) to map the west coast of Latin America,

¹⁶ See esp. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford University Press, 1994).

¹⁷ Richard Butterwick, *Poland's Last King and English Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1998); Bracewell (ed.), *Orientalisms*, pp. 85–91, 96; cf. Lady M[ary] W[ortley] M[ontagu], *Letters*, 3 vols. (London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1763), vol. 1, p. 157.

likewise preceding a better-known set of scientific travels, in this case those of Alexander von Humboldt.¹⁸

In this way, 'East Europeans' participated in the key processes of Enlightenment travel, both in discovery and exploration and in the intellectual networks that underpinned them. The expanding framework of the Republic of Letters also enabled writers to engage in vigorous polemics concerning the descriptions of their own lands by outsiders: examples include Dalmatian Giovanni Lovrich's [Ivan Lovrić] spirited 1776 rebuttal of Italian Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, and Pole Krystyn Lach Szyrma's 1823 critique of foreigners' 'miraculous and absurd accounts of the Sclavonians'.¹⁹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, most east European literary cultures still lacked the literary institutions and bourgeois readerships that were so central to the development of travel writing in western Europe. But efforts to develop elements of public culture and communication were beginning: newspapers were established, and vernacular languages began to be codified. The travel genre proved to be a fruitful vehicle, both for reporting on the perceived refinements of western European societies, and for individual writers seeking to fashion their own authorial identities and political agendas. Travel texts now appeared regularly in book form in many languages of the region, and often played a role in the impulse to build up national pride, frequently involving delicate operations of comparison. For example, Romanian Constantin ('Dinicu') Golescu wrote an *Account of my Travels* (1826) in which he confessed to his delight at the 'agreeable and peaceable sights' of Vienna, Munich, Geneva, Trieste, and other central European cities, but also to his 'great shame' at having to acknowledge their absence in his home province of Wallachia. Hungarian Count István Széchenyi noted the latest industrial and economic developments in his journal during his visit to western Europe in the same decade, and returned home with plans to improve transportation in Hungary.²⁰

But not all developments of the nineteenth century pointed travellers westwards. Polish travellers in particular developed something of a cult for the Mediterranean and Near East, evident in the verse and prose of Adam

¹⁸ Josef Opatrný (ed.), *La expedición de Alejandro Malaspina y Tadeo Haenke* (Prague: Karolinum, 2005).

¹⁹ See Wendy Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', *Études balkaniques*, 2–3 (2011), 224–49; Lach Szyrma's text in Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 77–9; Alex Drace-Francis, *The Traditions of Invention: Romanian Ethnic and Social Stereotypes in Historical Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 115–34.

²⁰ Drace-Francis, *Traditions of Invention*, pp. 135–58; Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 101–7, 109–12.

Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Zygmunt Krasiński, and Cyprian Norwid. This involved a combination of (traditional or revived) religious orientation towards Rome, and a more modern Romantic fascination with the Orient and the philosophy of history: all these themes produced representations important for the Polish self-image. Similar tendencies were at work in Czech and Hungarian travel writing, in which a fascination for the Balkans and the Orient was quite as prominent as texts about western Europe.²¹

As elsewhere, most travel texts written in nineteenth-century eastern Europe were authored by men. However, there are notable exceptions: Polixena Wesselényi, who came from an old Transylvanian family, contributed knowledge and observations to her English husband John Paget's two-volume *Hungary and Transylvania* (1839), and published her own account of her *Travels in Italy and Switzerland* in 1842, in Hungarian. Early Croatian feminist Dragojla Jarnević was able, as a result of her employment as governess and lady's companion, to visit Graz, Vienna, and Trieste, and kept an intimate diary of her observations. Pole Łucja Rautenstrauchowa produced sophisticated impressions of both town and country life in France, Italy, and the Alps. Wallachian aristocrat Elena Ghica – who married a Russian, resided largely in western Europe, and wrote under the pen-name Dora d'Istria – published a number of accounts in French and Italian of her excursions in Switzerland, Greece, and other countries, as well as a general work on the situation of 'the women of the East' (*Les femmes en Orient*, 1859), including the Balkans. These authors were aware of the rise of 'the woman question' in international debate, and like women writers elsewhere, produced self-conscious defences of their right to write and publish.²²

Also in this period, many east European travellers produced accounts not just of distant lands but also of neighbouring ones, partly in order to establish the potential political and ethnographic boundaries of their own future homelands. In 1842, Croatian author Matija Mažuranić published an account

²¹ Maria Kalinowska, 'European Identity and Romantic Irony: Juliusz Słowacki's Journey to Greece', in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes*, pp. 223–36; Tomasz Ewertowski, 'Images of Rome in Polish and Serbian Literature of the Romantic Period', *Vestnik Karagandinskogo Universiteta, Seria 'filologija'*, 3/71 (2013), 17–26.

²² Magdalena Ozarska, *Two Women Writers and their Italian Tours: Mary Shelley's 'Rambles in Germany and Italy' and Lucja Rautenstrauchowa's 'In and Beyond the Alps'* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013); Zsuzsanna Varga, 'Hungarian Women Writers as Literary Mediators in the Nineteenth Century', in A. Kiséry, Z. Komáromy, and Z. Varga (eds.), *Worlds of Hungarian Writing* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), pp. 75–92; Celia Hawkesworth (ed.), *A History of Central European Women's Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); representative extracts in Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 79–80, 127–8, 165–77.

of his journey to Bosnia, on the grounds that his people had spent too much time 'looking westwards' and it was 'finally time for us to turn around and find out for ourselves about the conditions prevailing in this part of Illyria'.²³ Inter-regional expeditions of this kind were a particularly notable feature of attempts to explore broader questions of Slavic identity, or what Jan Kollár called 'the spirit of reciprocity among the Slavic nations'.²⁴ This could involve some ambiguities of attitude: Czech scholar Konstantin Jireček's account of his sojourn in Serbia and Bulgaria in the late 1870s and early 1880s veers between stressing the theme of Slav solidarity and expressions of anxiety about the 'Oriental' milieu in which he found himself.²⁵ Among Serbs and Bulgarians themselves, even short journeys occasioned a strong sense of otherness: Lyuben Karavelov, writing about Plovdiv (where he had been educated) for a Russian-language audience in 1868, described it as 'picturesque' from a distance, but on closer inspection 'nothing but a stinking swamp'.²⁶ For some Romanians, a pilgrimage to Rome was an essential part of constructing the national identity; others, however, went southwards or eastwards, to Macedonia or Bessarabia, in search of putative fellow nationals. For Hungarians, the matter of finding common ancestors necessitated remoter excursions, to the Caucasian Mountains and even to Tibet, to investigate the idea – as it turned out, an unfounded one – that the Hungarian language originated there.²⁷

Meanwhile, the tradition of east Europeans travelling further afield, often in the service of other nations and writing in other languages, continued. The literary consequences of Pole Józef Korzeniowski's decision to write first in French, and then, under the name Joseph Conrad, in English, are well known.²⁸ Hungarian scholar and traveller Ármin Vámbéry travelled extensively in Turkey, Iran, and Central Asia: his 1865 account of this journey,

²³ Matija Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, trans. Branka Magaš (London: Saqi, 2008).

²⁴ Wendy Bracewell, 'The Limits of the Slav World', in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes*, pp. 147–94; Kollár and other texts on spatial identities are in Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945)*, vol. 11: *National Romanticism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), pp. 203–304.

²⁵ Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 224–7; cf. Karen Gammelgaard, 'Were the Czechs More Western than Slavic?', in György Péteri (ed.), *Imagining the West in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), pp. 13–35.

²⁶ Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, p. 238.

²⁷ See Edward Fox, *The Hungarian Who Walked to Heaven: Alexander Csoma de Koros, 1784–1842* (London: Short Books, 2001).

²⁸ Adeline Koh, 'Comparative Racializations: Reading Joseph Conrad across Africa, Asia and Poland', *Third Text*, 24 (2010), 641–52.

Travels in Central Asia, was published simultaneously in English and Hungarian and was instrumental in popularising the name of this region. In 1881, Czech explorer Emil Holub published his account of *Seven Years in South Africa*, in both Czech and English. Transylvanian Count Sámuel Teleki undertook expeditions to Central and East Africa in the late 1880s, and likewise published his accounts in English and Hungarian. Archaeologist Aurel Stein continued this tradition, working mainly in English although he remained proud of his Hungarian-Jewish heritage. A little later, Romanian Emil Racoviță participated in an early Arctic expedition in 1897 on board the ship *Belgica*, writing up his account in French. His compatriot, the motoring enthusiast Georges Bibesco, travelled from Paris to Tehran by automobile, via his home city of Bucharest, accompanied by his wife, the Princess Marthe Bibesco, who wrote up the voyage as *Les huit paradis* (1908).

Alongside these traditions of scholarly or elite travel, more spontaneous and experimental attempts emerged. Major writers in the period from the 1870s to the eve of the First World War used the developing *feuilleton* format to publish travel impressions with an eye for fresh reportage and reflection on cultural identities and political predicaments. A case in point is the Pole Bolesław Prus (1847–1912), who wrote numerous journalistic travel features in the early part of his career before consolidating his reputation as the leading novelist of his generation. The genre was similarly exploited in other national literatures, for instance in Hungarian by modernist Dezső Kosztolányi (1883–1936), and in Serbian by Isidora Sekulić (1877–1958).²⁹

In other cases, writers produced travel texts in fictional or quasi-fictional form. Bulgarian Aleko Konstantinov's *Baï Ganio* (1894) depicted the encounters of a typical 'Balkanite' with unfamiliar European norms through the device of travel letters. *The Good Soldier Švejk* (1923) by Czech writer Jaroslav Hašek, based on the author's wanderings through Prague and on the Eastern Front, deserves mention as one of the great novels of the First World War, and effectively a travel book in the picaresque tradition. The alignment of east European travel writing with reportage on the one hand, and literary fiction on the other, shows similarities with the general understanding of travel writing as a 'hybrid' genre, adapting itself to the possibilities of the publishing environment, but also establishing travel as a key component of maturing literary cultures in formation.³⁰

²⁹ Extracts in Bracewell (ed.), *Orientations*, pp. 242–8, 261–3, 280–6.

³⁰ Tzvetan Todorov, 'The Journey and its Narratives', in Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon (eds.), *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 278–96.

This consolidation of literary cultures accelerated after World War I, as the great empires were dismantled, and the region was reorganised into independent states, whose boundaries remained contested in many cases. This circumstance lent a particular importance to ethnological and topographical investigations in the service of nation-building projects, and in all these countries travel writing was used to explore and valorise territory, whether newly annexed or recently lost. Examples of 'ethnographic' travel writing include Czech Rudolf Richard Hofmeister's *Picturesque Wanderings through Bohemia* (1925); Serb Miloš Crnjanski's *Our Adriatic Beaches* (1927), celebrating the coastline of the recently formed kingdom of Yugoslavia; Hungarian Gyula Illyés's *People of the Puszta* (1936), a study of the inhabitants of the Great Hungarian Plain; Romanian Geo Bogza's *Land of Stone* (1939), which described those of the Apuseni Mountains in Transylvania; and Greek Nikos Kazantzakis's *Journey to the Morea* (1939), a view of mainland Greece by a Cretan islander.

Other travellers from interwar eastern Europe took a different tack, orienting themselves towards the urban centres of western Europe and reflecting on the relation between their own cultural milieu and the now normative metropolitan models: writers such as Czech Karel Čapek, Romanian Mihail Sebastian, or Serb Jovan Dučić cultivated an urbane, essayistic tone while engaging in exercises of cultural comparison aimed at a domestic audience.³¹ At the same time, and in tune with international trends, travel writing was used as a vehicle for commentary on the political experiments taking place in the USSR: leading Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža published his teasingly entitled *Outing to Russia* in 1926, while three years later one of the most notable critical exposés of Soviet life was published in French by disillusioned Romanian socialist author Panaït Istrati (*Vers l'autre flamme*, 1929).

Nor did the inclination for more exotic, extra-European travel diminish. Hungarian Count László Almásy's 'heroic' travels across the Libyan Desert and up the Nile Valley later served as a model for the protagonist of Michael Ondaatje's novel *The English Patient*.³² Polish scholar and adventurer

³¹ Ivan Klíma, *Karel Čapek*, trans. Norma Conrada (North Haven, CT: Catbird Press, 2002); Vladimir Gvozden, 'Writing Difference/Claiming General Validity', in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *Balkan Departures: Travel Writing from Southeastern Europe* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2009), pp. 75–86; Diana Georgescu, 'Excursions into National Specificity and European Identity', in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes*, pp. 293–324; Alexander Vari, 'Exile, Urban Tourism and Identity', *Journeys*, 7 (2006), 81–109; Mykola Soroka, 'Ukrainian Literary Modernism', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 49 (2007), 323–47.

³² Isabel Capeloa Gil, 'A Question of Rewriting? László Almásy's Desert Mapping and its Postcolonial Rewriting', *Journal of Romance Studies*, 11 (2011), 63–77.

Ferdynand Ossendowski published an eclectic combination of scientific investigations, literary fiction, and exotic adventures in locations ranging from Manchuria to North Africa: his works enjoyed considerable success in English and French translations.³³ Romanian historian of religions, Mircea Eliade, who studied Indian religions in British Calcutta in the 1920s, wrote both travel and fictional accounts of his sojourn,³⁴ while diplomat and writer Rastko Petrović's account of his African travels (*Afrika*, 1930) was a landmark work in interwar Serbian travel writing.³⁵

After the defeat of the Axis Powers in Europe in 1945, most of the states of eastern Europe, while formally reconstituted as independent entities, fell under the hegemony of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany became a nominally independent state (the German Democratic Republic); Yugoslavia and Albania, in contrast, adopted socialist forms of government but split with the Soviet Union. These political developments still provide the primary framework for understanding the notion of 'Eastern Europe' in mainstream public discourse. One of its constituent symbolic features was of course the notion of the 'Iron Curtain' deployed by Winston Churchill in 1946, and the consequent bars on travel and emigration imposed on the majority of the population, which historian Dariusz Stola, treating the case of Poland, has labelled 'the Great Sealing Off'.³⁶

In this sense the very idea of 'Eastern Europe' has been associated with restrictions on both travel and writing: the latter in turn continued to be framed as modes of self-expression, constitutive of 'Western' liberal identities and human rights. But while the external restrictions were very real, there was extensive travel *within* the communist bloc, which played a significant role in constituting it as a distinct political and economic unit.³⁷ In the early Cold War period, travel texts were primarily used as a means of propaganda,

³³ Ferdinand Ossendowski, *Of Beasts, Men and Gods*, trans. L. S. Palen (London: Edward Arnold, 1923); Ferdinand Ossendowski, *The Fire of the Desert Folk*, trans. L. S. Palen (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926).

³⁴ Mircea Eliade, *India* (Bucharest: Cugetarea, 1934); Mircea Eliade, *Bengal Nights*, trans. C. Spencer (Manchester: Carcanet, 1993).

³⁵ Zoran Milutinović, 'Oh, to be a European!', in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes*, pp. 267–91.

³⁶ Patrick Wright, *Iron Curtain: From Stage to Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Dariusz Stola, 'Opening a Non-Exit State: The Passport Policy of Communist Poland, 1949–1980', *East European Politics and Societies*, 29 (2015), 96–119; for longer-term perspectives on restricted mobility, see Tara Zahra, 'Travel Agents on Trial: Policing Mobility in Central Europe, 1889–1989', *Past and Present*, 223 (2014), 161–93.

³⁷ Patryk Babiracki and Kenyon Zimmer (eds.), *Cold War Crossings: International Travel and Exchange Across the Soviet Bloc, 1940s–1960s* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014).

providing positive accounts of socialist countries and negative accounts of capitalist ones. Despite their obviously partisan intent, they have attracted scholarly interest as ‘a lens through which Western society could be seen in a prescribed, correct fashion’.³⁸ Their importance as instruments of social prescription can be seen in the fact that nearly all major writers published travel accounts, even when it was not the genre for which they were primarily known. Some descriptions of western societies managed to focus on the allegedly ‘neutral’ grounds of technology and social development, which were seen as legitimate fields of investigation that might contribute to the socialist project without fear of ideological ‘contamination’.³⁹

Official attitudes to travel under the various socialist regimes had to reckon with the fact that internationalism was a key part of socialism’s appeal as a doctrine,⁴⁰ and that this involved the establishment of connections with the wider world, not just in areas such as foreign policy and economic relations but also in the cultural sphere. This helps to explain why some intrepid global travel flourished in the early socialist period, including, for example, Czech adventurers Jiří Hanzelka and Miroslav Zikmund’s exhilarating and extremely popular accounts of their travels in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, which were translated into many languages across the Warsaw Bloc and beyond.⁴¹

After the dramatic crises of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, the 1968 Prague Spring, and subsequent Soviet interventions, policing of travel and mobility was temporarily intensified. But the general trend after the late 1950s was towards ‘thaw’ and a partial opening up of relations with western Europe. This took place initially at limited diplomatic levels, but had its counterparts in economic and social life, with a certain degree of commercial and technological exchange – through what György Péteri has called the ‘Nylon Curtain’ – and some opportunities for mainstream touristic travel.⁴² The socialist states also had well-developed foreign newspaper correspondence networks, which

³⁸ Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius, ‘The Cold War Traveller’s Gaze’, in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes*, pp. 325–54; Rossitza Guentcheva, ‘Images of the West in Bulgarian Travel Writing during Socialism (1945–1989)’, in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Eastern Eyes*, pp. 355–75; Drace-Francis, *Traditions of Invention*, pp. 251–63; Ludmilla Kostova, ‘Getting to Know the Big Bad West’, in Bracewell and Drace-Francis (eds.), *Balkan Departures*, pp. 105–35; Paulina Bren, ‘Mirror, mirror, on the wall . . . Is the West the fairest of them all?’, in Péteri (ed.), *Imagining the West*, pp. 172–93.

³⁹ A point made by Guentcheva, ‘Images of the West’, p. 357.

⁴⁰ Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (London: Bodley Head, 2009), pp. 112–14.

⁴¹ Jiřina Šmejkalová, ‘Command Celebrities: The Rise and Fall of Hanzelka and Zikmund’, *Central Europe*, 13 (2015), 72–86.

⁴² György Péteri, ‘Nylon Curtain: Transnational and Transsystemic Tendencies in the Cultural Life of State-Socialist Russia and East-Central Europe’, *Slavonica*, 10 (2004),

nurtured writings such as those of the Polish writer Ryszard Kapuściński, who became an internationally known name through translations into English, French, and other languages.⁴³ Although the effects of such changes should not be overestimated, and restrictions on travel remained carefully policed in most east European states with the exception of Yugoslavia, they did trigger basic shifts in the understanding of the function of travel literature, whose production increased in quantity and changed in quality.

The fall of the socialist regimes in 1989–90 was marked by the enactment of the principles of free movement across previously heavily guarded walls, such as the Berlin Wall, and national frontiers, such as that between Hungary and Austria.⁴⁴ The events marked one of the turning points of twentieth-century history, and also a potential breach in the concept of Eastern Europe itself: in the early 1990s the Hungarian ambassador to Australia, László Pordány, wrote to the publishers of the Lonely Planet guide to the region requesting that they no longer use the name, arguing that ‘Central Europe’ was more appropriate.⁴⁵ Not only did this not happen, but the writers of the region faced significant challenges.⁴⁶ In some cases (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, USSR), states broke up; in others, travel writing may have lost some of its intensity as a genre devoted to navigating the politics of difference, once both physical and mediated boundaries with the West and other parts of the world had broken down.

Among other things, the post-1989 period saw east European writers gain increasing access to the English-language publishing market. The appearance of travel and autobiographical texts in English was a notable feature of the literary marketplace and the representation of the region. Moreover, works selected for English publication tended to be those that conformed to established themes and preconceptions.⁴⁷ For instance, works in English

113–23; Diane Koenker and Anne Gorsuch (eds.), *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Cathleen Giustino, Catherine Plum, and Alexander Vari (eds.), *Socialist Escapes* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2013); and the special section ‘Crossing the Borders of Friendship’, in *East European Politics and Societies*, 29 (2015).

⁴³ Artur Domosławski, *Ryszard Kapuściński: A Life*, trans. A. Lloyd Jones (London: Verso, 2012).

⁴⁴ For travel-based analyses of the changes, see Joe Moran, ‘November in Berlin’, *History Workshop Journal*, 57 (2004), 216–34; Mark Keck-Szajbel, ‘The Politics of Travel and the Creation of a European Society’, *Global Society*, 24 (2010), 31–50.

⁴⁵ David Stanley, *Eastern Europe*, 3rd edn (Hawthorn, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1995), p. 14.

⁴⁶ Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Remaining Relevant After Communism: The Role of the Writer in Eastern Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁴⁷ Andrea Pisac, ‘An Anthropology of Success’, *Wasafiri*, 29 (2014), 58–64.

often dealt with the recent communist past, rather than with escape into the future or into other lands, as witnessed by the success of Slavenka Drakulić's *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (1991) and Anna Funder's *Stasiland* (2003). Themes of exile, trauma, and memory remained prominent, including in works on the boundary between travel and fiction, such as Nobel Prize-winning author Herta Müller's *Traveling on One Leg* (1989, trans. 1998). On the other hand, Dubravka Ugrešić's sardonic accounts, on the borderline between travel, memoir, and fiction, of life in the USA and Europe (*Have a Nice Day*, 1994; *Ministry of Pain*, 2005), challenged conventional conceptions of 'East Europeanness'.

The end of the Cold War also opened up the possibility of travel memoirs of return to a lost homeland: Eva Hoffman's *Exit into History* (1993), Susan Rubin Suleiman's *Budapest Diary* (1996), and Madeleine Albright's *Prague Winter* (2012) proved popular examples of this genre. The above examples are all by women authors, and there are many others on the frontier of memoir and travelogue, including Vesna Goldsworthy's *Chernobyl Strawberries* (2005), Kapka Kassabova's *Street with No Name* (2008), Vesna Marić's *Bluebird* (2009), and Agata Pyzik's *Poor but Sexy* (2014). These more recent texts sometimes take explicit issue with the inadequacy of labels like 'exile', 'migrant', 'refugee', or 'survivor' – 'mine is by no means an exceptional tale', insists Goldsworthy.⁴⁸ Several male travel writers continued in the paradigm of bold explorers of 'exotic' lands, which included Siberia in the case of Jacek Hugo-Bader (*White Fever*, 2009, trans. 2012); the Balkans in that of Andrzej Stasiuk (*On the Road to Babadag*, 2004, trans. 2011); and the Middle East in that of Sándor Jászberényi (*The Devil is a Black Dog*, 2013, trans. 2015).

If travel writing can be viewed as a medium for exploring issues of self and other through the representation of experiences of displacement, then the study of east European varieties of the genre has a lot to offer scholars seeking to understand the multifarious forms such representations can take. It would be tempting to conclude this chapter by summarising certain alleged specific characteristics of east European travel writing. However, the only thing that can reasonably be said is that travel texts in east European languages are hugely varied, in terms of destinations (near and far), degrees of empowerment and relation to dominant discourses, and modes of writing, from true to false, literary

⁴⁸ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Chernobyl Strawberries* (London: Atlantic, 2005), p. 3.

to non-literary, and serious to humorous. They also call into question the concept of Eastern Europe itself.⁴⁹ As with all travel texts, they narrate the crossing of boundaries but they also provoke reflection on how those boundaries are constructed, both by the travellers themselves and by the wider world.

⁴⁹ On the way in which conceptions of labour, gender, class, and mobility impact on understandings of 'Eastern Europe', see Attila Melegh, *On the East-West Slope: Globalization, Nationalism, Racism and Discourses on Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006); and Anca Parvulescu, *The Traffic in Women's Work: East European Migration and the Making of Europe* (University of Chicago Press, 2014).

Italian Travel Writing

NATHALIE C. HESTER

The vast corpus that the category of Italian travel writing might include, from the accounts of medieval merchants to autobiographical texts by contemporary migrants, reflects the cultural and linguistic variety inherent in the history of the Italian peninsula. Before its political unification in 1861, Italy comprised a collection of city-states, republics, and duchies, and had been subject to foreign domination, including by France, Spain, and Austria.

While travel writing tends to resist uniform characterisations, there are continuities that are particularly relevant to the Italian context. These include cosmopolitan currents related to the conditions of production and reception of Italian travel writing, currents that point less to philosophical or political considerations than to a notion ‘capable of representing complex repertoires of allegiance, identity, and interest.’¹ It reflects in part the Italian peninsula’s position as a commercial and cultural crossroads of the Mediterranean and, for instance, the medieval Italian, and in particular Venetian, presence on the silk and spice trade routes. The cosmopolitanism of the most popular medieval accounts from the Italian context is evident in the duration and breadth of the travellers’ itineraries and in the multilingual nature of their texts’ transmission. For example, the travels of Marco Polo (c.1264–1324), known as *Le devisement du monde* (‘The Description of the World’) or *Il milione* (‘The Million’), were first written down by romance writer Rustichello da Pisa in a French-Venetian linguistic variety. The tale of lengthy travels through Europe and Asia has an extensive manuscript tradition, and hundreds of early copies circulated in Old French, Venetian, French, Latin, and German. Odorico di Pordenone (1286–1331), a Franciscan friar and missionary from northern Italy, journeyed to India and China, and extant manuscripts of his travels can be found in Latin, French, and Italian.

¹ Robin Cohen and Steven Vertovec, ‘Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism’, in Robin Cohen and Steven Vertovec (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1–22 (at p. 4).

In the early modern period, Italian travellers, among them merchants, navigators, and scientists, often left their city-states and became subjects of courts elsewhere in Europe. Antonio Gramsci's considerations of Christopher Columbus as a primarily cosmopolitan figure are pertinent to the larger historical context of Italian travel. Gramsci is sceptical of modern Italian attempts to represent Columbus as a national hero:

Of what can consist the 'national' element of the discovery of the Americas? . . . For many centuries Italy had an international-European function. Italian intellectuals and specialists were cosmopolitan and not Italian, not national. Statesmen, captains, admirals, scientists, navigators; Italians did not have a national spirit, but a cosmopolitan one. I don't know why this should diminish their greatness or lessen Italian history, which has been what it has been, and not the fantasy of poets and the rhetoric of propagandists.²

Gramsci's words point to the dangers of an ideologically driven revisionism, one that construes early modern Italian travel and exploration as an expression of Italian national identity formation. His focus on Italy's international role remains a compelling and certainly more accurate lens through which to consider Italian travel culture through the centuries.

In conjunction with its cosmopolitan characteristics, Italian travel writing reflects the prominence of the Italian literary canon, both as a model for travel writing and as a vehicle for expressing an 'Italian' identity in the encounter with otherness and with emerging proto-national European identities. The Tuscan-based literary vernacular, the model for today's standard Italian, was theorised by Dante in the early 1300s in his *De vulgari eloquentia* ('On the Eloquence of the Vernacular') and systematically defined by Venetian humanist Pietro Bembo in his *Prose della volgar lingua* ('Writings on the Vernacular Language', 1525), which established Petrarch as the model for poetry and Boccaccio as the model for prose and favoured literary genres such as epic and lyric poetry. The recognised foundational texts of Italian vernacular literature are those of the *tre corone*, or three crowns – Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio – and they remain a strikingly consistent reference point for travellers from the Italian peninsula who write of their journeys. On a primary level, the Italian canon is a useful paradigm because travel is one of its constitutive elements, both in its textual production and the cultural contexts for that production. As Theodore Cachey, Jr, writes in his study of Dante, Petrarch, and travel, 'Literature itself, understood as travel

² Translation mine. Antonio Gramsci, *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura* (Turin: Einaudi, 1955), pp. 57–8.

across physical, temporal and spiritual frontiers will subsequently represent the Italian tradition's privileged form of mobility, its preferred mode of transportation.³ Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were all writers in exile. All three foreground travel and movement in their works, from the otherworldly allegorical voyage of the *Divine Comedy*, through the spiritual and geographical restlessness in Petrarch's poetry and letters, to the vivid tales of Mediterranean mobility in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

Significantly, in Italian travel writing, Italy's literary tradition becomes a substitute for Italian geopolitical unity, for which both Dante and Petrarch longed.⁴ While Italian travellers identify with their *patria*, their city or region of origin, their travel accounts often refer to the three crowns, evoking their link to an authoritative and prestigious Italian identity. Italy's literary language and classical heritage, including Christian Rome, rather than its political or geographical integrity, have represented for centuries the fundamental parameters of Italian unity and belonging. The literary tradition thus becomes a stand-in for home, the departure point that is essential to the experience of travel, and to narrating that experience.⁵

In addition, Petrarch's and Boccaccio's humanist works offer key models for travel writing. Italian humanism was cosmopolitan in its conception and its educational programme, centred on the revival of classical antiquity, conceived as exportable and universally applicable. Empirical study and the interest in uncovering, collecting, and categorising worldly knowledge, among the hallmarks of humanist scholarship, had obvious repercussions for travel culture. Petrarch's *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum domini nostri Iesu Christi* ('Itinerary to the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ', 1358), as well as many of his letters, are paradigms for recounting movement through space and ordering geographical and cultural knowledge. In the *Itinerarium*, Petrarch, unable to make his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land, describes the cities and areas of Italy to visit on the way, punctuating the text with classical literary references. Boccaccio's *De Canaria* ('On the Canary Islands', 1340s), presented as a translation into Latin of a letter on the European discovery of the Canary

³ Theodore Cachey, Jr, 'An Italian Literary History of Travel', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 14 (1996), 55–64 (at p. 63).

⁴ '[T]ravel away from Italy points to the embarrassment of the fact that Italy . . . did not exist as a place to depart from and return to.' *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵ 'The economy of travel requires an *oikos* (the Greek for "home" from which is derived "economy") in relation to which wandering can be comprehended (enclosed as well as understood). In other words, a home (land) must be posited from which one leaves on the journey and to which one hopes to return.' Georges Van Den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. xviii.

Islands, comprises an early example of ethnographic writing.⁶ The text, based on an account by Genoese merchant Niccoloso da Recco, includes a description of naked inhabitants and the social and religious customs of Canarians. Humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) recount their Italian and European travels in their Latin works. Bracciolini also transcribed, in Book IV of his *De varietate fortunae* ('On the Vicissitudes of Fortune'), the Southeast Asian travels of merchant Niccolò de' Conti (c.1395–1469). This account of de' Conti's, first published as *India recognita* in 1492, was a source of information for Ludovico de Varthema (c.1470–1517), who travelled to the Middle East, including Mecca, then to India and Southeast Asia, and published his *Itinerario* in Italian in 1510. By the late 1500s, the text had appeared in Latin, Spanish, German, French, and English. Antonio Pigafetta (c.1480–c.1536), the Vicentine who accompanied and was one of a handful of survivors of Magellan's expedition from 1519 to 1522, produced the only complete eyewitness account of the journey. His text, which was published posthumously, reflects a humanist formation and includes detailed ethnographic descriptions and transcriptions of foreign words.⁷

The cosmopolitan-humanist thrust of Italian travel writing is inherent in the collections and anthologies of travel accounts published in Italian in the sixteenth century. The grammarian and cosmographer Fracanzio da Montalboddo edited the first anthology of the most significant contemporary travel accounts, initially published in Vicenza in 1507 as *Paesi nouamente retrouati et Nouo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio florentino* ('Newly discovered countries, and the New World by Amerigo Vespucci').⁸ It includes accounts of Portuguese and Spanish travels, most of them unpublished at the time, such as Alvise Da Mosto's navigation along the coast of West Africa with Antoniotto Usodimare in 1455–6. Alvise Da Mosto (c.1429–83) was a Venetian navigator and slave trader, and likely among the first Europeans in the Cape

⁶ 'Petrarch and Boccaccio mark the beginning of modern travel writing also to the extent that their studies of the geography of the classical world . . . and of contemporary cartography laid the foundations for subsequent developments in scholarship and travel literature.' Theodore Cachey, Jr, 'Travel Literature', in Gaetana Marrone and Paolo Puppa (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies*, 2 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2006), vol. 11, pp. 1904–9 (at p. 1906). Petrarch's letter describing his 1336 ascent of Mount Ventoux (*Familiars*, 1v. 1) is an early example of alpine travel.

⁷ Francesco Surdich, 'Niccolò de' Conti', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-de-conti_(Dizionario-Biografico).

⁸ Antonella Pagano, 'Fracanzio da Montalboddo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fracanzio-da-montalboddo_(Dizionario-Biografico).

Verde islands.⁹ He eventually joined a Portuguese expedition to explore the western coast of Africa. Other texts in the collection include those of Vasco da Gama (c.1460–1524) and the first three voyages of Columbus. The fifth book of the work comprises the earliest publication of one of Amerigo Vespucci's letters to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, which had circulated in manuscript form in Latin and Italo-Venetian. The collection saw dozens of editions and translations into French, German, and Latin, between 1508 and 1563.¹⁰

The most influential collection of travel accounts in Italian remains Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni e viaggi* ('Navigations and Travels'). Ramusio (1485–1557), born in Treviso, enjoyed an illustrious career in the Venetian Republic as a humanist, diplomat, geographer, and editor. The three volumes of the first edition of the *Navigations* were published between 1550 and 1559, and the collection quickly became the most respected resource on travel in Italian. It was a primary reference for many Italian writers interested in global navigation, and it created a canon of global travel literature, a model that later editors of Italian travel texts used. Indeed, the accounts from the *Navigations and Travels* often figure in subsequent European anthologies and collections. The three volumes, organised around travel to Africa, the Americas, and Asia, include the accounts of Marco Polo, Caterino Zeno, Odorico da Pordenone, the Zeno brothers, and Giosafat Barbaro (1413–94), the Venetian diplomat who travelled through Turkey, the Middle East, and to Persia, and knew Niccolò de' Conti's and Jean de Mandeville's accounts. The writing of another Venetian diplomat who went to Persia, Ambrogio Contarino, also figures in Ramusio, as well as humanist Paolo Giovio's (1483–1551) account of a diplomat's trip to Muscovy. The volume on the Americas opens with Ramusio's own *Discourse on Columbus*, in which he defends Columbus from the charge that he stole news of the Americas from a Spaniard and was therefore not the first to 'discover' it. The tome includes parts of *De orbe novo decades* (*Decades of the New World*), Peter Martyr of Anghiera's recasting of first-hand accounts of the Americas that he obtained during his career at the Spanish court. The accounts by Italians in this volume certainly affirm the cosmopolitan nature of Italy's contribution, since navigators such as Columbus and Vespucci were part of non-Italian expeditions, as was Giovanni da Verrazzano (1485–1528), who sailed on a French ship, and John Cabot

⁹ Ugo Tucci, 'Alvise Da Mosto', *Dizionario biografico*, [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alvise-da-mosto_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alvise-da-mosto_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

¹⁰ Pagano, 'Fracanzio da Montalboddo'.

(Giovanni Caboto, 1450–1500), who looked for the Northwest Passage for the English.

Significantly, all the accounts in *Navigations and Travels*, under Ramusio's instructions, were translated or adapted according to the rules for the Italian literary vernacular established by Pietro Bembo. As such, the collection, while far removed from contemporary notions of the Italian literary arts, participated in the establishment of the Italian literary-linguistic standard. With this publication, both Venice and Italy – symbolised as a homogeneous entity by the Italian literary vernacular – could be seen as essential to the dissemination of world knowledge. Italy could remain symbolically at the centre of European expansion and exploration, even if it could not participate as a unified proto-state in the colonial endeavours of England, Portugal, and Spain.¹¹

While most travel accounts by Italians during the Age of Exploration are written in regional linguistic varieties, Spanish, or Latin, many include references to the Italian literary tradition. Scholarship on early modern exploration and travel by Italians has uncovered the influence of the three crowns on the writings of navigators and merchants. Mary Watt, for example, makes the case that Dante's netherworld imagery, indeed its very conception as a 'new' world with a specific topography and anthropology, is a determinant model for Columbus's representation of the Caribbean. She notes that Columbus, like Dante, locates the Earthly Paradise as antipodal to Jerusalem, which was generally represented cartographically as being on top of the world. As with Dante's journey, then, Columbus travels downwards and then comes back up.¹² Columbus is indebted to Dante for the cartographic and geographical framing of travels in an early modern imperial context. Roland Greene has argued that the Petrarchan lyric and its enshrinement of longing was a paradigm for expressing early modern European imperial desire, and he examines Petrarchan echoes in Columbus's writing.¹³

¹¹ Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), makes a comparable case for the Dutch context, examining how Dutch publishing, as much as Dutch exploration and colonialism, contributed to the invention of new worlds and proto-national identities.

¹² Mary Watt, 'Dante and the New World', in Elizabeth Horodowich and Lia Markey (eds.), *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492–1750* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 34–46. She writes, 'Similarities in his conception of the world and Dante's suggest very strongly that Columbus was familiar with both the geography and the eschatology of the *Commedia*' (p. 40). Columbus was a reader of Marco Polo, and his annotated copy of the *Milione* is held at the Columbus Library in Seville.

¹³ Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquests: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Indeed, in other examples, the three crowns are models not only for travel writing, but for interpreting the world. Works by Dante, Petrarch, or Boccaccio, most saliently for Florentine travellers, are deployed as guide-books for apprehending and interpreting the new and the unknown. Amerigo Vespucci (c.1485–1528), in his letter of 18 July 1500 to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, mentions Dante when describing his search for a star to use for orientation in the southern hemisphere. Vespucci identifies the Southern Cross, 'in the form of an almond', as a match for the constellation mentioned in Canto 1 of *Purgatory*.¹⁴ While such a reference might not come as a surprise in a Florentine writing to a Medici patron, it does reflect the centrality of Dante to many forms of Italian intellectual thought, including natural philosophy. It is Dante's *Divine Comedy*, then, that will help Vespucci navigate the coast of present-day Brazil.

A Dantean echo sounds in Giovanni da Verrazzano's letter to Francis I of France, who in 1524 sponsored a brief expedition to the northern coast of the Americas. Verrazzano, who recounts the journey up the coast from present-day Florida to Newfoundland, paraphrases verses 121–2 of Canto v of Dante's *Infèrno* when describing how one indigenous group reacts to difficult times: 'They are very piteous and charitable towards their fellow people, making great lamentations in the face of adversity, remembering, in times of misery, all their joys.'¹⁵ This is an allusion to Dante's encounter with the shades of the lovers Paolo and Francesca, the latter of whom famously explains to Dante, 'There is no greater pain than to remember, in our present grief, past happiness.'¹⁶ For a Florentine merchant writing his travels for Francis I and his Italianate court, the *Divine Comedy* is an almost automatic prism through which to represent a daring journey into the unknown.

¹⁴ 'And while I was going on with this [studying the night sky], I remembered the words of our poet Dante in the first canto of *Purgatory*, when he pretends to leave this hemisphere and finds himself in the other, which say: "Then to my right I turned to contemplate / the other pole, and there saw those four stars / the first man saw, and no man after him. / The heavens seemed to revel in their flames. / Oh widowed northern hemisphere, deprived / forever of the vision of their light." It seems to me that the Poet, in these verses, wishes to describe the four stars of the other firmament and I do not doubt, up to now, that what he says will in the end be the truth, because I noticed 4 stars in the form of an almond, that had little movement.' Ilaria Luzzana Caraci and Mario Pozzi (eds.), *Scopritori e viaggiatori del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Milan: Ricciardi, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 230–1. Translation mine except verses 22–7 from *Purgatory*, Canto 1, which are from *Dante Alighieri's Divine Comedy: Verse Translation and Commentary by Mark Musa*, vol. 111: *Purgatory* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 3.

¹⁵ My translation. Caraci and Pozzi (eds.), *Scopritori*, vol. 1, p. 607.

¹⁶ 'E quella a me: "Nessun maggior dolore / che ricordarsi del tempo felice / nella miseria."' Dante Alighieri, *Infèrno*, trans. Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 311.

Similar literary reflexes pervade the writings of Galeotto Cei (1513–79), another Florentine merchant. His account of a fourteen-year journey to the Caribbean and South America, which remained unpublished until 1992, compares elements of some American landscapes, including a sulphuric river, to Dante's *Inferno* and demonstrates a propensity for anecdotes that recall the trickster tales of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. In Cei's text, the stories of the *Decameron* are a resource or guide for avoiding being duped by Spaniards and indigenous peoples and for understanding and reacting to the previously unknown.¹⁷ In one instance, Cei writes that knowledge of the prank by Boccaccio trickster Buffalmacco, who dresses as a devil to scare his victim in the eighth day of the *Decameron*, allowed Cei to keep cool and fight back during an ambush by indigenous men he describes as also disguised as devils. Cei represents himself as well suited for avoiding New World plots and traps because he is a reader of Boccaccio. Along similar lines, Francesco Carletti (c. 1573–1636), another Florentine merchant, quips in his *Ragionamento del mio viaggio intorno al mondo* ('Account of my Trip Around the World', 1701), that some salacious parts of his account may well do justice to Boccaccio's short stories.¹⁸ Once again, although for different purposes, the prestigious Italian literary canon is present when travellers put pen to paper.

As the publication and translation of travel accounts increased in the early modern period, and as the novel developed in Europe, travel prose reflects an effort to produce stylistically inviting texts that appeal to contemporary literary tastes. For example, in fifteenth-century Venice, legislation formalised the content categories – political, geographical, and cultural – that written ambassadorial accounts were to provide. Although these reports were ostensibly state secrets, by the late sixteenth century they began circulating in European circles, and diplomats dedicated more time to producing enjoyable prose.¹⁹ While the emphasis still fell on transmitting factual knowledge to readers, the attention to pleasing a wider readership took on a greater role in both religious and secular contexts. Roman patrician and independent traveller Pietro della Valle (1586–1652) published fifty-four letters

¹⁷ See my 'Bitter Laughter and Colonial Novellistica in Galeotto Cei's *Relazione delle Indie*', *Culture and Civilization*, 6 (2014), 243–57.

¹⁸ Francesco Carletti, *Ragionamenti del mio viaggio intorno al mondo*, ed. Adele Dei (Milan: Mursia, 1987), p. 114. Filippo Sassetti (1540–89), another Florentine merchant, whose letters about travels to Goa were not published until the eighteenth century, has fared well in anthologies of Italian travel because his prose is considered particularly polished and literary.

¹⁹ Gino Benzoni, 'La vita intellettuale', in Gino Benzoni and Gaetano Cozzi (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*, vol. v11: *La Venezia barocca* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), pp. 813–919 (at p. 817).

written to his friend, Neapolitan naturalist Mario Schipano, about his twelve-year journey (1614–26) through the Middle East and to India. When della Valle left Italy on a Venetian ship, he expected Schipano to turn his future letters into the first Italian non-fiction prose epic. Della Valle first fashions himself as a Petrarch-like pilgrim escaping unrequited love, and then as a hero from epic poetry, boldly and enthusiastically exploring multitudes of lands and cultures. His relationship with his Syrian Christian wife, Sitti Maani, sometimes characterised as a warrior woman, is meant to evoke the lovers Tancredi and Clorinda of Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581). Indeed, the preface to the first French translation of his letters explicitly compares della Valle and his wife to the Tassian protagonists.²⁰ Francesco Negri (1623–98), a priest from Ravenna who travelled through Scandinavia from 1663 to 1666, gives ample room to recounting the difficulty of travel through frigid climates, and includes Petrarch-like laments in moments of difficulty. Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri (1651–1725), a Calabrian who lived in Naples and undertook one of the first self-funded circumnavigations, also makes literary allusions in his *Viaggio per l'Europa* ('Travels through Europe', 1693, 1700) and *Giro del mondo* ('Journey Around the World', 1699–1700). Daniello Bartoli (1608–85), the historian of the Jesuit order and author of a monumental *History of Jesuit Missions* (*Storia della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1653–73), was dubbed the 'Dante of Italian prose' by nineteenth-century writer Giacomo Leopardi.²¹ In large part because of this modern recognition, Bartoli often figures in anthologies of baroque Italian literature.

By the eighteenth century, the centre of European travel publications was decidedly in the north, and many Italian travellers and intellectuals looked outside Italy for cultural models and reference points. Italian urban centres became the favoured destinations of rapidly spreading northern European aristocratic tourism, and Italians who travelled abroad necessarily found themselves moving counter-current to Grand Tour routes. The Milanese

²⁰ 'We could in some sense compare him [della Valle] to Tancredi, just as we could compare her [his wife, Sitti Maani] to Clorinda, of whom Tasso has sung such marvels in his beautiful verses.' Pietro della Valle, *Les fameux voyages de Pietro della Valle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1663), vol. 11, aiiij^r. My translation.

²¹ Alberto Asor-Rosa, 'Daniello Bartoli', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/daniello-bartoli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/daniello-bartoli_(Dizionario-Biografico)). The writings of Italian missionaries, in particular Jesuits, contributed valuable ethnographic information to the European reading public. Giuseppe Bressani's (1612–72) dramatic account of missions in New France was published in 1653 and later translated into French. Matteo Ricci's (1552–1610) and Prospero Intorcetta's (1626–96) writings comprised major contributions to European knowledge of China, and Milanese Cristoforo Borri's *Account of Jesuits' Missions in China* (*Relatione della nuova missione delli PP. della compagnia di Gesù al regno della Cocincina*, 1631), was translated into Flemish, French, English, and German.

intellectuals Alessandro and Pietro Verri corresponded while Alessandro was abroad, and he wrote numerous letters on the mores of Paris and London. Writer Luigi Angiolini (1750–1821), a Tuscan intellectual who spent time at the court of Naples and accompanied Neapolitan diplomatic missions to northern Europe, published his well-received *Lettere sopra l’Inghilterra, la Scozia, e l’Olanda* (*Letters on England, Scotland, and Holland*) in 1790. Angiolini shows particular interest in government and politics, and lists and describes ‘national’ characteristics in a manner typical of European travel writing of the time. The Venetian polymath Francesco Algarotti (1712–64), who travelled widely in northern Europe and Russia, published his *Saggio di lettere sopra la Russia* (‘Essays of Letters on Russia’, 1760) with a Paris imprint.²² Giuseppe Acerbi’s (1773–1846) *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland* was first published in English in 1802, in French the following year, and finally, in Italian, in 1834.

The essayist and critic Giuseppe Baretti (1719–89), who spent over a decade in England, was particularly attuned to and critical of northern European publications on contemporary Italy. Baretti published a series of English-language books aimed at educating the public about Italy.²³ His travel writing, along with critiques of English publications on Italy, comprises a methodology of the genre, one which refuses to stereotype or condescend, and one that is particularly attuned to cultural and linguistic variations according to region.

In *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* (1768), for example, Baretti implicitly challenges the notion that the function of Italy, subject to foreign domination, is to serve the rest of Europe as a museum or series of tourist sites. The text reveals the particular complexities in positioning Italian culture in relation to the rest of Europe in the context of the Grand Tour. Well aware that European tourist culture and the travel publishing market are heavily influenced by northern European countries, Baretti seeks to communicate the lesser-heard voice of a European ‘other’. He resists all foreign representations of Italy and Italians based on uniform and often pejorative ‘national’

²² Algarotti’s account was actually published in Venice. See Antonio Franceschetti, ‘Francesco Algarotti viaggiatore e letterato’, *Annali d’italianistica*, 14 (1996), 257–70 (at p. 257).

²³ These titles include *An introduction to the Italian languages containing specimens of prose and verse* (London: printed for A. Millar, 1755), *The Italian Library, containing an account of the lives and works of the most valuable authors of Italy* (London: printed for A. Millar, 1757), *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy, with observations on the mistakes of some travellers, with regard to that country* (London: printed for T. Davies, L. Davis, and C. Rymers, 1768), and *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain, and France* (London: printed for T. Davies and L. Davis, 1770).

characteristics. His account is not only an attempt to make Italian culture comprehensible, but at the same time a warning that Italy cannot be understood by those, including the casual traveller, who are unworthy, by his standards. The text remains both an attempt to remedy inherent shortcomings in Grand Tour writing about Italy and an exposé of the elusiveness of true cross-cultural understanding.

The period of Italian unification, the *Risorgimento*, saw a steady increase in Italian mobilities. As Italians emigrated to the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand, the Italian state began encouraging its citizens to explore the regions of their own country as well as to participate in its new colonial endeavours. Attention to travel was part of the impulse to create a narrative of Italian identity and belonging. The Italian Geographical Society (*Società Geografica Italiana*) was founded in 1867 and put out a Bulletin that highlighted Italian travellers and their writings. Pietro Amat di San Filippo, one of the early members of the Society, published the *Biografia dei viaggiatori italiani* (*Biography of Italian Travellers*, 1881), which remains the most comprehensive list of premodern Italian travellers. He also edited, with Gustavo Uzielli, the *Studi biografici e bibliografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia* ('Biographical and Bibliographical Studies on the History of Geography in Italy', 1882–4). Other key publications of the period were Gaetano Branca's unapologetically patriotic *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani* ('History of Italian Travellers', 1873), and, after the turn of the century, Alessandro d'Ancona's *Viaggiatori e avventurieri* (*Travellers and adventurers*, 1912), which includes the seventeenth-century travels to France of Sebastiano Locatelli and excerpts from Casanova's *Memoirs*.²⁴

Significantly, the publications associated with the Italian Geographical Society gave space to the contributions of Italian women travel writers. Amat di San Filippo's *Biography of Italian Travellers* lists the writings of Cristina Trivulzio di Belgioioso (1808–71), who was exiled to France for her anti-Austrian activism, and published her travel accounts in French: *Asie Mineure et Syrie: Souvenirs de voyage* ('Asia Minor and Syria: Travel Memoirs', 1858) and *La vie intime et la vie nomade en Orient* ('Intimate and nomadic life in the Orient', 1855). The *Biography* also mentions Amalia Nizzoli's *Memorie sull'Egitto* ('Memoirs of Egypt', 1841), the first published account of Egypt by a European woman. Other works by Italian women travellers listed in the bibliographical section of the Bulletin include Carla

²⁴ Giacomo Casanova (1725–98) wrote his memoirs in French, as did his fellow Venetian, playwright Carlo Goldoni (1707–93).

Serena's *Une européenne en Perse* ('A European Woman in Persia', 1881) and *Tre mesi in Kakhezia* ('Three Months in Georgia', 1882).²⁵

The Italian Geographical Society was established in part to help Italy's goal of establishing colonies abroad. It sponsored numerous expeditions in Eritrea and Abyssinia between 1869 and 1876.²⁶ And as Italy became the focal point of mass tourism, beginning with the package tour envisioned by Thomas Cook,²⁷ the Touring Club Italiano (Italian Touring Club), founded in 1894, began campaigns to 'far conoscere l'Italia' ('get to know Italy'), initiatives that continued under Fascism. The Italian state also mobilised Italians to move throughout the early twentieth century to Eritrea, Somalia, Libya, the Dodecanese islands, Ethiopia, and Albania.²⁸

Publications and new editions of travel accounts under Fascism continued to foster the narrative of Italian identity as inextricably linked to exploration and conquest. These included new editions of premodern travel accounts prepared by journalists and scholars. A principal example of such initiatives was the series *Viaggi e scoperte di navigatori ed esploratori italiani* ('Travels and Discoveries of Italian Navigators and Explorers'), started by the Alpes publishing house in Milan and given to Rinaldo Caddeo as head editor. Alpes published twenty-one volumes from 1928 to 1932, when it ran into financial difficulties, and included accounts by Ludovico de Varthema, Marco Polo, Ferdinand Columbus, Antonio Pigafetta, Amerigo Vespucci, as well as previously unedited letters and accounts by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers.

The link between travel, tourism, and national and patriotic fervour, however, did not translate into an elevated status for travel writing. Indeed, developments in travel culture also elicited reactions of scepticism to modes of modern travel and tourism. The nineteenth century saw a series of satirical works about travel, such as the books by Giovanni Faldella, whose titles include *Un viaggio a Roma senza vedere il papa* ('A Trip to Rome Without Seeing the Pope', 1880). Carlo Collodi, the author of *Pinocchio*, pokes fun at train travel in his *Un romanzo in vapore. Da Firenze a Livorno. Guida storico-*

²⁵ Mirella Scriboni, 'Il viaggio femminile nell'Ottocento', *Annali d'italianistica*, 14 (1996), 304–25 (at pp. 306–7).

²⁶ See Gabriele Abbondanza, *Italy as a Regional Power: The African Context from National Unification to the Present Day* (Rome: Aracne, 2016), pp. 36–7. There were several geographical and colonial societies founded at this time in different cities of Italy.

²⁷ Cook's first organised tour to Italy took place in 1864. See Stephanie Malia Hom, *The Beautiful Country: Tourism and the Impossible State of Destination Italy* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 87–104.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.

umoristica ('A Novel in Steam. From Florence to Leghorn. A Historical-Humoristic Guide', 1857).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, travel accounts became common in periodicals and newspapers, as the figure of the *inviato speciale* (special envoy) emerged. Edmondo De Amicis (1846–1908), best known for his children's book *Cuore* (*Heart*, 1886), travelled on assignment for several Italian newspapers, and in the 1870s published a series of accounts of trips to Spain, London, Constantinople, and Paris. The prolific writer and journalist Matilde Serao (1856–1927) published *Nel paese di Gesù: ricordi di un viaggio in Palestina* ('In Jesus' Homeland: Memoir of a Trip to Palestine') in 1899 and *Lettere di una viaggiatrice* ('Letters of a Woman Writer', 1908), a series of reflections on travel in Italy and France.²⁹

Newspaper correspondents and journalists also published travel writing of journeys through Italy's colonies. Orio Vergani and Ciro Poggiali were sent to East Africa by the *Corriere della Sera* in the 1930s, and their writing follows what Charles Burdett has termed a 'narrative of settlement' in support of Italy's colonial efforts.³⁰ Such writing was part of the patriotic and imperial fervour of the new nation-state of Italy and contrasted with the cosmopolitan-humanist characteristics of premodern Italian travel writing.

During the same period, many daily newspapers dedicated the *terza pagina*, or third page, to literature and culture. The third page, while traditionally a forum for serial stories, also often contained travel accounts or special reports written by intellectuals and writers, such as the poet Guido Gozzano's writings on India, later published in a volume as *Verso la cuna: lettere dall'India* ('Towards the Cradle: Letters from India', 1912). This work was a precursor to another account of travel to India in 1961 by Pier Paolo Pasolini, who made the journey with authors Alberto Moravia and Elsa Morante and published his accounts in the daily newspaper *Il Giorno* (Moravia published his in the *Corriere della Sera*). Pasolini's writings later came out as *L'odore dell'India* ('The Scent of India', 1962). The text reflects characteristics of his literary and filmic works, combining a nostalgic view of pre-industrial societies with highly sensory depictions of people and landscapes.

As the kaleidoscope of modern Italian travel writing becomes more varied and complex in its possibilities and categories, it is helpful to consider several identifiable threads. One is the ongoing connection between popular travel writing and journalism, which is particularly relevant to authors such as

²⁹ Scriboni, 'Il viaggio femminile nell'Ottocento', p. 306 n. 11.

³⁰ Charles Burdett, *Journeys through Fascism: Italian Travel Writing Between the Wars* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 121–2.

Tiziano Terzani (1938–2004), who covered the Vietnam war for Italian newspapers, Giorgio Bettinelli (1955–2008), who travelled the world by Vespa, Paolo Rumiz (b. 1947), who has covered the Balkans, and Beppe Severgnini (b. 1956), who writes humorous books on Italians and travel and contributes regularly to the *New York Times*. Journalist and novelist Maria Rosa Cutrufelli (b. 1946) has paid particular attention to the plight of women in postcolonial Africa in *Mama Africa: storia di donne e di utopie* ('Mama Africa: A Story of Women and Utopias', 1989) and *Ricordi d'Africa* ('Memories of Africa', 2009). In *Bilal* (2007), the journalist Fabrizio Gatti recounts his journey along the routes taken by African migrants across the Sahara and towards Europe.

Another thread comprises the meditations on travel by major Italian authors whose writing privileges the themes of travel, quests, borders, and crossings. Bestselling Tuscan author Antonio Tabucchi (1943–2012), known especially for his novel *Notturmo indiano* ('Indian Nocturne', 1984), published *Viaggi e altri viaggi* ('Travels and Other Travels') in 2010. Claudio Magris (b. 1939), who was born in the border town of Trieste, published *Danubio* (1986), a series of meditations on a voyage through Italy.³¹ Both Tabucchi, a professor of Portuguese literature, and Magris, a professor of German literature, tend to approach travel through considerations of literary texts, including their own. In his travel writing Tabucchi is more ironic and self-conscious about his relationship to travel writing than is Magris, but both convey a perspective that is broadly European in scope rather than bound up in a local or 'Italian' identity.

Finally, migrant writing in Italian has opened up new spaces for considering travel literature and challenging its more traditional definitions. Termed 'counter-travel writing' by one scholar, migrant literature foregrounds the literal and metaphorical journey to Italy from Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Eastern Europe.³² It explores and problematises notions of Italian national identity, citizenship, and linguistic and cultural belonging. In the early 1990s, several migrants published autobiographical accounts, some co-authored with Italians. These works included Senegalese-Italian Pap Khouma and Oreste Pivetta's *Io, venditore di elefanti* ('I Was an Elephant Salesman', 1990),

³¹ Sicilian Vincenzo Consolo's *Madre Coraggio* ('Mother Courage', 2003), about his travels to Israel and Palestine, and Gianni Celati's *Avventure in Africa* ('Adventures in Africa', 1998), which recounts a failed attempt to produce a documentary film, fall along analogous lines.

³² Luigi Marfè, 'Italian Counter-Travel Writing: Images of Italy in Contemporary Migration Literature', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 16/2 (2012), 191–202.

Tunisian-Italian Salah Methnani and Mario Fortunato's *Immigrato* ('Immigrant', 1990), and French-Algerian Nessara Chohra and Alessandra Atti di Sarro's *Volevo diventare bianca* ('I Wanted to Be White', 1993). Somali-Italian Shirin Ramzali Fazel, in *Lontano da Mogadiscio* ('Far From Mogadishu', 1994), recounts the racism she encounters after moving to a small town in northwest Italy and laments the destruction of her beloved home city. Second generation writer and activist Igiabo Scego (b. 1974) explores, in *La mia casa è dove sono* ('Home is Where I Am', 2010), her family's diaspora following the military coup of Siad Barre in 1969, her hybrid cultural and linguistic identities, and Italy's inability to acknowledge its colonial past. If one considers Scego's memoir a kind of travelogue, written in the language of Dante, then migrant (counter-) travel writing offers new ways of understanding Italianness as plurilingual, pluricultural, and cosmopolitan.

Hispanic Travel Writing

CLAIRE LINDSAY

Travel writing has a unique place in the history and literature of the Hispanic world, for the first accounts of Spain's conquest of the Americas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were travel narratives. These may not have been the earliest works of travel writing in Europe, but the encounter with the New World certainly stimulated a vast production of such literature. As Neil Whitehead has pointed out, their volume normalised the textual experience of the exotic during the age of exploration, when Europe launched multiple campaigns of expansion in the east and south in order to advance its religious and economic ambitions.¹ Attempts to document, catalogue, and situate the peoples, lands, and customs of the newly 'discovered' territories yielded an abundant and varied corpus of travel narratives (in the form of letters, journals, and maps) sent back to the imperial centre. Such works moulded the features of travel writing as we now understand it, including its aesthetic hybridity, 'interdisciplinarity', and complicated relationship with authenticity and truth. They also established some enduring, defining, and conflicting tropes about Spanish America, which rest on notions of wonder, terror, and excess. As Whitehead puts it, travel writing in/about the region written by Spaniards is 'filled with the discovery of the fantastic, the survival of the anachronistic, and the promise of marvelous monstrosity', tropes that percolate through the form's history in the Hispanic world.²

The marvellous has a complex function in narratives of the conquest by Spanish colonial travellers, operating in part as a testimony of the strangeness of that encounter, and in part as a central stratagem in those works' operation as forms of propaganda. Keeping a journal of his voyage was a decision made by Columbus in view of the significance of his endeavour (originally,

¹ Neil L. Whitehead, 'South America/Amazonia: The Forest of Marvels', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 122–38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

in August 1492, to reach the East Indies by a westward route; eventually, his 'discovery' of Cuba and Hispaniola). However, as Barry Ife notes in his English-language edition of the first voyage, journal-keeping was by no means a routine exercise for captains of Spanish vessels at that time, and it did not become a legal requirement for them until 1575. Columbus, who read the travel accounts of medieval precursors such as Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, was a pioneer not only in setting sail for the Far East, but also in recording the daily events of his first voyage in writing: as Ife observes, this 'ensured a place for him in history which others have disputed but from which no one has succeeded in displacing him'.³ The original journal and its only known copy have disappeared, but the historian Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, whose father and uncle travelled on Columbus's second 1493 voyage, appears to have consulted one or other of them in preparation for his own *History of the Indies*, which he began in 1527. Las Casas, the transcriber of Columbus's journal and the first priest to be ordained in the New World, made a lengthy digest of Columbus's journals, summarising and reproducing parts of them he thought were especially interesting. Of course, that process of transcription complicates questions of authorship and verisimilitude, two issues that have haunted travel writing throughout its history and which continue to vex its readers. In this instance, the extant journal of Columbus's voyage, written by a non-native Spanish speaker and transcribed by an avowed champion of the Indians' cause whose partisanship was patently inconsistent with Columbus's own service to empire, is at least two removes from the original. Notwithstanding, the text has immeasurable value, given its length, the verbatim transcription, and Las Casas's use of the margins of the manuscript for correction and comment.

The journal attests to Columbus's understanding of and skill in deploying the power of language to create reality, a tool that he wielded to manifold effects. Though far away from the society he left behind, Columbus could not ignore his sponsors back in Spain: indeed, two crown officials accompanied his voyage to ensure that he operated under the auspices of the Spanish state, which was rapidly becoming an efficient, modern bureaucracy. The potential rewards for Columbus were significant: his 1492 appointment was as Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor-General of all islands and mainland claimed and he was also granted 10 per cent of all the treasure and merchandise produced or obtained

³ Christopher Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, ed. and trans. Barry Ife (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990), p. v.

there, free of tax.⁴ Columbus had to be accountable in the description of his 'discoveries', therefore, and communicate effectively with Church and Crown at the imperial centre. Both impulses feed the journal's central ambivalence. There are places in the narrative where Columbus fends off criticism by justifying his actions, and others where he appeals to those who hold the keys to reward. All of this had to be done, as Ife observes, when 'the writer himself was at a loss to understand the reality he was describing'.⁵ Apart from the unsurprising prevalence of the noun 'gold', one of the most commonly used groups of terms in Columbus's account is related to the 'marvellous', a word that for Stephen Greenblatt is 'pregnant with what is imagined, desired, promised'.⁶ On arrival at Crooked Island, for example, Columbus records:

If the other [islands] we have seen are very beautiful and green and fertile, then this is much more so, with great groves of trees, very green. There are some large lakes here and around and overlooking them there are marvellous woods . . . it would seem that a man would never wish to leave here. And the flocks of parrots that darken the sun, and birds of so many kinds so different from our own that it is a marvel!⁷

In this respect, the journal, much more than a ship's log of weather conditions and navigational details, is redolent of the embellishments of travellers' tales, especially those of voyages to the Indies, which were supposed to be marvellous: for what Columbus describes in passages such as the above is not so much what he saw, 'as the sense of wonder with which he saw it'.⁸ The reiterated expression of such sensations in the journal – as with that of the plentiful gold – is also a calculated rhetorical device by the author, what Greenblatt calls 'an aesthetic strategy in service of a legitimization process'.⁹ Indeed, Greenblatt suggestively contends that Columbus steers the reader towards wonder as a compensatory gesture, in order to 'fill up the emptiness at the centre of [his] maimed [and contradictory] rite of possession' of those territories he took on landfall.¹⁰

Hernán Cortés's five *Letters of relation*, or reports, to Emperor Charles V about the Spanish conquistador's early sixteenth-century expedition that

⁴ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁵ Ife, in Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, p. xv.

⁶ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 73.

⁷ Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, p. 51.

⁸ Ife, *ibid.*, p. xxi.

⁹ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 74.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

brought Mexico under Spanish rule and defeated the Aztec empire, are, likewise, 'to be read, as . . . written, not as an accurate historical narrative, but as a brilliant piece of special pleading'.¹¹ In this case, the *cartas* (letters) were designed to justify an act of rebellion: Cortés's defiance of the authority of the emperor's representative, Diego Velázquez, the governor of Cuba, on whose behalf he undertook the expedition to Mexico to explore and trade, though he had no permission to colonise, since Velázquez was awaiting those very powers to be authorised to him from Spain. Cortés artfully blended deference and self-authorisation, insisting on the veracity of his observations:

I cannot describe one hundredth part of all the things which could be mentioned, but, as best I can, I will describe some of those I have seen which, although badly described will . . . be so remarkable as not to be believed, for we who saw them with our own eyes could not grasp them with our understanding. But Your Majesty may be certain that if my account has any fault it will be . . . too short rather than too long, because it seems to me right that . . . I should state the truth very clearly without adding anything which might be held to embroider it or diminish it.¹²

The *cartas de relación* were not only letters and maps, but charters of the New World which enfranchised writer and territory, granting sovereignty and 'citizenship' in a felicitous confluence that kindles Roberto González Echevarría's theory, to which I shall return later, that 'Latin American history and fiction, the narrative of Latin America, were first created within the language of the law'.¹³

If the newly discovered territories were lands of wonder and riches (Edenic sites of possibility and the wellspring of the El Dorado myth), they were also depicted as sites of primitive and potentially dangerous Nature, populated by savages in want of the civilising, evangelising influence of Europe. For Columbus, the natives were 'very poor in everything, naked as their mothers bore them . . . [but] they could very easily become Christians, for it seemed to me that they had no religion of their own'.¹⁴ For Cortés, meanwhile, the revolting Indians of Vera Cruz 'fought very fiercely with us' and had 'the most fearful cries imaginable, and so many were the stones that were hurled at us . . . that it seemed they were raining from the sky'.¹⁵ The terror of those

¹¹ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. and trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), p. xx.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

¹³ Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 10.

¹⁴ Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, p. 31.

¹⁵ Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, p. 130.

often ruthless contests between Spaniards and Indian peoples is catalogued exhaustively, at times even mundanely, in Cortés's letters, their reiteration emphasising the former's resilience and bravery, and the author's heroism and leadership: 'That night I had the breaches in the wall caused by fire repaired . . . I organized the watches and the men who were to keep them and chose those of us who would go outside to fight the next day. I also had the wounded, of which there were more than eighty, attended to.'¹⁶ As with the depiction of its extraordinary landscapes, such portrayals of the region's native peoples tell us more about the travellers themselves than about the particularities of Spanish America's indigenous cultures.

Las Casas provides an altogether more bloody, brutal, and critical travel narrative of the same period in his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1552), a work that helped engender and disseminate the Black Legend of Spain's reputation for cruelty. Las Casas was a controversial figure, accused of exaggerating the Spaniards' abominations and of partiality and paternalism regarding the Indians' plight. As such, it is no surprise that his account is equally invested in establishing its authenticity in the context of a broader discursive battle for truth and power:

All I can say is that I know it to be an incontrovertible fact and do here so swear before Almighty God, that the local peoples never gave the Spanish any cause whatever for the injury and injustice that was done to them in these campaigns . . . The actions of the Europeans, throughout the New World, were without exception wicked and unjust: worse, in fact, than the blackest kind of tyranny.¹⁷

Other notable sixteenth-century counter-narratives to the colonists' accounts emerged in the form of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's relation, known now as *Shipwrecks* (1542), Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem *The Araucaniad* (1569–89), and Bernal Díaz de Castillo's *True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (c.1574), the title of which enunciates its own objective to provide an epic revisionist history of the period to challenge such versions as that of Cortés. Indigenous narratives of the Conquest, including those of the Inca Garcilaso, who drew mimetically, even parasitically, on colonial forms of the legalistic *relación* (relation) and the history, also insisted on their truth-telling status as eye-witness accounts from the Indian-European point of view.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁷ Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, ed. and trans. Nigel Griffin, intro. Anthony Pagden (London: Penguin: 1992), p. 23.

¹⁸ For more on this, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008).

As the colonies became established and the excitement of discovery waned, the type and volume of Spanish travellers to Latin America underwent a shift, as did the tenor of their journey narratives. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries colonial policy imposed trade restrictions that limited travel to the region, as well as the publication of travel accounts, so that most travellers who arrived there then were long-term settlers – administrators or missionaries – rather than explorers. As such, they were occupied with negotiating cultural rather than geographical distance. If the fact of encounter was itself no longer remarkable, it was, as Whitehead puts it, ‘rather specific kinds of encounter with moral and natural phenomena [that began to] provide the evidence of authentic travel’.¹⁹ The accounts of missionary writers and scientific expeditions, such as that of the French geographer Charles-Marie de la Condamine (1735–45), chronicled the Americas’ rich geocultural diversity, relating details of landscape, flora, and fauna, or ethnographic descriptions of native peoples and their customs. Paradigmatic among those figures was Alexander von Humboldt, who in 1798 was granted permission to make the first extensive scientific exploration of the Spanish colony. His five-year travels around Spanish America (1799–1804) with Aimé Bonpland engendered some thirty-four or more volumes of work, including the *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*. Humboldt’s monumental work, which appeared between 1805 and 1838 in more than thirty volumes, formed part of a sustained and contentious intervention into the ‘Dispute on the New World’. This theory, which stemmed from the Conquest and crystallised during the Enlightenment in works such as the naturalist Comte de Buffon’s *Natural History* (1707–88), maintained that Spanish America was a degenerate, history-less region inhabited by roving uncivilised hordes. Humboldt presented an alternative planetary vision of the interrelation in the Americas between nature and culture, positing that the region’s environmental and material riches in fact corresponded historically with Europe’s ‘antiquity’. That vision, and its retrospective presentation in a hybrid, intertextual, encyclopedic form of travel writing, shaped the region’s representations for decades to come.²⁰ Humboldt’s work influenced many other foreign travellers and scientists as well as Spanish American statesmen in the nineteenth century, among them

¹⁹ Whitehead, ‘South America/Amazonia’, p. 128.

²⁰ Humboldt’s travel narratives were first published ten years after his return to Europe. Ángela Pérez-Mejía, *A Geography of Hard Times: Narratives about Travel to Spanish America 1780–1849*, trans. Dick Cluster (New York: State University of New York Press, 2004), p. 47.

Charles Darwin, Simón Bolívar (who called Humboldt the ‘new discoverer of America’), Juan Bautista Alberdi, and Domingo Sarmiento. Humboldt’s work also fomented – if only indirectly – the region’s emerging independence movements, which were inspired by a greater self-awareness that land and nature could provide the conditions for an autonomous and distinct Latin American identity. Moreover, Humboldt’s experimental works were instrumental in form: though ostensibly ‘scientific travelogues’, they were also literary, teeming with dramatic descriptions of primal nature and expressions of the romantic sublime, including visual images and illustrations. Notwithstanding the risks of what some critics have seen as their failure to cohere into a grand narrative, Humboldt’s writings, in their ambitious attempts to meld narrative and scientific subject matter, speak to the digressive character of his own voyages and to his intellectual agility.²¹ As Ottmar Ette has proposed in his extensive studies of Humboldt, ‘mobility’ was a trademark not only of the way he conducted science, but of how he moved between disciplines and transmitted knowledge itself.²²

The focus on natural history in travel accounts from the seventeenth century onwards – and the subsequent classificatory zeal associated with it – was, insofar as such engagement and categorisation involve discursive processes of annexation and containment, an ideological gesture in its own right. It was also not without some irony, in that the idea of history and the ‘new masterstory’ on which independence from Spain rested, was brought to the region by European travellers. That master narrative was (re)written by Spanish American travellers, however, in the wake of the many social, political, and cultural changes then taking place. As new nations began to emerge from the Wars of Independence, geographic knowledge provided a means of understanding nationhood. At this juncture, the production and function of travel writing in the Hispanic world is significantly recast. No longer a medium through which the region is seen predominantly through imperial eyes as an imagined geography, in the hands of Spanish American elites after independence travel writing became a means of articulating the nation as an imagined community in Benedict Anderson’s terms, as ‘a disputed terrain . . . not yet symbolically defined’.²³ As Miguel A. Cabañas

²¹ See Jason Wilson, ‘Humboldt in the Cono Sur of South America: Writing, Genre, and the Temptations of Going Native’, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 15/1 (2011), 27–38.

²² Ottmar Ette, *Alexander von Humboldt und die Globalisierung: das Mobile des Wissens* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 2009).

²³ Eva-Lynn Jagoe, ‘Pace and Pampas in Argentine Travel Narratives’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 81/4 (2004), 361–77 (at p. 363).

sums up: at this time, ‘in order to consolidate their power, [Spanish American travellers] needed to acquire knowledge of their own societies, including geography and history, and to consolidate their nation-building projects in concepts of “truth”’.²⁴

Nineteenth-century internal or domestic travellers in Spanish America were grappling in their works with mobility in very different terms from those of Humboldt: their concerns were rather with the pace of modernity and urgent questions of national identity. Those foundational tropes of wonder, terror, and excess did not disappear from their travelogues, however, but were reiterated in distinct forms in travel narratives that were increasingly, self-consciously, and necessarily intertextual in character. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, in addition to producing an account of his own travels (*Journeys in Europe, Africa and America*, 1849), looked to European travel texts to sculpt his vision of Argentina and its future in *Facundo: Civilisation and Barbarism* (1845). Sarmiento’s biography of the eponymous gaucho is not based on direct experience of the pampas but is doubly mediated. As Echevarría puts it, ‘The terrain . . . travelled is not that of Argentina, but that of the texts by European travellers’, among them Sir Francis Bond Head’s *Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes* (1826).²⁵ Sarmiento’s hybrid work, which is part travelogue, part essay, and part geography, also owes a considerable conceptual and structural debt to Humboldt, who is invoked or, as Mary Louise Pratt puts it, transculturated ‘into a problematics of nation-building that [Humboldt’s] own writings generally refused’.²⁶ Tracing the origins of Argentine history to the empty pampas, Sarmiento catalogues with taxonomical fervour the customs of its barbarous inhabitants, the gauchos, who, while they may not ultimately figure in a Europeanised national project of civilisation, are nonetheless a source of deep fascination as well as repulsion. In this respect, Lucío V. Mansilla’s *Excursion to the Ranquel Indians* (1870) is a more radical ‘domestic’ travel text insofar as it finds a place for the Indian in Argentine national literature and identity, both discursively and aesthetically: that is, as Eva Lynn Jagoe asserts, it ‘writ[es] barbarism as an inhabitable space’.²⁷ This was a controversial gesture in an Argentina on the cusp of what

²⁴ Miguel A. Cabañas, *The Cultural “Other” in Nineteenth-Century Travel Narratives: How the United States and Latin America Described Each Other* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), p. 19.

²⁵ Echevarría, *Myth and Archive*, p. 112.

²⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 184.

²⁷ Jagoe, ‘Pace and Pampas’, p. 375.

became an Indian massacre: General Julio Roca's Conquest of the Desert, the military campaign that began in 1879 to assert Argentina's dominance in Patagonia, which was largely inhabited by indigenous peoples. That campaign's objective was to define the South as an integral part of the nation and to prime it as a resource for the nation's future needs and opportunities. Ultimately, by killing more than a thousand Indians and displacing thousands more, the Roca campaign turned the prevailing representation of the pampas's emptiness into a reality.

In Mexico, nineteenth-century writers and statesmen such as Manuel Payno and Guillermo Prieto undertook comparable journeys of nationalist exploration around their newly won territories. Just as British travellers' accounts of Argentina carried a special weight and power in the imagination of that country's elites, in their attempts to delineate the nation, Mexican travellers liberally cited their formative European predecessors, such as Humboldt, and made apposite social and political comparisons between Mexico and Europe. The travel narrative was mobilised by Payno (*A Journey to Veracruz in the Winter of 1843*), Prieto (*Journeys of Supreme Order*, 1853–5), and others to document territory, customs, and character. It also allowed them critically, and sometimes satirically, to observe the state of the emerging nation, its infrastructure and economy, during General Santa Anna's tumultuous periods of office. As such, as Thea Pitman writes in her study of Mexican travel writing, their travelogues had a prescriptive as well as descriptive function: '[They] aspire to teach . . . readers about all things inherently Mexican (the country's history and its physical attributes), to cultivate a taste for things which could come to be Mexican with time (French culture and North American democracy) and to point out those lapses in etiquette which let Mexicans down so.'²⁸ Later in the nineteenth century, travellers and writers such as Ignacio Manuel Altamirano and Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera substantially advanced the prevailing aesthetic and modality of travel in Mexico in the *crónica de viaje* (travel chronicle). The *crónica's* brevity and origins (it was often a journalistic commission) enabled innovation and experimentation, and the use of humour and irony. It was a form deployed by nationalists elsewhere in Spanish America, such as the poet, writer, and nationalist leader José Martí, as a means of addressing questions of postcolonial identity and politics. Nevertheless, as Pitman points out, in Mexico the travel chronicle at that time was still essentially a creolisation of the European genre. Though marshalled for nationalist

²⁸ Thea Pitman, *Mexican Travel Writing* (Bern: Lang, 2008), p. 54.

rather than colonialist purposes, it continued to rest on the traveller's authoritative and totalising vision.

At this juncture, it is imperative to consider how women, who produced journey narratives that became especially well known in the second half of the nineteenth century, fit into this seemingly obstinate imperialist and masculinist paradigm. Women travellers from Europe with significant cultural and familial connections to Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking America arrived there during that period, as they did elsewhere in the colonial world, in great numbers as settlers, accompanying spouses, or for other germane reasons (on which account they too can be considered under this chapter's rubric).²⁹ English traveller Maria Callcott Graham sailed for South America on a diplomatic mission with her husband Thomas Graham, a British navy captain who died on the outward journey. Her *Journal of a Residence in Chile during the Year 1822* is one of the few first-hand accounts of independence movements in South America and has since become a much-valued source on that country's society and politics, so much so that it is now easier to find published in Spanish than English (Graham also wrote on Brazil in *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, 1824). The feminist and socialist Flora Tristán travelled to Peru in search of legitimation and an inheritance from her rich creole relations. Copies of her journey narrative, *Peregrinations of a Pariah: 1833–34*, alongside her effigy, were subsequently burned in the central plaza of Peru's southern city of Arequipa by her uncle, Don Pío Tristán, attesting not only to its provocative quality (it was critical of both her own family and Peru) but also, as the work's own title indicates, to the eponymous author's radical outsider status. Scottish-born Frances Calderón de la Barca accompanied her husband, the first representative of the Spanish monarchy sent to formally acknowledge Mexican independence, and recorded her impressions of customs and the political fervour under Santa Anna during her two years' residence in *Life in Mexico* (1843). That volume (unpopular in Mexico because of its blunt criticisms of Mexican society) had significant discursive and material ramifications: the historian Walter Prescott used Calderón's account as a source for his own *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), and, because of its wealth of historiographical and geographic detail, the US army used it as a guide in the 1846–7 US–Mexican War.³⁰

²⁹ For more on travel writing in the Portuguese-speaking world, see Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); and Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

³⁰ Miguel Cabañas, 'North of Eden: Romance and Conquest in Fanny Calderón de la Barca's *Life in Mexico*', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 9/1 (2005), 1–19 (at p. 4).

Notwithstanding, the 'imperial eyes/Is' (to draw on Pratt's phrase) of such women are complex to determine: first, on account of deeply ambivalent self-identifications, as in the cases of 'Madame Calderón' and Tristán, and second, because of highly equivocal journey narratives that both counter and reinforce existing colonial paradigms. Indeed, the 'superimposition of identities' is a fundamental dilemma for women travellers of that era who, as Sara Mills has shown, were caught between the demands of femininity and their roles as representatives of imperial powers.³¹ Women travellers were doubly different, Mills claims: from socially conformist women who stayed at home, and from their male counterparts who travelled in service of empire and, in doing so, discovered more about their masculinity.³² Travel could offer women a certain degree of freedom, as expectations en route and overseas could be less rigid than at home, though the resulting journeys and narratives could likewise still be circumscribed by social pressures and mores relating to femininity, which were debated in periodicals of the day. In Graham's case, for example, her observations on interiors and domestic customs led to a pioneering kind of geographic discourse which 'constituted one more step in the construction of the image of the new countries', as well as allowing Graham to reaffirm her own (elevated, more refined) social identity.³³ These women provided perceptive eyewitness accounts of the region's independence struggles and subsequent social upheavals: indeed, as Pratt has illustrated, 'the political dramas of Spanish America show up far more fully in [these women's] writings . . . than those of either the capitalist vanguard or the disciples of Humboldt'.³⁴ These 'social exploratrices' sought out alternative positions from those of their male counterparts and articulated conflicted modes of representation in their works.³⁵

The preoccupation with and destabilisation of genre has continued well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as Latin America has undergone further geographical reimagining and geopolitical reconfiguration. Volitional or essential journeys of various modalities – including self-discovery, leisure, politics, and philosophy – have become more common or more accessible forms of experience and expression for Spanish-language travellers; their accounts include individual and serial works straddling empirical and literary

³¹ Pérez Mejía, *Geography of Hard Times*, p. 93.

³² Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991).

³³ Pérez Mejía, *Geography of Hard Times*, p. 90.

³⁴ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 154.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

modes. Emblematic amongst these are the missions of Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara, an inveterate ‘political’ traveller whose journeys across the region in the 1950s and 1960s (recorded in diverse works such as *The Motorcycle Diaries: Notes on a Latin American Journey*, *The Bolivian Diary*, and *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*) evince a politicised form of Pan-Americanism, built on the vision of predecessors such as Martí, and a developing revolutionary guerrilla consciousness in the armed campaign in Cuba between 1956 and 1958. In Mexico, the publication of foreign travel narratives in translation by state institutions such as the Ministry of Education (SEP) has thrived since the 1970s, while the national production of contemporary travel writing in Mexico has also flourished with the establishment of dedicated travel series under the imprints of major publishers such as Alianza Editorial and the National Council for Arts and Culture (CONACULTA) as well as competitions sponsored by airlines and publishers. Well-trodden, strategically important and/or memorial sites and routes, among them Patagonia, the Andes, or the Mexico–USA border, continue to magnetise contemporary Spanish American writer-travellers as diverse as Fernando Benítez (*In the Magic Land of Peyote*, 1977), Mempo Giardinelli (*Novel’s End in Patagonia*, 2000), Luis Sepúlveda (*Full Circle: A South American Journey*, 1995), and Luis Urrea (*The Devil’s Backbone*, 2004). Once again, women appear to be underrepresented in what continues to be a largely masculinist, metropolitan enterprise. Notwithstanding, a small group of Mexican women writers, including María Luisa Puga (*Chronicles of a Native of Kilometre X in Michoacán*, 1995) and Ana García Bergua (*Postcards from the Port*, 1997), have suggestively thematised a late modern form of nomadic ‘strangeness’ in travelogues about the republic in the path-breaking but short-lived CONACULTA series, while Mexican American feminists have theorised mobility and hybridity in politically radical conceptualisations, as in Gloria Anzaldúa’s treatise on ‘mestiza consciousness’ in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987).

Such journeys and their accounts are as much about otherness and cultural ‘distance’ as the more familiar, more fetishised foreign trip ‘abroad’, such as to the USA or Europe (other significant destinations for Latin American literary and political travellers throughout the contemporary period).³⁶ Domestic or national journeys have been conventionally regarded as more banal than the transatlantic encounter, ostensibly not promising the same degree of freedom or alterity as the overseas trip. However, Latin America’s

³⁶ On the former, see Domingo Sarmiento, *Sarmiento’s Travels in the United States in 1847*, trans. and intro. Michael Aaron Rockland (Princeton University Press, 1970); and Justo Sierra, *Viajes en tierra yankee: obras completas* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1948).

vast distances, diverse geographies, and range of ethnic identities mean that travelling at home does not always necessarily entail an encounter with the already familiar: for, as James Clifford observes and as those works already mentioned attest, home can be a site of ‘unrestful differences’.³⁷ Journeys within the region, then, have been fraught with material and epistemological complications.³⁸ Not least is the lack in Spanish America of a well-established autochthonous history or tradition of writing about travel at home: more fundamentally still, the very weight of the imperialist legacy that is travel – what Clifford refers to as its ‘taintedness’ – hangs heavy. Travel around the continent in the modern period is thus problematised by the fact that it might appear to be always already written, for as Wilson contends, ‘in complex ways Latin America is the creation of foreigners writing about the New World, from the earliest chroniclers like Bernal Díaz, to scientific travellers like Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Darwin, to later literary explorers such as D. H. Lawrence and Graham Greene’.³⁹ In Mexico, as Pitman has illustrated, this empirical and epistemological heritage has been largely regarded in fraternal, rather than antagonistic terms, though, as we shall see in what follows, it also has implications for our conceptual understanding of and scholarly approaches to the very category of Hispanic travel writing.

Historically, foreign travel writing about the New World has been aimed at those back home in Europe, to legitimate expansion, awaken envy, and dissipate ignorance. Latin America lacks its ‘own’ comparable travel-writing heritage, however, and is devoid, for example, in the contemporary period, of the figure of the serial travel writer, of the ilk of Bruce Chatwin or Bill Bryson. Wilson contends that much Latin American literature can be seen as a parallel attempt to inform native readers about ignored parts of their own continent and to establish a tradition of national self-discovery. To that effect, a realist, telluric literary tradition burgeoned in the early decades of the twentieth century, heavily influenced by the rise of anthropology, and which charted, named, and renamed Latin America’s hitherto largely ‘unobserved’ hinterlands. Those works included Ricardo Güiraldes’s *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926), Rómulo Gallegos’s *Doña Barbara* (1929), Mariano Azuela’s *The Underdogs* (1915), and Alejo Carpentier’s creative fusion of travel book

³⁷ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 85.

³⁸ For more on this, see Claire Lindsay, *Contemporary Travel Writing of Latin America* (London: Routledge, 2010).

³⁹ Jason Wilson, ‘Travel Literature’, in Verity Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Latin American Literature* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), pp. 1476–8 (at p. 1476).

and novel, *The Lost Steps* (1953). It is in that profusion of regionalist novels, some critics maintain, that a truly significant autochthonous tradition of 'verifiable observations', analogous to those recorded in foreign travel narratives, can be located. A more self-conscious ethnography informs a later, high modernist/postmodernist category in Latin America that Echevarría calls 'archival' fictions, which 'have not given up on the promise of anthropology, but probe into anthropology itself, becoming a kind of ethnography of anthropology'.⁴⁰ Archival novels such as Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967) reach back to the region's foundational discourse of law and replay origins in various ways: in the characterisation of historical figures like Columbus; intertextual references to the chronicles of discovery, scientific reports, or to the accumulation of manuscripts; or in the staging of 'foundational' moments such as the establishment of cities and/or the erection of monuments.

While loss and emptiness mark the archival fictions of Echevarría's formulation, other works of historiographical metafiction – such as Juan José Saer's *The Witness* (1983), Cesar Aira's *The Hare* (1990), Sylvia Iparraguirre's *Tierra del Fuego* (1999) – turn to parody, invoking a paratextual mode as a strategy to establish a critical dialogue with historical knowledge. The notion of excess that once characterised colonial travel narratives (as a surfeit of wonder, nature, or savagery) is reconceptualised as a strategic, figurative overabundance for intertextual fictional dialogue with and divergence from the same corpus, tropes, and history. Many of the issues at stake in Hispanic travel writing discussed in this chapter – otherness, authenticity, and fidelity, the urgency of and reiteration involved in giving an account – are thematised in such works. Aira's *The Hare*, like its nineteenth-century literary forebears, cites a number of Argentine and English travel texts, one of its chief intertextual predecessors being Mansilla's *An Excursion to the Ranquel Indians*.⁴¹ Saer's *The Witness*, a fictional first-hand account of captivity with the anthropophagous Colastiné Indians, in its invocation of Juan Díaz de Solís's 1516 expedition to the River Plate, maintains an ironic dialogue with Bernal Díaz's *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. In his depiction of an unnamed Spanish cabin boy's 'appointment' as the Indians' 'chronicler', Saer problematises that perennial dialectic of civilisation and barbarism, and what Michel de Certeau calls the 'hermeneutics of the other', providing a haunting meditation on memory and identity. Likewise, in light of the demise of the

⁴⁰ Echevarría, *Myth and Archive*, p. 173.

⁴¹ For more on this, see Eva-Lynn Jagoe, *The End of the World as They Knew It: Writing Experiences of the Argentine South* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2008), p. 200.

crónica (chronicle), which came to be regarded as an outmoded and reactionary form, postmodernism has revived empirical travel writing in twentieth-century Mexico. In an increasingly globalised nation, postmodernist travel chronicles such as Juan Villoro's *Palm Trees in a Passing Breeze: A Journey to Yucatán* (1989) disrupt the journey's quintessentially linear chronology and the traveller's uniform subjectivity. As in some of the fictions mentioned above, which allow for the expression of marginal voices and a more democratised relation between self and other, there are potential postcolonialist applications at stake in this exercise.

Such developments in Hispanic travel writing call into question the compatibility and validity of anglophone theoretical models and categories when considering its history and corpus. Familiar paradigms and concepts in the travel-writing and postcolonial lexicons, such as 'contact zone' or 'transculturation', derive from Spanish America's very experience and legacy of Conquest, whereas others such as 'autoethnography', 'heterotopia', and 'postcolonial' itself, require specific nuancing, contextualisation, and problematisation for an understanding of their significance and/or adaptation in indigenised forms. Indeed, recalibrating that theoretical vocabulary in this and other postcolonial geographies has implications for the separation of travel writing itself into 'foreign' and 'domestic/internal' – indeed, in the context of this chapter, also for distinguishing categorically between 'Spanish' and 'Spanish American' – and thus for the very definition of travel writing itself. A consideration of 'Hispanic travel writing' illustrates that such bounded categories and dichotomies can be difficult to sustain generically and epistemologically and are at odds with the fundamentally transcultural experience of travel as well as the intertextual character of its very writing.

Travel Writing in French

CHARLES FORSDICK

The themes and formal structuring devices of travel and mobility have arguably been present in French literature (and, more generally, literature in French) since its emergence in a recognisably modern form. Key medieval texts, such as the *Chanson de Roland* and the Arthurian narratives of authors such as Chrétien de Troyes, present the context of travel as a frame in which individuals are forced into situations outside the local and the everyday. One of the foundational texts of European travel literature, Marco Polo's *Divisament du monde* (known in English simply as *Travels*), is commonly identified as having been written in Old French.¹ Such francophone origins are also reflected in the other particularly popular medieval travelogue, John Mandeville's *Livre des merveilles du monde* (1356–7).

Polo's work has continued to serve as an inspiration for later travel writers, not least because it reveals the potential of the eyewitness travelogue to introduce European readers to other cultures, in this case those of Central Asia and China. Polo was not necessarily exceptional in his journeying, but the *Divisament du monde* is an example of a prototypical travelogue that anticipates later texts in French, especially those of the early modern period when literary accounts of exploration became more common. It is marked by generic hybridity; it follows the practice of classical travelogues by underlining the importance of anthropological cataloguing; and it links in to an intertextual network of travel narratives recounting journeys to 'exotic' contexts.² All three characteristics are still arguably evident in many modern examples of the form.

Although travel was present in many other medieval texts, it was not, however, customarily foregrounded in a way that would transform the phenomenon into a defining feature of any single genre. The motivations

¹ See Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's Le devisement du monde: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013).

² For more on Polo, see Chapter 3 above.

for travel were multiple, and ranged from warfare to pilgrimage (with the distinctions between these often being far from clear), and from commerce to the educational activity of the *peregrinatio academica*.³ In the late medieval period, French travellers were additionally active, alongside the Portuguese, in opening the Atlantic to European expansion, the subject of Pierre Bontier and Jean Le Verrier's *Canarian*, a chronicle recounting the French encounter with the Canary Islands in the early fifteenth century.

The early modern period thus saw an increased circulation of travel narratives in French, with these textual accounts mirroring and tracking the rapid expansion in exploration at the time, both of the world and of the self. The inscription of mobility in literary production is epitomised by Montaigne (1533–92), for whom the essay serves as a fundamentally peripatetic genre in which he tracks his physical movements as well as those of his own mind. As he writes in Essay 3:9, 'I must go the same way with my pen as with my feet.'⁴ Montaigne's work exemplifies the clear divergence between medieval and Renaissance travel writing in French. This is particularly apparent in the tendency of early modern texts to conflate an exploration of interiority and of more domestic concerns with active engagement with the wider world. Such a manoeuvre inevitably had a major impact on the imagination of 'elsewhere' and led in certain texts to an attenuation of its perceived exoticism. Along these lines, the *Essais* themselves are dynamic texts, subject to rewriting, and are complemented by Montaigne's travelogue, *Journal de voyage* (unpublished in his lifetime), in which he described his journeys in France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy in 1580 and 1581.

French early modern travel writing continued the tradition of generic hybridity, and influenced a range of literary forms, from emerging lyric poetry to various types of descriptive and narrative prose. In the work of authors such as Geoffroy Tory and Claude de Bellièvre, Italy emerged as a popular destination, either as a location in its own right, or as a country through which travellers passed on their way further east.⁵ Principal motivations for travel were trade, exploration, and pilgrimage, although it is possible

³ On travel in the Middle Ages, see Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. George Holoch (University of Notre Dame Press, 2003); and Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public *Voyages et voyageurs au moyen âge: XXVIe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Limoges-Aubazine, mai 1995* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996).

⁴ All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

⁵ See Marie-Madeleine Martinet, *Le voyage d'Italie dans les littératures européennes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1996); and Vitro Castiglione Minischetti, Giovanni Dotoli and Roger Musnik, *Bibliographie du voyage français en Italie du moyen âge à 1914* (Fasano: Schena Editore; Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2002).

to discern in all three of these the foundations of the colonial expansionism that would characterise French travel writing, with varying degrees of self-awareness, until the present day. At the same time, travel writing complemented a growing range of printed material aimed at facilitating journeys, especially maps but also – from the late fifteenth century – guides and phrase books.

The popularity of the travelogue, as well as readers' appetite for them, is reflected in the ways in which a prominent author such as Rabelais used it in his fictions, whether in the narrator's six-month-long exploration of the inside of the giant Pantagruel's mouth in the first volume of the pentalogy of his novels, or in the journeys to the invented worlds of the *Quart Livre*. A source of continuity with the medieval period is found in the growing popularity of pilgrim accounts, a tradition often seen as inaugurated by Nicole Huen's *Grant voyage de Jherusalem* (1517). Given the introspective and culturally bound nature of the activity described, the degree of curiosity towards elsewhere evident in the eyewitness account is limited, and much of Huen's journey is mediated via, and reliant on, a translation of Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* published the previous century. That said, an emphasis on the perils of the journey (i.e. the ordeal at the heart of an understanding of travel as 'travail') could serve as an index of faith, forming an element of many pilgrimage narratives. A number of prominent writers, such as the naturalist Pierre Belon and the priest and cosmographer André Thevet, absorbed pilgrimage into more general observational practices, and these are epitomised by the very title of Belon's 1553 text, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays étranges*.

In the light of the reliance on translation and intertextual borrowing, discerning the existence of clearly national or language-specific traditions of travel writing in the period is not straightforward. It was the French encounter with the New World, however, that created the most distinctive body of travelogues in this period, not least because of the shock these works articulated as they sought to narrate an encounter with such radically different cultures. The work of explorer Jean de Léry exemplifies these efforts of the traveller to encapsulate the alterity they encountered. His description of a banana, for instance, reveals this grappling with the exotic: 'Its fruit, which the savages call *paco*, is more than half a foot long; when it is ripe, it is yellow and rather resembles a cucumber. Twenty or twenty-five of them grow close together on a single branch.'⁶ These

⁶ Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 105.

geographical developments in travel practices led to a rich proliferation of travelogues describing the Americas. There is a focus on Canada, most notably in the work of Samuel de Champlain in texts including *Des sauvages* (1604) and *Voyages de la Nouvelle France* (1632). The failed expedition to Florida also led to a series of travel accounts, such as the work of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues; and narratives of journeys to South America include key texts such as de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578). This work recounts the author's 1556 journey in the company of a group of fellow Protestant exiles to the colony of France Antarctique off Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Having left the colony, Léry and his companions spent two months living on the mainland with the indigenous Tupi people, and then experienced a hazardous sea journey back to Europe. The publication of his account two decades later was in response to the publication of André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (1575), and reacted to the Catholic observer's claims that the Protestants had been responsible for the loss of the colony to the Portuguese. *Histoire d'un voyage* went through multiple editions and became an influential source, used most notably by Montaigne in 'Des cannibales'. Léry's text underlines an intertextuality that remains central to the travelogue, explored much more recently by Michel Butor in his own reflections on travelling, reading, and writing as parallel, inseparable activities.⁷ The longevity of Léry's work – and of the intertextual practices it demonstrated – was illustrated by its identification almost three centuries later as the 'bréviaire de l'ethnologue' in Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques* (1955).

Travel in the early modern period served as a flexible and dynamic frame in which an emerging reflection on the self and other could be situated. Subsequently, Enlightenment journeys and their textual narration provided a context for different forms of testing and constructing knowledge. To the extent that the modern travel narrative – with its focus on the complementarity of geographical journeys and those related to writing the self – may be seen to have emerged in this period, the clear consolidation of the travelogue as a literary genre in its own right is usefully understood, as Percy Adams has suggested, in the context of the appearance of the novel.⁸ Paul Scarron's *Roman comique* (1651–7), a fictional account of the adventures of a group of itinerant actors, is a French contribution to a wider picaresque tradition, drawing on a series of earlier journey narratives to support a marked humour and digressive approach to narrative that would persist as elements of the travelogue itself.

⁷ Michel Butor, 'Le voyage et l'écriture', *Romantisme*, 4 (1974), 4–19.

⁸ Percy Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

Moving into the eighteenth century, material from foreign cultures became central to the developing world view of the *philosophes* and provided key subject matter for the increasingly anthropological concerns of their writings. Travel was increasingly important as a literary theme and device in the novel as well as in texts of other genres drawing on the accounts of travellers to non-European destinations. The multi-volume *Histoire philosophique des deux Indes* (1770), edited by the Abbé Raynal with contributions by Diderot and others, provided an overview of European trade with South and Southeast Asia as well as the Americas and of much more besides. Its encyclopedic pretensions reflected the rapid expansion of commerce in the period (linked not least to the consolidation of Atlantic slavery and the triangular trade on which it depended), and also revealed the extent to which an interest in other cultures, freighted via the representation of travel, was increasingly part of domestic life.

Journeys were central to a number of key texts of the period, including works by Voltaire such as *Micromégas* (1752) and *Candide* (1759). The century also saw a reversal of the traveller's gaze, as epistolary texts such as Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) and Madame de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747) deployed the conceit evident in a number of later travelogues of a foreign traveller reacting to an exoticised France. Montesquieu's often cited question in the twenty-eighth letter of his text, 'How can one be Persian?', parodies the inability of the French population to imagine otherness, but also reflects the growing appetite for texts that would cater for a desire to understand the complexity of other cultures.⁹

Accounts of actual journeys continued to attract increasing public attention, with one of the most prominent being Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's narrative of the first French circumnavigation of the globe in *Le voyage autour du monde* (1771). The book offered descriptions of the geography, fauna, flora, and most importantly anthropology of places visited in South America, Indonesia, and the Pacific, and was particularly noted for its account of Tahiti, presented as an Edenic paradise removed from the flaws of European civilisation. Bougainville notes of the Tahitians in the tenth chapter of his account: 'We thought that they were equals among themselves, or at least, enjoyed a freedom that was not subject except to laws established for the happiness of all', an observation on which contemporary readers dwelt despite a subsequent comment on the absolute power of leaders in the

⁹ Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Ehrard and Catherine Volpilhac-Augier (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004), p. 214.

society.¹⁰ In this travelogue, the influential figure of the ‘noble savage’ – already described in the sixteenth century by explorer Jacques Cartier in his accounts of the Iroquois in Quebec or Montaigne in his essay on the Tupi people of Brazil – came to prominence in France. Bougainville’s text influenced the thinking of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and also elicited a direct response from Denis Diderot, whose philosophical dialogue, the *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (1773), illustrates not only the extent to which the travelogue had influenced intellectual debate, but also increasing anxiety regarding the potential limitations of travel and the intercultural communication it allows, in offering any genuine understanding of other cultures not freighted via Western systems of knowledge.

Such cultural relativism (also evident, for instance, in Montesquieu’s questioning of universalism) and the associated Enlightenment willingness to critique European *moeurs* in theory at least, did not extend into the nineteenth century. Although the French Revolution of 1789 was fuelled in part by observation of parallel political processes elsewhere, social upheaval across the 1790s and into the early nineteenth century triggered a variety of travel narratives, which did not themselves necessarily reflect the Enlightenment values underpinning these major ideological shifts. Among them one may count the accounts of counter-revolutionary *bagnards* exiled in French Guiana such as Louis-Ange Pitou, or witnesses of the Haitian Revolution such as the naturalist Michel-Étienne Descourtilz. The nineteenth century proved, however, to be a highly significant period for the production of travel writing in its various forms, in part because the second wave of French colonisation (beginning with the invasion of Algeria in 1830) triggered a fascination with other cultures, in part because technological progress improved transport networks and increased popular interest in unfamiliar places. The enhancement of print technology also allowed for the first time in France the widespread publication of serialised travel accounts, many of which appeared subsequently collected in single volumes. Many literary authors deployed the contexts of the journey, as well as associated concepts such as the emerging idea of *couleur locale*, as material for travel-related writing across a range of genres, producing work that anticipated travel writing in its modern guises.

Travel literature provided a particularly apt frame for Romantic writing, with the journey permitting a focus on the particular concerns of individual

¹⁰ Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde par la Frégate La Boudeuse et la flûte l’Etoile* (1771; Paris: Maspero, 1980), p. 167.

travellers often subject to the anxiogenic condition of existential malaise associated with disillusionment and melancholy, known as the *mal du siècle*. Chateaubriand's *Atala* (1801) and *René* (1802) are read as foundational texts in this tradition. The prologue of *Atala* presents the landscape of North America as 'a delightful country that the inhabitants of the United States call the New Eden', and contact with the indigenous peoples is presented as a form of escape from European civilisation.¹¹ An account of the travels on which these works drew was published later by Chateaubriand as *Voyage en Amérique* (1826), by which time he had already published the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811), the celebrated account of his later journey to Greece, the Middle East, North Africa, and Spain under the Consulate and empire. As was the case of other Romantic authors, Chateaubriand's travelogues were markedly solipsistic, primarily deploying other cultures as a screen onto which preoccupations of the self could be projected. A different tradition, of political travel, was epitomised by Alexis de Tocqueville, whose 1831 tour of the United States led to *De la démocratie en Amérique* (1835), and who also wrote accounts of journeys in Algeria, Britain, and Ireland. Flora Tristan's *Pérégrinations d'une paria* (1833–4), the author's observations based on her stay in Peru following the country's war of independence, belongs to the same tradition, and is a relatively rare example of published women's travel writing in the period.

Later in the century, the *Bildungsroman* or *roman d'apprentissage*, exemplified by a work such as Flaubert's *L'éducation sentimentale* (1869), continued to link the social mobility of their protagonists to geographical travel. Flaubert also produced accounts of his own travels, both in France and North Africa, unpublished during his lifetime, such as *Par les champs et par les grèves* (1847) and the *Voyage en Orient* (1849–51). Inaugurating a French tradition of the traveller's self-denigration, Flaubert was dismissive of travel writing as a form, describing it in his correspondence as 'sad' and 'easy'.¹² With growing imperial expansion, the genre became increasingly visible and was often closely associated, as a privileged manifestation of the emerging *littérature coloniale*, with the ideologies on which that expansion was based. The naval officer Pierre Loti (pen-name of Julien Viaud) achieved great success with his semi-autobiographical narratives inspired by his travels in Turkey, China,

¹¹ Chateaubriand, *Œuvres romanesques et voyages*, ed. Maurice Regard, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), vol. 1, p. 33.

¹² Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondance*, ed. Jean Bruneau, 6 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1973–2007), vol. 11, p. 327, vol. 111, p. 96.

Japan, the Pacific, and elsewhere, using these to link the French colonial mindset to the *fin-de-siècle* melancholy with which his work is associated.¹³

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, clear tensions became apparent within travel writing: the continued popularity of the form (not least in the science fiction-inspired travel narratives of Jules Verne) is to be contrasted with its rejection as epitomised by des Esseintes, the protagonist of Joris-Karl Huysmans's *A rebours* (1884), who eschewed physical displacement in favour of various forms of interior journeying that owed much to an earlier tradition (most notably in Xavier de Maistre) of microspeciation and 'room travel'.¹⁴ Paul Bourget opens his *Sensations d'Italie* (1892) with an acknowledgement that travel writing is 'old-fashioned these days'.¹⁵ Such frustration with the perceived superficiality of the genre led Victor Segalen (a naval officer like Loti) to propose a critical theorisation of exoticism in his *Essai sur l'exotisme* (composed 1904–18) and also to experiment formally with the travelogue in works such as *Équipée* (1929), a synthesis of two journeys in prewar China. Segalen's 'aesthetics of diversity' – a search for an aesthetics of travel that would maintain and even accentuate the differences between self and other – is a response to what he saw as the increasing cultural 'entropy' that characterised the contemporary world.¹⁶ As such he represents the culmination of the nineteenth-century rhetoric of the decline of travel: the work of Chateaubriand had included the first indications of such anxiety regarding the impact of mechanisation, and as the century progressed, new transport technologies contributed not only to the acceleration of journeys, but also to their progressive democratisation as access to the spaces of travel traditionally restricted to a social elite was slowly opened up. Both of these are issues to which twentieth-century travel writing would continue to respond in innovative ways as the long nineteenth century (1789–1914) was brought to an end by the outbreak of the First World War.

Although the forms of mobility associated with war generated a series of memoirs and other autobiographical texts in which travel played a part, such periods of conflict tend to create a lull in the production of travel writing. There are exceptions to this rule, and travel writers continue to play a documentary role in wartime, as the more recent war zone writings of

¹³ Michael G. Lerner, *Pierre Loti* (New York: Twayne, 1974).

¹⁴ See Bernd Stiegler, *Traveling in Place: A History of Armchair Travel*, trans. Peter Filkins (University of Chicago Press, 2013).

¹⁵ Paul Bourget, *Sensations d'Italie* (Paris: Lemerre, 1892), p. 1.

¹⁶ See Charles Forsdick, *Victor Segalen and the Aesthetics of Diversity: Journeys Between Cultures* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

François Maspero (*Balkans-Transit*, 1997) and Jean Rolin (*Campagnes*, 2000) make clear. The period following the First World War, however, led to a flourishing of the travelogue, linked in part to the possibilities afforded by a return to peacetime, and also to the opportunities relating to new technologies of transportation and communication. Prominent authors turned to the travel genre in the 1920s and 1930s. With its echoes of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, André Gide's *Voyage au Congo* (1927) is a meticulous account of an individual's journey in which everyday domestic ritual, focused in particular on its author's reading practices, complements an ultimately reformist critique of colonial violence. Reportage – by major figures such as Albert Londres and Georges Simenon – was more muscular in its engagement with the myths of the French civilising mission and its Belgian counterpart: Londres's exposés of the appalling conditions in the penal colonies of French Guiana and North Africa (in *Au bagne*, 1923, and *Dante n'avait rien vu*, 1924, respectively) had a direct impact on their subsequent abolition, and Simenon's account in 'L'heure du nègre' (a series of reportages in *Voilà* in 1932) of the harsh conditions imposed on workers in West Africa, brought this situation to wider attention.

The visibility of the travelogue in the interwar period was increased by the broad range of writers who engaged with it, including authors associated with surrealism. The movement's involvement in the activities of the Musée de l'Homme – and in particular the ethnographic expedition from Dakar to Djibouti – yielded significant contributions to literary travel writing, most notably Michel Leiris's monumental *Afrique fantôme* (1934). The detailed diary of a transcontinental journey, this text is strikingly confessional, linking the personal and often sexual reflections of a French traveller in contact with sub-Saharan African people and cultures to an anxious acknowledgement of the predatory nature of European scientific expeditions. The travel narratives of Henri Michaux, from the same period, reveal a similar commitment to self-revelation, although with markedly different emphases and a greater degree of transgeneric experimentation. Although much of Michaux's later work focused on imaginary and drug-induced journeys, *Ecuador* (1929) and *Un barbare en Asie* (1933) are travel narratives recounting journeys he undertook to South America and subsequently to China, India, Indonesia, and Japan. The first is a particularly acerbic anti-travelogue, in which the author denies any ability to produce the account he is supposed to provide, and rejects the traditions of exoticism and tourism with which the form is associated. Texts such as these epitomise a key strand of post-Revolutionary travel writing in French, associated with active rejection, re-evaluation and rethinking of the

journey, and produced through writing against what is perceived as the tradition of travel literature. Bored or ill for the majority of the journey, Michaux presents travel as a physical struggle with the environment, a process – in the tradition of Segalen and Leiris – that is associated more with self-discovery than any curiosity for the cultures through which he passes. ‘This earth’, he notes, ‘is rinsed of its exoticism.’¹⁷ On occasion, the narrative appears to be on the brink of petering out as the journey itself risks stalling, but deploying a mixture of prose and poetry, the text ultimately describes – in parallel to the journey – a discernment of literary voice. The second text offers a more coherent appearance of quasi-ethnographic accounts of the cultures Michaux visits. It deploys humour to contrast Western and Asian societies, avoiding an impression of cultural superiority and positing the Belgian traveller himself as the ‘barbarian’ of the work’s title.

The bold literary experiments of authors such as Michaux were complemented by other developments that reveal the eclectic corpus of work that is encompassed by travel writing at any one period. The interwar period was accompanied by the extension of travel and communication networks, and the development of new technologies such as lightweight cameras. It provided a relatively narrow window in which the *grand reporteur* (epitomised by Hergé in the *bande dessinée* character Tintin) emerged as a prominent figure. In a period of major political and social change, newspapers such as *Le Petit Parisien* and *Paris-Soir* served as a forum for episodic travel narratives that catered for public interest in current affairs. As was the case with the work of Albert Londres, Joseph Kessel, and Blaise Cendrars, these articles were often collected into volumes that cemented their authors’ reputations, a process that led in the period to the prominence of a significant (and, for the genre, exceptional) cluster of women travel writers. The diversity within this group is striking. Maryse Choisy combined travel writing and investigative journalism in texts such as *Un mois chez les filles* (1928; on prostitution) and *Un mois chez les hommes* (1929; an account of a clandestine stay on Mount Athos). Disguise was also deployed by Alexandra David-Néel, whose *Voyage d’une Parisienne à Lhasa* (1927) recounted her journey to Tibet.¹⁸ Of this group of women travel writers, the francophone Swiss author Ella Maillart has remained the most prominent. Two travelogues on the Soviet Union (*Parmi la jeunesse russe*, 1929, and *Turkestan solo*, 1932), in which she travelled alone and focused on everyday

¹⁷ Henri Michaux, *Ecuador* (1929; Paris: Gallimard, 1968), p. 35.

¹⁸ For more on David-Néel, see Chapter 33 below.

life, were followed by *Oasis interdites* (1937), a bestselling account of her journey across Xinjiang (then officially closed to foreign travellers) with Peter Fleming. *La voie cruelle*, a work inspired by the 1939 car journey towards Afghanistan with Annemarie Schwarzenbach, appeared only after the Second World War, by which time Maillart's reputation was in decline and travel writing was again rapidly adjusting to the changing circumstances of the particular postwar niche in which it was produced.

As was the case with the First World War, the patterns of mobility that characterised 1939–44 (not least the transportation of French Jews to Nazi concentration camps and the *service du travail obligatoire* that took as many as 650,000 French workers to German factories) did not lend themselves to the genre of travel writing. In a later autobiographical novel, *Le grand voyage* (1963), the translingual Spanish author Jorge Semprun described his deportation to Buchenwald in terms of travel. The post-1945 period, however, witnessed a relatively slow re-emergence of travel writing proper, in part because the context of decolonisation lent itself to further critique of the genre. Aimé Césaire's excoriating denunciation of French cultural complicity in imperial expansion, *Discours sur le colonialisme* (1950), contained a number of extracts from travel narratives in the evidence it marshalled. The aftermath of the war was accompanied by a consolidation of the rapid improvements in transport technology, as well as the institutionalisation of leisure (and paid holidays) begun in France by the Popular Front in 1936. As one of the key travelogues of the period, Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques* (1955), made clear in its opening chapter on the 'end of travel', the emphases on endurance and exclusivity that characterised the genre in earlier periods were increasingly difficult to sustain. The text opens with a stark dismissal of the form to which it seemingly belongs: 'I hate journeys and explorers.'¹⁹ Travel writing continued to be popular, however, and Lévi-Strauss's acknowledgement of a continued quest for (affordable) adventure manifested itself in the 1950s subgenre of accounts of journeys in Citroën 2CVs. Another major text, the francophone Swiss writer Nicolas Bouvier's *Usage du monde* (1963), adopts a similar approach, and recounts in sparse and carefully crafted prose a 1953–4 journey through Yugoslavia and Afghanistan in a Fiat Topolino.

The production of travel writing did not end in the period of the *nouveau roman* and of structuralist thought, but studies of the travelogue tend to suggest that there was a dearth of material produced in the 1960s and 1970s. Michel Le Bris claims that the literary and intellectual experimentation that

¹⁹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955), p. 13.

characterised those decades led to a 'bracketing-off-of-the-world'.²⁰ As a result of this, he notes that authors proposing a more documentary approach to travel (in texts such as Bouvier's *Usage du monde* and Jacques Lacarrière's *Chemin faisant*, 1974) failed to find a readership. Le Bris's analysis fails to acknowledge the extent to which writers and critics such as Michel Butor and Roland Barthes explored the potential of the travelogue as a frame in which to explore the interpretation of signs central to the experience of travel. Butor's *Mobile* (1960) is a fragmented account of a road trip around the United States, defying the conventional teleology of the journey and assembling a range of fragments accumulated on the way. *L'empire des signes* (1970) is an essayistic account of Barthes's travelling and dwelling in Japan, exploring the untranslatability of other cultures and the multisensory forms of engagement with a place that ultimately remains inaccessible. In the posthumously published *Carnets du voyage en Chine* (2009), Barthes also produced one of a series of texts (more sceptical towards Maoism in his case than the parallel account of Julia Kristeva, *Des chinoises*, 1974) that emerged from the visit to China by members of the *Tel Quel* group in 1974, evidence of the convergence at the time of travel writing and politics.

In a context of genuine uncertainty regarding French literary production in the late twentieth century, the travel narrative provided a formal and generic stability as well as an apparent rootedness in the world that many critics considered to be otherwise lacking. With the emergence of more traditional and even culturally conservative forms such as the adventure novel, the 1980s saw a return of interest in narrative forms, often associated with the work of earlier twentieth-century writers such as Jacques Rivière. Harnessing these developments, Michel Le Bris launched a number of initiatives catering for, and to a certain extent further generating, this renewal of appetite. A number of new book series – most notably 'Voyageurs' with Payot (launched in 1990) – provided outlets for republished classics (in French and in French translation) as well as for works (again in French and in French translation) by contemporary *écrivains-voyageurs* (a term which began to have increasing currency at this time). The periodical *Gulliver* – a number of issues of which were devoted to travel writing – was launched in 1990, and in the same year Le Bris established the now long-running 'Étonnants voyageurs' festival in Saint-Malo, an event presented from the outset as the meeting place for the 'grandchildren of Stevenson and Conrad'. Writing in English,

²⁰ Michel Le Bris, 'La vie, si égarante et bonne', in *Le Vent des routes: hommages à Nicolas Bouvier* (Carouge-Genève: Zoé, 1998), pp. 57–61 (at p. 57).

especially by authors linked to the journal *Granta*, served as a major influence, and travelogues by Bruce Chatwin, Redmond O’Hanlon, Jonathan Raban, Colin Thubron, and Peter Matthiessen attracted a considerable following in France. Despite these internationalist tendencies, the emphasis was, however, on an emerging tradition which was French-language rather than exclusively (and nationally) French. This was linked in part to the (re-)discovery and republication of members of earlier generations of travel writers, such as Victor Segalen and Ella Maillart; these developments also permitted the recognition of a loosely configured school of contemporary authors, including Alain Borer, Nicolas Bouvier, Michel Chaillou, Jean-Luc Coatalem, Alain Dugrand, Gilles Lapouge, Jacques Meunier, Georges Walter, Kenneth White, and Le Bris himself. This distinctive group launched a manifesto in 1992 – in the form of a series of essays – entitled *Pour une littérature voyageuse*.²¹

Despite the group’s interest in earlier women travellers (namely Maillart, and the explorer and oceanographer Anita Conti), the dominance of *Pour une littérature voyageuse* by white male Western European travel writers suggests clear dynamics of exclusion and inclusion that link the genre to a guild identity equally evident in its English-language equivalent. Since 1990, the grouping has evolved in a number of ways, not least since the deaths of key figures such as Bouvier and Lacarrière. A new generation of travel writers has emerged, including authors such as Sylvain Tesson, whose texts, including *Dans les forêts de Sibérie* (2011), have permitted exploration within the French tradition of the links between the travelogue and nature writing. At the same time, important works have appeared by contemporary women travellers, including the two volumes recounting the journey by hydraulic engineer Caroline Riegel from Lake Baikal to Bengal, *Soifs d’Orient* and *Méandres d’Asie* (both 2008). The ‘Étonnants voyageurs’ festival – now the largest literary festival in France outside the ‘salon du livre’ in Paris – remains a key forum for travel writers, although its emphasis on ‘a literature which expresses the world’ has always encompassed a range of genres and forms of production, including work by postcolonial authors from across the French-speaking world. The festival served as the platform for the launch of a second manifesto in 2007, advocating a ‘world-literature in French’, but this initiative – supported by postcolonial as well as translingual writers – focused primarily on the novel and showed up further, in the diversity of its signatories, the previous policing of the boundaries of travel writing along the lines of class,

²¹ Alain Borer et al., *Pour une littérature voyageuse* (Brussels: Complexe, 1992).

gender, and ethnicity. Official histories of the genre might endorse such exclusive, francocentric definitions, which themselves may be seen to be shored up by a residual colonial nostalgia that some critics have detected in contemporary travel texts. This denial of access to the genre to those historically designated in travel accounts as passive ‘travellees’, however, is belied by closer scrutiny of the literatures of mobility and a prising open of understandings of the travelogue.

Various modes of journeying have nevertheless been central to francophone writing since its emergence in a modern recognisable form. Texts such as Bakary Diallo’s *Force-bonté* (1926) or Ousmane Socé’s *Mirages de Paris* (1937) recounted the major displacements of sub-Saharan African ‘travellers’ in the earlier twentieth century, namely as colonial troops in the First World War or as participants in the imperial displays that culminated in the *Exposition coloniale* at Vincennes in 1931. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Ivorian author Bernard Dadié harnessed the conventions of the travelogue to anti-colonial intent as he produced mordant accounts of his journeys to Paris, New York, and Rome. *Un nègre à Paris* (1959) is a *faux naïf* exploration of Parisian society. Presented in epistolary form, it adopts the dynamics of Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes* to satirise the remnants of France’s claims to a civilising mission. This project was extended in two later works, *Patron de New York* (1964) and *La ville où nul ne meurt* (1968), with their focus on North American and Roman culture and society respectively. It is, however, the Togolese writer Tété-Michel Kpomassie who has been actively recognised as a francophone postcolonial *écrivain-voyageur* following the publication of *L’Africain du Groenland* (1981). Kpomassie’s text is a telling example of a work that was distanced from travel writing on publication (despite the fact that it was published in the same decade as the emergence of the *Pour une littérature voyageuse* movement), but retrospectively welcomed into the generic fold (its 2016 re-edition marketed the work extravagantly as ‘the mythical narrative of the first African travel writer’).

Such a shift demonstrates not only an early twenty-first-century dilution of the guild identity with which French travel writing has long been associated, but also a more fundamental reconceptualisation of the form. To the extent that the event may be seen to reflect evolving understandings of the travelogue, the ‘Étonnants voyageurs’ festival has increasingly welcomed more multi-modal writing of travel, including in film and the *carnet de voyage*. Juxtaposing text and image, the latter belongs more clearly to an earlier travel-writing tradition, not least because the inclusion of sketches and images of ephemera gathered in the field contributes to the crafted

impression of spontaneous reaction on which the genre has often depended. These travel notebooks provide a hybridity and flexibility that the text-based travelogue often lacks, and there are striking examples of the *carnet* that offer a distinctive alternative to representational practices in which the intertextual emphases of French travel writing have led on occasion to the perpetuation of established cultural stereotypes.²² Recent work on Haiti is a particularly clear instance of this tendency, with albums by Nicole Augereau and Titouan Lamazou allowing not only a connection with the country's everyday life (and a rejection of previous obsession with a distorted, exoticising view of *vodou*), but also a collaboration with local artists that impacts on the ways in which Haitian culture is portrayed.

The new directions emerging in such works epitomise the ways in which travel writing in French continues to evolve as a genre, and to move beyond the self-conscious restrictions and limitations with which the form, even in its more recent manifestations, has often been associated. The authorship of Haitian examples in the *carnet de voyage*, despite their emphasis on forms of collaboration, nevertheless suggests a certain perpetuation of the dynamics of traveller and 'travellee', viewer and viewed. An alternative direction is apparent in a body of recent texts that focus on journeys very different from those traditionally portrayed in travel writing: itineraries related to migration and Mediterranean crossings. The *bande dessinée* artist Jean-Philippe Stassen has produced *I Comb Jesus et autres reportages africains* (2015), a series of *reportages*-cum-travelogues in the format of the *carnet de voyage* that recount the transcontinental and intercontinental itineraries of sub-Saharan African migrants. Such works seek to rehumanise narratives from which personal dimensions are often evacuated in political and journalistic discourse. Over the past decade an increasing number of documentary accounts have been published, recounting attempted journeys from the Global South to Europe. Some, such as Mahmoud Traoré's *'Dem ak xabaar': partir et raconter* (2012), have been co-written with French journalists, or, as is the case with Olivier Favier's *Chroniques d'exil et d'hospitalité* (2016), have been recounted orally and then retold. A narrative authored by a *clandestin*, Omar Ba's *Soif d'Europe* (2008), was subsequently revealed to be a fictionalisation of a number of different narratives, triggering a major political backlash against the author. This growing body of travel narratives raises questions about narrative voice, authenticity, and (mis)trust that, far from suggesting a break with previous

²² Christine Montalbetti, *Le voyage, le monde et la bibliothèque* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997).

traditions, underline clear continuities in the French-language travelogue. For many, perpetuating more conservative definitions of the genre, the extent to which these accounts of undocumented migrant journeys can be read as travel writing nevertheless remains moot. It is likely, however, that such works reflect the latest stage in the efforts of a highly agile and elastic genre to adjust to the evolving understandings of travel evident in the cultural and sociopolitical contexts of its production. As such, travel writing in French mirrors – and often may be seen to lead – developments evident in contemporary travel writing more generally, relating not least to the decolonisation and democratisation of the genre, and to its engagement with new, and especially digital, media.

North American Travel Writing

WENDY MARTIN

Travel is foundational to North American history.* The continent presented explorers and settlers with a seemingly ‘new’ frontier to explore, exploit, and subsequently define, and their narratives help us understand how North America and (later) the United States was imagined.¹ Accounts by pioneer travellers inform much of American literature. Later writing takes unique forms, ranging from slave narratives, to nature writing, to stories featuring the all-American road trip. From the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries, travel narratives both solidify and dismantle a unified national identity.

As English explorers and settlers send home letters, pamphlets, and promotional materials during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they construct an image of North America as a New World – of virgin soil, untamed wilderness, and untapped resources. However, in order to establish this account of American identity and experience, some stories must remain untold or skewed. For example, the presence of native Americans disrupts the ‘new world’ narrative, and writers respond by delegitimizing native Americans’ claims to North American lands and downplaying their threat to English settlers, portraying the native inhabitants as impotent, uncivilised figures who haunt the peripheries of colonial holdings. These travellers’ tales fall within the tradition of European exploration and colonisation and are prompted by interests in securing settlers and investors for colonial enterprise,² acquiring scientific knowledge,

* I am grateful to Lauren Morrison, Claremont Graduate University, for her assistance with this essay.

¹ Strictly speaking, North American writing includes material by Canadian, Mexican, and Caribbean authors but in this chapter the focus is on writing in English by authors associated with the USA and its precursor colonies.

² Such as the anonymous pamphlet circulated by the Virginia Company to combat – true – rumours of the fatal diseases awaiting newcomers to the Chesapeake Bay, ‘*A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*’ (Issued by the Virginia Company), 1610’, in Peter C. Mancall (ed.), *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580–1640* (Boston: Bedford, 1995), pp. 127–32.

and advancing religion.³ Their narratives deliver a single message: North America is a virgin land that is available for cultivation and offers limitless potential.

Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) and John Smith's *A Description of New England* (1616) show the influence of contemporary thinking, expounding on the lucrative possibilities for investors in the new world. The *Report* – especially its appearance as the first volume in Theodor de Bry's *America* (1590) – garnered immediate acclaim and was received as an authoritative text on the continent's resources and natives.⁴ Hariot's work demonstrates the multivalent nature of travel writing, weaving scientific and ethnographic 'facts' with admonitions for Protestant intervention.⁵ His report minimises the risk of ventures on the continent, claiming that small expenditures of time and money would yield great rewards from the rich soil and diverse resources. He also assures his readers that the native populations, 'in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared; but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us'.⁶ The colonists' interests will be secured by any means necessary. John Smith's *Description* encourages hardworking individuals to enjoy unlimited opportunities in North America and clarifies the justifications for colonisation in the Americas, including building a foundation for future prosperity and bringing (Protestant) Christianity to the Native Americans: 'If hee have any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any: or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to convert those poore Salvages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and

³ Richard Hakluyt (the Elder), "'Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. Degrees,' 1585', in Mancall (ed.), *Envisioning America*, pp. 33–44. Hakluyt enumerates the benefits of colonising North America: resources available for trade, populations in need of conversion, and other opportunities. See Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁴ Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, p. 40. The de Bry edition is accompanied by John White's watercolours of the local Algonquin Indians and Virginian flora and fauna. White led an early, failed settlement on Roanoke Island in 1587. His paintings and illustrations remained standard representations of native American life for centuries. See Paul Hulton, 'John White's Drawings in the British Museum', in *The Watercolor Drawings of John White from the British Museum* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1965), pp. 6–11.

⁵ Fuller, *Voyages*, pp. 40–2.

⁶ Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), ed. Paul Royster, *Electronic Texts in American Studies*, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1020&context=etas>.

paines?’⁷ These texts feature characteristic arguments and inducements to promote colonisation in North America: ‘As propaganda for international trade and for colonization, travel accounts had no equal.’⁸ Early colonial travel writings legitimate the idea that North America must be conquered and cultivated; imposing order and control is central to the colonial project. Mary Pratt argues that travel narratives ‘gave European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement, and familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized’.⁹

God’s Chosen Land and Chosen People

The travel writings of early English explorers and settlers in North America have many elements in common with the other European colonial narratives of this time, in which Europeans are cast as “conquering heroes” traveling to and exploring the newly discovered regions of the world’.¹⁰ The belief by the early Puritan settlers in New England in their divine calling to settle in the New World provides a powerful complement to the explorers’ construction of America. Colonial leaders called for industrious, energetic settlers to help tame the American wilderness, transform opportunity into destiny, and will into right. Early colonial travel writings provide a coherent foundation for the idea of America to be developed and disseminated for subsequent generations.

These earliest colonial travel writings, however, do not dwell on another powerful force impelling colonisation. The persecution of Protestant sects in England in the early seventeenth century prompted many groups to seek out religious freedom in North America. The journey to the New World offered ready comparisons to scriptural texts and framed the Puritans’ experience. William Bradford’s history of the Separatists’ removal from England, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1606–1646*, is organised around the conviction that God has ordained their travel: ‘their desires were sett on the ways of God . . .

⁷ John Smith, *A Description of New England (1616)*, ed. Paul Royster, Electronic Texts in American Studies, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=etas>.

⁸ Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), p. 77.

⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 3.

¹⁰ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (1995; New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 9.

they rested on his providence'.¹¹ Bradford recounts how the Pilgrims survived the 'periles and miseries' of the sea voyage only to encounter 'a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men'.¹² His narrative likens the Pilgrims to the Israelites: exiled from their homeland, they must trust in God's divine calling to endure the 'savage' and ominous wilderness they face.¹³ Janis Stout argues that the journey across the Atlantic itself is a formative influence on American identity, establishing the themes of progress and possibility in the American myth: 'the importance of western spaces and westerly movement can scarcely be exaggerated . . . like the westerly march of society, the journey symbolizes Progress, mankind's efforts toward intellectual or moral goals, even the search for meaning itself'.¹⁴ The influx of Puritan settlers suffuses the colonial project with a sense of divine ordination that dominates American discourse until the middle of the nineteenth century and that persists even today.

Following Bradford, John Winthrop – the elected governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company's colonial venture in 1629 – admonishes his fellow Puritans on the gravity of their project: 'We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "may the Lord make it like that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.'¹⁵ Winthrop's and Bradford's writings, along with other early settlers' accounts of travel to North America, establish themes that pervade American discourse: divine calling, destiny, exceptionalism, as well as the need for a cooperative community.

Travel writings, including captivity narratives, from the late seventeenth century show how early colonists applied the Puritan narrative of divine intervention to daily experience. After surviving an Indian attack on her village, Mary Rowlandson was taken captive and forced to travel deep 'into the vast and howling wilderness'.¹⁶ Rowlandson's conception of the wilderness echoes Bradford's, and her experience is regularly understood through

¹¹ William Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606–1646*, ed. William T. Davis (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1959), p. 33.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 95–6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁴ Janis P. Stout, *The Journey Narrative in American Literature: Patterns and Departures* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 5–6.

¹⁵ John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity* (1630), www.winthropsociety.com/doc_charity.php.

¹⁶ *The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682; Cambridge, MA: John Wilson & Son, 1903), p. 20.

biblical allusions. Rowlandson's popular success demonstrates the narrative's resonance with early American readers.¹⁷ These motifs are repeated throughout captivity literature, such as John Williams's *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707). Williams understands his time in captivity as a divine trial: 'it was our reasonable duty, quietly to submit to the will of God, and to say, the will of the Lord be done'.¹⁸ Williams and his peers' lives are saturated with spiritual importance as they attempt 'to infer the meaning of providence'.¹⁹

Rowlandson and Williams also use their travels to emphasise their difference from the other inhabitants of the continent – primarily the Native Americans and Catholics they encounter. Rowlandson's relationship with her captors is complicated – she relates kindnesses offered by them as well as cruelties suffered. Ultimately, however, her narrative views the natives as demons in contrast to the Christian settlers: 'Oh the roaring, and singing and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell.'²⁰

Williams was held captive in Quebec; his negative portrayals of Native Americans, French colonists, and Jesuits bolster the English colonists' justification in their efforts to expand their land holdings in North America.²¹ Travel writings that emphasise the threats of French popery and Native American savagery define who belongs within the community and justify expanding colonial projects. These narratives reveal how travel itself 'presents a radical challenge to the notion of a fixed stable self',²² and how writers attempt to regain control over their often chaotic and difficult circumstances.

A New Republic

The American Revolutionary War (1775–83) was accompanied by a major shift in American travel literature and its aims. The war did not undermine

¹⁷ Rowlandson's appeal to contemporary readers is evidenced by the three editions printed in 1682 to accommodate demand. See Neal Salisbury, 'Introduction', in Mary White Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed: Being a Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson and Related Documents*, ed. Neal Salisbury (Boston: Bedford, 1997), pp. 48–9.

¹⁸ John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*, 6th edn (Boston: Samuel Hall, 1795), p. 17.

¹⁹ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 46.

²⁰ Rowlandson, *Narrative*, p. 6.

²¹ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, p. 88.

²² Wendy Martin, 'Introduction: Mapping American Life', in Wendy Martin (ed.), *Colonial American Travel Narratives* (New York: Penguin, 1994), pp. vii–xviii (at p. viii).

the American narrative; rather, the newfound republic reoriented 'American' values and beliefs to better reflect the new system of government. Travel literature participated in this shift, helping to define the United States as a nation.²³ It gave it continuity and 'imagined [it] as a *community*'.²⁴ Washington Irving uses his *Sketch Book* (1820) to underscore his American identity: 'My native country was full of youthful promise: Europe was rich in the accumulated treasures of age.'²⁵ He documents contrasts between British and American manners, as well as romantic representations of Native Americans, reflecting a general optimism and dedication to the principles and values that permeate national discourse.

Anne Royall's travels highlight other aspects of national consciousness that emerge during the early nineteenth century. Her *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States* (1826) provides glimpses of various regions between the southern states and New York. Royall's sketches include reflections on the local institutions in the cities she visits and demonstrate her active interest in the implementation of the nation's founding principles. Travel writing affords Royall the opportunity to enter into a public political discussion from which women were typically excluded, setting a precedent for nineteenth-century American women writers after her, such as Margaret Fuller, Catharine Sedgwick, and Lydia Sigourney who use travel literature as a legitimate way of participating in public discourse.²⁶

Using Europe

Irving's and Royall's travel narratives appear shortly after the United States' victory in the War of 1812 (1812–15) against Britain. The nation's success buttressed national pride and assured its place as a global power, but writings from this period also convey intense anxiety over its apparent lack of culture and history. For many writers, travel to Europe provides a foil against which

²³ In contrast to the captivity narratives of the colonial era, in Ethan Allen's *A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity*, 3rd edn (Burlington, VT: H. Johnson, 1838) the enemy is the British, whom he accuses of inhumane treatment while he was a prisoner of war. Later, in England, he lectures on 'American freedom', demands that the American character be treated 'with due respect' and celebrates that he is 'a full blooded Yankee' (pp. 93–4).

²⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), p. 7 (emphasis in original).

²⁵ Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (New York: Charles E. Merrill, 1911), p. 33.

²⁶ For more on Royall and other American women travel writers, see Jennifer Bernhardt Steadman, *Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007).

the United States may define its identity, and their narratives struggle to reconcile their attraction toward and repulsion from European culture.

Regularly scheduled transatlantic sailings – a luxury initiated in 1818, requiring forty days on the sea – gave way to steamers that would make the journey in just over fifteen days for wealthy patrons.²⁷ The growth of the print and tourism industries created fertile conditions for an explosion of travel narratives and guidebooks catering to middle-class ‘tourists’.²⁸ Furthermore, in the first half of the nineteenth century, improvements in roads and stagecoach routes, as well as the introduction of steamships and railroads, radically altered travel within the United States.²⁹ Between 1830 and 1900, some 193,000 miles of railroad track connected American citizens, industries, and cities.³⁰ Though leisure travel remained an inherently privileged activity, more and more Americans found it affordable.

The popularity of travel writing provided a space for traditionally silenced and marginalised voices. Writers such as Catharine Sedgwick and Margaret Fuller used their travels abroad to reinforce the burgeoning American narrative. In *Letters from Abroad* (1842), Sedgwick suggests that England’s long history and cultivation lend their society ‘more graceful form and polish’. America offers vitality and rapid growth from its ‘new soil’,³¹ putting it in a unique position to learn from the mistakes of the past and forge a new model society.³² In her travel writings, Margaret Fuller also observes that European culture constitutes no threat to American identity: ‘The American

²⁷ John H. White and George M. Smerk, *Wet Britches and Muddy Boots: A History of Travel in Victorian America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 303, 328.

²⁸ John Murray’s (British) guidebooks were published from 1836, and Karl Baedeker’s German guidebooks were translated into English by the 1860s. See Jan Palmowski, ‘Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, in Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (London: Berg, 2002), pp. 105–31.

²⁹ Steamboat travel began on the Mississippi River in 1811, and the Transcontinental Railroad was completed by 1869.

³⁰ White and Smerk, *Wet Britches*, p. 415.

³¹ Catharine Maria Sedgwick, ‘Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home . . . by the Author of “Hope Leslie”’, in Mary Suzanne Schriber (ed.), *Telling Travels: Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century American Women Abroad* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), p. 77.

³² Sedgwick, best known for her ‘domestic’ novels, was an influential female writer of the nineteenth century. The anonymous review ‘*Letters from Abroad, to Kindred at Home, by Miss Sedgwick*’ in *The Southern Quarterly Review*, 1/1 (Jan. 1842), remarks that the letters ‘have been so generally read, and freely commented upon, that it would be a work of supererogation, to enter fully into a criticism of them’ (p. 173); and playfully summarises her political perspective: ‘Miss Sedgwick would form a republic, with an elective presidency, in every kingdom of Europe’ (p. 175).

in Europe, if a thinking mind, can only become more American.³³ Fuller suggests that Europe clarifies what is important to Americans while providing the historical context to understand the forces that created the new nation.

Fuller finds that there is an ‘immense advantage of being born to a new world on a virgin soil’, though she ‘does not wish one seed from the past to be lost’.³⁴ Europe offers the distance from which Americans may better scrutinise the shortcomings and missteps of their government.

Fuller and her Transcendentalist contemporary Henry David Thoreau use travel – both domestic and abroad – to critique inconsistencies in the national project. In *Summer on the Lakes in 1843* (1844), Fuller insists that the nation’s rapid expansion will have long-term effects on the environment: ‘most of these settlers do not see it at all . . . their mode of cultivation will, in the course of twenty, perhaps ten years, obliterate the natural expression of the country’.³⁵ Similarly, in his *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), Thoreau considers the imposition of modern industry on the New England landscape and regrets his fellow Americans’ reluctance to celebrate their own land: ‘What though the traveler tell us of the ruins of Egypt, are we so sick or idle that we must sacrifice our America and to-day to some man’s ill-remembered and indolent story?’³⁶ Throughout their travels at home and abroad, Fuller and Thoreau are disappointed by the disparity between the American myth and their experiences; but these writers remain committed to the national narrative and assert that individuals – not the story – must change.

By the end of the century Mark Twain’s satiric travelogues paint cynically humorous portraits of the excesses of tourism, tourists, and human nature, while ultimately reaffirming his own Americanness. *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) revisits Twain’s early life as a steamer pilot, establishing the river’s pre-eminence: it is ‘in all ways remarkable’.³⁷ In *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), Twain displays his preference for American landscape and the energy suffusing his homeland over European tradition and treasures.³⁸ Twain is playfully self-deprecating and irreverent, questioning his own and his fellow tourists’

³³ Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *At Home and Abroad, or, Things and Thoughts in America and Europe*, ed. Arthur B. Fuller (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1856), p. 250.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁶ Henry David Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1961), p. 314.

³⁷ Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1883), p. 21.

³⁸ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or, The New Pilgrims’ Progress* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing, 1869).

motives, and the supposed superiority of other nations. He acknowledges Americans' awkward position abroad, with their donning of other nations' traditional dress like play actors in costume, and making a spectacle of their difference: 'we conducted ourselves in accordance with the natural instincts that were in us, and trammelled ourselves with no ceremonies, no conventionalities. We always took care to make it understood that we were Americans – Americans!'³⁹

Challenging the American Myth

Throughout the next century, American expatriates and travel writers continue to use Europe – and an increasing range of Asian and African countries – to re-evaluate the United States. Americans who are excluded from participating in the process of national self-definition begin to enter into the public discourse – many using the popularity of travel writing. The most powerful counters to the unified American narrative come from the writings of African Americans, both enslaved and free. Their accounts represent complex perspectives on life in America that extend beyond the bounds of the American myth.⁴⁰ African American writers used travel to challenge American complacency and hypocrisy, and to reimagine the dominant vision of American identity.

While the new nation broadcast its liberal values of freedom and equality, slavery in the United States continued for decades beyond that of other Western nations and their colonial holdings. Former and fugitive slaves use travel writing to highlight the gross incongruity of American exceptionalism in the face of such an institution. Travel in slave narratives stands in stark contrast with the other travel accounts of the time, especially as these accounts demonstrate the alienation former slaves experience in their 'home-land'. Frederick Douglass recounts his successful escape to the North. Even there, his freedom was limited, as local officials were still beholden to the federal Fugitive Slave Act, enacted in 1793 and further strengthened in 1850: it required Northerners to assist in returning escaped slaves to their owners.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 645–6.

⁴⁰ Farah J. Griffin and Cheryl J. Fish, 'Introduction', in Griffin and Fish (eds.), *A Stranger in the Village: Two Centuries of African-American Travel Writing* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), pp. xiii–xvii. Griffin and Fish remark on the diversity of these writers' positions, which cover a 'complex range of racial and national identities, unfixing and relocating narrow or set notions of black subjectivity' (p. xv). Griffin and Fish suggest that the hybridity of travel writing allows new perspectives on mobility, voluntary or forced migration, and agency (p. xiv).

Douglass remains uncertain of his future as ‘a fugitive slave in a strange land – a land given up to be the hunting-ground for slaveholders – whose inhabitants are legalized kidnappers’.⁴¹ Harriet Jacobs’s account of her confinement and eventual escape from the South provides additional perspective on the torments of the Fugitive Slave Act. Jacobs finds herself in the North, ‘alone in the world’,⁴² cut off from all her closest relations and ‘haunted’ by the fear of being discovered as a fugitive.⁴³ Though their journeys to freedom differ, both Jacobs and Douglass use travel to highlight the entire nation’s culpability in maintaining slavery.

For African Americans like Jacobs and Douglass, the freedom they enjoy in the North is fragile because of their skin colour. Travel was often dangerous and fraught with the anxiety of false enslavement – encapsulated in Solomon Northup’s *Twelve Years a Slave* (1855). African Americans used their travel narratives to disclose the insecurity of their position within the nation, while also decrying the treatment they encountered daily. Charles Lenox Remond, a free black man from Massachusetts, highlights the disparity between American principles and fact in his address to the Massachusetts state legislature in 1842, stating that ‘the treatment to which colored Americans are exposed in their own country finds a counterpart in no other’.⁴⁴ Other free black authors like Mary Ann Shadd Cary articulate what will be an important aspect of later North American travel literature: the desire to look outside of the United States for a secure home. Shadd Cary’s *Plea for Emigration* (1852) urges free and enslaved African Americans to find refuge in Canada, rather than remain in the United States. Travel enabled black men and women like Remond, Douglass, and Shadd Cary the opportunity to imagine and advocate a better life for themselves and their communities without relying on the unfulfilled promises of the American myth.

After the turn of the century, African American writers would seek a new home in their travels abroad to Africa, Russia, and the Continent. The end of slavery had not brought about freedom and equality, but instead institutional racism such as the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (1896) that legitimised

⁴¹ Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), p. 93.

⁴² Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*, ed. Lydia Maria Child (Boston: the author, 1861), p. 241.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴⁴ Charles Lenox Remond, ‘The Rights of Colored Citizens in Traveling’, in Philip S. Foner and Robert James Branham (eds.), *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1901* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), pp. 189–94 (at p. 191).

segregation throughout the country. Many African American writers sought meaningful integration into communities outside of their native country. For some, like W. E. B. Du Bois, Africa offered succour and integration.⁴⁵ For others – including Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Nella Larsen, and James Baldwin – foreign countries such as Russia and France extended African Americans a physical and intellectual home. Their travels confirmed that, as Hughes observes, in the USA daily life could not occur ‘without being conscious of [one’s] color’,⁴⁶ and the American experience equated to ‘depthless alienation from oneself and one’s people’.⁴⁷ Turning away from the United States did not signal a rejection of American ideals, but rather a search for their realisation elsewhere. Travel writings by marginalised and disenfranchised groups express scepticism about the coherence of the American myth that came to pervade the twentieth century.

These challenges to the dominant American narrative of exceptionalism and unbounded opportunity lend a renewed energy to latent anxiety about potential European superiority. Many writers expatriated in the early twentieth century, and looked to other cultures for a more stable and fulfilling life, using their travel writings to process their experiences abroad. For writers like Edith Wharton, Henry James, and Henry Adams, Europe provides a historical depth that the United States cannot duplicate. Wharton embraced European society and the freedom she enjoyed abroad.⁴⁸ In *A Motor-Flight through France* (1908), Wharton distances herself from her homeland, yet she reflects and anticipates values of American travellers in the twentieth century – including a passion for the newfound freedoms of automobile travel, as well as the desire to distinguish authentic travel from mere tourism. Both James and Adams offer condescending reflections on Americans’ suspicions of European culture and values. For Adams, Americans’ strict pragmatism renders the Gothic beauty of Chartres Cathedral and its elevation of the Virgin Mary unintelligible, or ‘insane’.⁴⁹ James identifies the underlying anxiety of American tourists who lapse ‘into a moody skepticism’ of foreign cultures, ‘wondering vaguely whether this is not a mightier race as well as a lovelier

⁴⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, ‘Little Portraits of Africa’, in Griffin and Fish (eds.), *Stranger in the Village*, pp. 146–9.

⁴⁶ Langston Hughes, ‘Going South in Russia’, in Griffin and Fish (eds.), *Stranger in the Village*, pp. 215–20 (at p. 216).

⁴⁷ James Baldwin, ‘Encounter on the Seine: Black Meets Brown’, in Griffin and Fish (eds.), *Stranger in the Village*, pp. 193–8 (at p. 198).

⁴⁸ For more on Wharton’s use of travel writing, see Mary Suzanne Schriber, ‘Edith Wharton and Travel Writing as Self-Discovery’, *American Literature*, 59/2 (1987), 257–67.

⁴⁹ Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), p. 198.

land'.⁵⁰ While these writers did not invest European culture with the potential for salvation, their travel writings explore the values and cultures that led many Americans to seek meaning outside of the United States.⁵¹

World War I triggers another dramatic shift in North American travel writing, as the war's graphic and extensive destruction dismantled a general hope in human progress that had been sparked by the apparent social and practical advances of the previous centuries. Confronted with the fragility of civilisation, modernist writers turn away from grand quests and national identity and towards narratives of fragmentation – often in the form of journeys of self-discovery. They embark on a search for 'wholeness and a deep excavation for the self's scattered shards. The comfortable balance between self and world, between pleasure and duty enjoyed by late Victorian travel writers was thrown off kilter by the now insupportable idea of an essential self or a real world.'⁵² In *Useful Knowledge* (1928), Gertrude Stein destabilises boundaries, facts, and constants as she levels the difference between France and the United States, Kansas and Indiana, the North and the South.⁵³ Ernest Hemingway's exposition of Spanish bullfighting, *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), is part of his fascination with death, and his own resignation about the inevitability of dissolution: 'I know things change now and I do not care. It's all been changed for me. Let it all change.'⁵⁴ Hemingway's concluding dismissal of 'accounting' for his subject matter resonates with his friend and fellow writer John Dos Passos's earlier lament in *Orient Express* (1927): 'Does anything ever come of this constant dragging of a ruptured suitcase from dock to railway station and railway station to dock? All the sages say it's nonsense . . . Is it worth the drowsiness of kif and a man alone in the

⁵⁰ Henry James, *Transatlantic Sketches*, 5th edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1893), pp. 18–19.

⁵¹ For more on Adams's and James's role in developing a sacred and elevated aura around European art and lifestyles for American tourists, see William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton University Press, 1994). Stowe concludes that 'both [James and Adams] remained far more skeptical of [the] ultimate power [of the superstitious valuation of Europe] than the thousands of pilgrims they helped to convert to the modern cult of tourist travel' (p. 194).

⁵² Blanton, *Travel Writing*, p. 21.

⁵³ Gertrude Stein, *Useful Knowledge* (New York: Payson & Clarke, 1928). For instance 'Iowa means much. Indiana means more. More more more. Indiana means more. As more. Kansas means most and most and most and most. Kansas means most merely' (p. 38).

⁵⁴ Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 132. Hemingway pronounces his initial interest in bullfighting was to witness violent death – now that the war was over – because he 'had seen certain things, certain simple things of this sort' (p. 3) during the war that he was unable to communicate in his writing.

sheer desert shouting the triumphant affirmation: *There is no God but very God; Mahomet is the prophet of God?*⁵⁵ For most modern North American travel writers, the pursuit of transcendent truths and progress is abandoned for the search for individual meaning and coherence – even if the search is ultimately doomed to failure.

Seeking the Self on the Road

This movement towards the personal and the particular journey coincides with the increasing accessibility of automobiles and the proliferation of paved highways across the United States. By the twentieth century, the West had lost its lustre as an Edenic land of endless wealth and potential. Stout remarks, ‘The tone of disillusionment is struck with particular frequency in literature of the 20th century, which finds itself with the American dream, as it was represented geographically at any rate, fully unfolded, known, and after all not entirely satisfying.’⁵⁶ Though the myth of American manifest destiny is drained of its divine ordinance, *movement* remains an enduring feature of American narrative – and counter-narrative.

The expansive and disparate landscapes across the United States provide the ideal environment for the now iconic North American road trip. Moreover, waves of economic prosperity, income growth, and suburban development following the First and Second World Wars enabled the United States to quickly become ‘the world’s most thoroughly motorized nation’.⁵⁷ Most famously associated with Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* (1957), the road trip provides a satisfying frame for the mid-twentieth-century travel narrative as it facilitates the individual’s self-directed, self-governed removal from the dominant culture in search of genuine connection with the land, others, or at least one’s self.

On the Road, the quintessential Beat travel narrative, sets the precedent for American travel writing after the Second World War. Kerouac’s roman à clef celebrates travel as a way of embracing experience and ultimately the possibility of self-understanding and wisdom. Sal sets out, ready for novelty and revelation: ‘I could hear a new call and see a new horizon, and believe it at my young age . . . I wanted to take off. Somewhere along the line I knew

⁵⁵ John Dos Passos, *Orient Express*, in *Travel Books and Other Writings, 1916–1941* (New York: Library of America, 2003), pp. 248, 265 (emphasis in original).

⁵⁶ Stout, *Journey Narrative*, p. 10.

⁵⁷ David W. Jones, *Mass Motorization and Mass Transit: An American History and Political Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 2.

there'd be girls, visions, everything; somewhere along the line the pearl would be handed to me.'⁵⁸ Sal does find everything on the road, and nothing – and this refusal of the transcendent in a rapidly secularising age is crucial: 'The quest motif in Beat travel writing does not come full circle . . . it is exactly this sort of travel and travel writing that offered new possibilities for the genre.'⁵⁹ The road does not provide answers, but connection and consciousness – the ability to conceive of 'all that road going, all the people dreaming in the immensity of it'.⁶⁰ Deborah Paes de Barros suggests that the Beats used travel to resist and critique the deadening and isolating effects of modern American life. The road was 'a space that radically juxtaposed the fixed domesticity that had become modern America . . . Ironically, it was only in travel, in motion, that the writer would be "in the moment".'⁶¹

American travel literature, perhaps more than any other genre, provides a vehicle by which authors may critically reflect on the time and place in which they live. The Beat writers participate in a long-standing tradition of American travel, along with such figures as Margaret Fuller, Frederick Douglass, and James Baldwin, in which travel provides distance and difference from daily life and expectations. These critiques often stand as judgments, rather than calls to action – the revelries of the Beats, Tom Wolfe, and Hunter S. Thompson test the boundaries of 'perception, consciousness, and American culture' without offering prescriptions for change.⁶²

No longer laying claim to American superiority or entitlement, many travellers set out to investigate *their* land, a country to which they belong but do not really know. This often uneasy relationship impels writers like John Steinbeck, Bill Bryson, and William Least Heat-Moon to take to the 'road' to satisfy their desire for authentic contact with their country. In *Travels with Charley* (1962), Steinbeck sets out to 'look again, to try to

⁵⁸ Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (1957; New York: Penguin, 1976), p. 8.

⁵⁹ Blanton, *Travel Writing*, p. 24.

⁶⁰ Kerouac, *On the Road*, p. 307.

⁶¹ Deborah Paes de Barros, 'Driving that Highway to Consciousness: Late Twentieth-Century American Travel Literature', in Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 228–43 (at p. 231). The Beats' use of the road offers parallels to hobo travel narratives since the Civil War, such as Gypsy Moon, *Done and Been: Steel Rail Chronicles* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). Hobo travel narratives are often passed on through oral tradition, though there was a publication, *Hobo News*, which circulated in the first half of the century (*Done and Been*, p. 9). The prevailing ethos of these narratives is one of voluntary removal from restricting domestic and financial obligations – although hobos are most often migratory workers.

⁶² Paes de Barros, 'Driving that Highway', p. 233.

rediscover this monster land',⁶³ a sentiment echoed by Heat-Moon in *Blue Highways* (1987) and Bryson in *The Lost Continent* (1989). Steinbeck suggests that his journey is entirely personal, that it is not meant to provide insight or truth. He anticipates and rejects such a project: "He thinks he has presented a true picture of the South." I don't. I've only told what a few people said to me and what I saw.'⁶⁴

Travel as a journey of self-discovery produces a broad range of philosophical and metaphysical musings from writers like Annie Dillard, Peter Matthiessen, Robert Pirsig, and Beverly Donofrio toward the end of the twentieth century, disengaging from the typical demands of modern American life to investigate what is truly important. In *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* (1974), Dillard echoes Thoreau as she focuses her attention on the minute, simple pleasures of the natural world. For Dillard, this removal allows for vital reconnection: 'beauty and grace are performed whether or not we will or sense them. The least we can do is try to be there.'⁶⁵ For others like Matthiessen and Pirsig, the American landscape and the American myth provide a rich physical and symbolic context for conversations about modern life and the American legacy. Travel literature proves to be a flexible, dynamic genre for narratives that construct the American identity, as well as the counter-narratives that struggle against that identity's authenticity or usefulness.

⁶³ John Steinbeck, *Travels with Charley: In Search of America* (New York: Viking, 1962), p. 5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶⁵ Annie Dillard, *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* (1974; New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. 10.

Australian Travel Writing

ANNA JOHNSTON

‘Australia is a travel narrative’, Robyn Davidson claims.¹ Bringing Aboriginal philosophy together with European travel histories, Davidson connects the landmass itself with human mobility and restlessness. Australia occupies a distinctive place in the corpus of travel writing in English. The antipodean colonies were established in the second British empire, coterminous with late Enlightenment innovations in thought and culture. The island continent was described in thrilling voyage accounts, such as Captain James Cook’s journals which inspired great popular interest and underwrote imperial territorial expansion. Australia was a notably modern social experiment; its travel writing provides a picture of how colonial populations, print culture, and empire grew together across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. So too Australian Indigenous cultures were understood from early European accounts to be ancient, autochthonous, and exceptional. Aborigines’ claim to the status of the oldest continual human culture connects travel and dwelling in the island continent with universal questions about humans, mobility, and settlement. Whether explorers deemed Aborigines ‘the miserablest People in the world’ or ‘in reality . . . more happier than we Europeans’, from first contact onwards Indigenous Australians provided travelling Europeans with grist for serious self-reflection and philosophical, ethnographic, and religious speculations about humankind.² Ancient Indigenous cultures taught Europeans how to understand their modernity.

The Australian mix of ancient and contemporary Indigenous cultures, and modern settler and migrant cultures, makes travel a powerful trope. Both

¹ Robyn Davidson, ‘Introduction’, in Robyn Davidson (ed.), *The Picador Book of Journeys* (London: Picador, 2001), pp. 1–7 (at p. 4).

² William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1937), p. 312; *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol. 1: *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768–1771*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 399.

exotic and familiar, both colonised and colonising, Australia is a site that inspires writing about the act of travel, the process of settlement, and that unsettles hegemonic assumptions about the European self and its others. This places significant tension on modes of representing travel and encounter. Focusing on writing necessarily tilts our attention towards textual forms of knowledge, yet to trace a continuous thread of interest in Aboriginal culture and to account properly for Indigenous contributions, we must recognise that travel knowledges are also embedded in experiential, oral, visual, and embodied forms. These too are texts about mobility, broadly understood.

Australia is constituted by multiple travel stories, including those of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, explorers, convicts, settlers, world travellers, and tourists. Travellers from the eighteenth century onwards encountered the continent colony by colony, and as part of a global itinerary. Even after Federation in 1901, travel by boat and early aircraft required successive stops before landing in Australia. Aboriginal groups travelled regularly through the country, following seasonal food sources and ritual practices, and developed elaborate protocols for crossing into neighbouring territory; so too, Australia's northern borders were porous, and Macassan traders, Torres Strait Islanders, and Japanese seafarers moved across the scattered archipelago that joins the mainland to the Asia-Pacific region. Southern borders dissolve into maritime networks that cross Bass Strait, and link Tasmania both to southern New Zealand and sub-Antarctic islands. Australia's immigrant population – predominantly from Europe, but also from China, India, and elsewhere – arrived by means of voluntary or involuntary mobility. Settlement was the goal of many new communities, though migration and internal movement around the nation's vast spaces were crucial to the way that Australians remembered their histories. Australians are well known for their international travel: Britain and Europe traditionally lured settlers keen to understand their Old World cultural inheritances; however Australians have been visiting their Asian 'neighbours' for over a hundred years.³ Many neighbours form richly multi-cultural families. Australians now visit Asia to better understand their identity and place in the world.

³ Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting the Neighbours: Australians in Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2014).

Imagining the Antipodes

Australia and its human populations were imagined by Europeans long before land was sighted. Classical manuscripts inspired the global maps in some of the most important early printed books. Greek and Roman geographers imagined the southern landmass as an antipodes – a land of inversion – inhabited by part-human, part-animal antichthones. Both real and fictive travellers allowed readers to imagine the world beyond Europe.⁴ Whether empirically accurate or not, such accounts were important for generating interest in southern peoples and landscapes, as a corollary of emergent European theories that sought to understand the influence of geography upon the human condition. If travel writing is a key way of ‘finding the terms for – of coming to terms with – other cultures and other natures’,⁵ the classical tradition is central to this process. Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, and the Pacific and Southeast Asian archipelagos were conflated, only later becoming differentiated as European voyages of exploration filled in the maps. Various named Java-la-Grande, Terra Australis Incognita, Australia del Espiritu Santo, or the Great South Land, ‘Australia’ and ‘Australians’ emerged only gradually, and as part of an early modern world-system shaped by geography and textuality.⁶

Voyages of exploration and new print technologies flourished simultaneously and thus defined Australia distinctively by travel and by writing. Maritime nations – Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and English – sought the southern New World assiduously, and as trade routes expanded, so too did commercial and collateral travel. Western ideas about the Great South Land refined over time. Medieval theories about a single counterweight continent were corrected through voyage accounts and by Enlightenment ideas about geography, cartography, and the natural world. Australia’s mystery was embodied in the gradual way in which its territorial boundaries were revealed to Europeans: early seventeenth-century voyages to the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) definitively refined Cape York peninsula, but without context. Abel Tasman’s 1642 voyage accounts described for the first

⁴ For example, *The Egerton Version of Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford University Press, 2010); Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, intro. Paul Smethurst (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2005).

⁵ James Duncan and Derek Gregory, ‘Introduction’, in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds.), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1–13 (at p. 1).

⁶ ‘Australiens’ was coined in Gabriel Foigny’s famous imaginary voyage *La terre Australe connue* (Geneva: Par Jacques Vernevil, 1676).

time much of the Pacific, the Far East, Australia, and the Philippines. Fanciful adaptations of Tasman's material, such as Vincenzo Coronelli's map, placed elephants, palm trees, and reindeer in Australia's far north, perpetuating exotic imaginings.⁷ Encountered first from the north and then the west, Australia was understood as part of a tropical world defined by its alterity to Europe.

Early travel narratives provided knowledge central to European science, trade, and natural history. Exploration narratives were swiftly translated, because this rapidly evolving knowledge had territorial consequences. Cross-cultural experience in tropical zones was formative both in extensively mapping the world and in producing 'Europe as a space of temperate culture and nature', as Felix Driver and Luciana Martins argue.⁸ Yet even if Europe constructed itself as 'all that is modest, civilized, cultivated', the transactional nature of knowledge production proved to be differentiated, uneven, and challenging to European certainties.⁹

Australia was of direct interest to the English. William Dampier made the first landfall in 1688, with a dedicated voyage to New Holland in 1699. Dampier's engaging and popular writing (at least four volumes from 1697) stimulated great interest in Pacific exploration, leading to the eventual colonisation of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. It also fed the imagination of writers. Preceding exploration, Joseph Hall in *Mundus alter et idem: sive Terra Australis* (1605) had used the imagined southern land as a site for Utopian satire. Dampier's *A Voyage to New Holland* (1703) inspired Jonathan Swift and his literary friends to playful, travel-themed fiction: in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), both Lilliput and the land of the Houyhnhnms are purportedly located between Tasmania and the mainland. Dampier's Enlightenment interest in natural phenomena also attracted readers interested in the profit that might be extracted from Australia.

Travel writing was crucial to the expansion of the British empire. This was the case materially – when narratives enabled entrepreneurs or governments to plan exploration and settlements – and imaginatively, when readers avidly consumed accounts of foreign climes and people, and thus imagined an empire on which the sun would never set and in which expatriates might

⁷ Hordern House, *The Great South Land: Searching for the Antipodes, from Classical Scholars to Quiros and Dampier* (Potts Point, NSW: Hordern House, 2011), p. 9.

⁸ Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, 'Views and Visions of the Tropical World', in Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (eds.), *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 3–20 (at p. 5).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 5.

make new colonial lives. This colonial knowledge also recursively influenced British culture. John Hawkesworth's *An Account of the Voyages* (1773) featured Cook's *Endeavour* voyage, combining Cook's and Sir Joseph Banks's accounts with editorial commentary. This built upon speculative European images of the South Seas, and was a publishing triumph.¹⁰ Such travel writing was widely read, highly influential, and diversely disseminated throughout British culture. Glyndwr Williams shows that voyage accounts 'were studded with images and descriptions that took root in the English folk memory. They are there in the original books and in their various reprints, abridgments and serializations, in ballads, plays and engravings.'¹¹ Travel narratives and the knowledge they produced about exotic cultures and climates were thus absorbed into domestic British and European culture. A variety of postcolonial scholars note that nineteenth-century Englishness was heavily influenced by knowledge produced by colonial encounter and exchange.¹² Travel writing enabled communication; it bridged the geographic gap, and in doing so enabled armchair engagement with colonies by metropolitan readers.

Settling the Country

Many kinds of travel writing contributed to the dense reciprocal relationship between colonial and imperial cultures. Official state-sponsored explorers were only one source: others included independent adventurers; scientific observers; colonial officials and their families; naval personnel; writers and journalists seeking good 'copy'; and religious travellers. The colonial world was littered with curious Britons eager for information to use in narratives which they would circulate back home, either in publication or in private circles. Publishers were keen for material from the new settler colony established in 1788, and an energetic and opportunistic print culture exploited these interests. Travel writing, and more broadly writing derived from travel and exploration, was central to the colonisation of Australia.

Productive tensions between knowledge generated by travel and the information required for settlement typify Australian travel writing:

¹⁰ John Hawkesworth (ed.), *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of his Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere . . .* 3 vols. (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773).

¹¹ Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p. xiv.

¹² Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Driver and Martins, 'Views and Visions', p. 5.

'description and travel' codify most nineteenth-century non-fiction texts. Early accounts were dominated by official forms of writing required by the Admiralty, the penal system, and the military. Mail travelled slow routes back to Britain, while instructions, letters of recommendation, and appointments flowed south to the colonies. Convicts were textually policed in arguably the most effective working model of the British imperial archive: meticulously described at their arrival in the colonies, they were tracked in their internal migrations in the penal system, especially in Van Diemen's Land from 1803.¹³ Writing also encouraged Britons to set up new lives in settler locales: migration guides were written both by those who had made the trip themselves, and by agents whose knowledge was purely second-hand.¹⁴ Enthusiastic settlers advocated the superiority of Australian colonies, urging Britons to travel to find a new home. William Charles Wentworth's 1819 account proclaimed its author's credentials in its preface – 'A Native of the Colony' – in a descriptive account that contained embedded travel narratives.¹⁵ Wentworth's narrator is generally an abstract, third person compiler of facts and details, but the authorial 'I' emerges regularly to secure its authenticity in a travel tradition dogged by dubious facticity.¹⁶ Experience rather than passing observation is privileged. Wentworth enthusiastically promoted 'A new Britannia in another world'.¹⁷

Nineteenth-century travel writing about Australia manifests opposing narrative and ideological pressures. First, are questions of authority: were travel accounts best written by those 'on the ground', with lived knowledge of the land, peoples, politics, and culture; or were disinterested observers better able to describe and evaluate colonial life? Settlers were often regarded as ill-bred parvenus, morally tainted by association with convicts, and not reliably deferential to European society: scandal and gossip travelled via settler newspapers and the mobile population of colonial officials, sea-based workers, and settlers.¹⁸ Wentworth himself was a barrister and Cambridge

¹³ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993).

¹⁴ 'Booster' literature was important in settler colonies: see Dominic Alessio, 'Travel, Tourism and Booster Literature: New Zealand's Cities and Towns at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14/4 (2010), 383–96.

¹⁵ W. C. Wentworth, *Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales . . .* (London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, 1819).

¹⁶ Paul Longley Arthur, *Virtual Voyages: Travel Writing and the Antipodes, 1605–1837* (London: Anthem Press, 2010).

¹⁷ Wentworth, *Australasia A Poem Written for The Chancellor's Medal at the Cambridge Commencement, July, 1823* (London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, 1823), line 442.

¹⁸ Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820–1850* (Melbourne University Press, 2004).

graduate. His book spurred emigration, but Wentworth had to defend his own and his family's reputation (his mother was a convict and his father a naval surgeon) amongst the exclusives in Sydney and imperial experts on the colonies such as Sir Thomas Bigge. Second, are questions of authenticity: settlers claimed to be 'native-born' in distinction from 'new chums' who arrived subsequently, but Aborigines most appropriately owned that descriptor. Settler and imperial writers experienced considerable challenges in representing Indigenous claims to land, conflict over resources, and the violence of territorial expansion, and they developed a range of textual strategies. Prospective settlers found that the Australian colonies provided 'new homes for the old country', but they were well aware that it was an existing home for ancient cultures, even if these were stereotypically cast by some writers as 'savage life and scenes'.¹⁹

Against the background of prior Indigenous occupation, travellers invoked Australia as a new land for exploration, exploitation, and opportunity. Journeys to the interior – from 1817, and from which only some returned – filled newspapers and were transformed into travel accounts. Exploration was 'a literary as well as a geographic enterprise'.²⁰ Pastoral expansion along fertile rivers, opening up land beyond mountainous hinterlands, produced travel accounts calling land-hungry settlers in from the shore. Cities sprang up from busy coastal ports, such that by 1847 George French Angas marvelled that in fifty years the 'criminals of Great Britain have built a city [Sydney] that has risen to be the metropolis of the south'.²¹ In 1859, Frank Fowler declared that the cities of Sydney and Melbourne were just like London in good spirits: 'as if every man had turned up a nugget or two in his back garden'.²² The goldrush generated its own travel narratives, often written by women accompanying their families, or by those keen to encourage speculation.²³ John D'Ewes travelled to take up a position as Police Magistrate in the Ballarat goldfields: he attested to 'crowds of all nations – artists and artizans,

¹⁹ George S. Baden-Powell, *New Homes for the Old Country: A Personal Experience of the Political and Domestic Life, the Industries, and the Natural History of Australia and New Zealand* (London: Richard Bentley, 1872); George French Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impressions of Countries and People at the Antipodes* (London: Smith, Elder, 1847).

²⁰ Paul Genoni, *Subverting the Empire: Explorers and Exploration in Australian Fiction* (Altona, Vic.: Common Ground, 2004), p. 13.

²¹ Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes*, p. 189.

²² Frank Fowler, *Southern Lights and Shadows: Being Brief Notes of Three Years' Experience of Social, Literary, and Political Life in Australia* (London: Sampson Low, 1859), p. 13.

²³ For example, Mrs. Charles Clacy, *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852–53* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1853); John Dunmore Lang, *The Australian Emigrant's Manual* (London: Partridge & Oakey, 1852).

lawyers and labourers, and even poets and philosophers – [who] were flocking to the land of promise'.²⁴ Travellers and readers were fascinated, and gold saturated the literary market.

Both the novelty and the familiarity of the Australian colonies ensured that a tourist trade and a commercial travel writing industry were in place by the mid-late century: by 1860, the Blue Mountains had an international reputation for sublime mountain scenery that many were keen to visit, even if the tracks were still rough.²⁵ Working travellers – actors, land speculators, political commentators, army men, and missionaries – produced 'travel texts with professional knowledge, particular agendas and different constituencies'.²⁶ Edmund Leathes's dramatic and sensational account *An Actor Abroad or Gossip Dramatic, Narrative and Descriptive from the Recollections of an Actor in Australia, New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands, California, Nevada, Central America, and New York* (1880) was quite different from the details of prayer meetings and photographs of Wesleyan churches and Indigenous peoples in Thomas Cook's *Days of God's Right Hand: Our Mission Tour in Australasia and Ceylon* (1896), yet both found Australia a vital source. Leisure travellers used the same circuits: elite tourists such as Alice Anne Montgomery, Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos, who unapologetically described the pleasures of Australia in *Glimpses of Four Continents: Letters Written during a Tour in Australia, New Zealand, & North America in 1893* (1894). Other Britons wrote more mundane accounts with a personal and anecdotal tone, such as the Yorkshire grocery magnate James Duckworth's *A Trip Round the World* (1890). Non-British travellers also used imperial transport routes. On a world lecture tour, Mark Twain described Hobart as 'the head of a procession of Junior Englands', linking Tasmania, New Zealand, and Natal.²⁷ Other trans-colonial geographies of connection emerged. George Windsor Earl argued for economic links between Australia and India, urging further Pacific settlement to link British colonies.²⁸ Britons serving the Raj also saw opportunities in the settler colonies. 'J. D.' keenly endorsed the journey, having 'a profound dislike, if

²⁴ J. D'Ewes, *China, Australia and the Pacific Islands, in the Years 1855–56* (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), p. 1.

²⁵ Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism to Australia since 1870* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2000).

²⁶ Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809–1900* (Auckland University Press, 2002), p. 8.

²⁷ Mark Twain, *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1897), p. 172.

²⁸ G. Windsor Earl, *Enterprise in Tropical Australia* (London: Madden and Malcolm, 1846), p. 10.

not distrust of the Continental curative process, coupled with a love of the sea, and a wish to see some of the curiosities of topsyturvydom and the wonders of Maoriland'. The anonymous author enjoyed visits to retired Indian civil servants in Australia and New Zealand.²⁹ Also travelling from Bombay in 1885, the Khoja businessman Fazulbhoj Visram promoted travel for his fellow Muslims, gently chiding the 'large number of native gentlemen to whom travelling and its advantages are scarcely known, and some are even unaware of the existence of such a glorious country as Australia!'.³⁰ Visram's enthusiasm for trans-colonial trade and his comparison of colonial political systems (he is acerbic about democratic privileges available in Australia compared to India) reminds us that travel by white Britons was only one part of the story.³¹

Australia in the World

Travellers such as Visram emphasised a geographical link with Asia and the Pacific. For some, that was an uncomfortable and potentially threatening reminder. A European Grand Tour or a nostalgic trip Home to Britain was a rite of passage that transformed provincial colonials into worldly citizens, traditionally a privileged form of tourism. Middle-class travellers adopted technologies that democratised mobility: steam routes, Cook's tours, and rail networks. *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (1996) focuses on Australians travelling overseas, revealing familiar routes, predictable sites, and regular responses. The editors argue that nineteenth-century Australians saw themselves simply as British, and their writing was merely a subcategory of British travel writing, with minor colonial overtones.³² Yet they also note that by the 1890s a distinctly Australian tone emerges in travel writers who found that their nostalgic attachment to Britain was not always reciprocated, and who responded with assertions of Australian superiority.³³

²⁹ J. D., *Ninety Days' Privilege Leave to Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, 1885* (Allahabad: Pioneer Press, 1886), p. 1.

³⁰ Fazulbhoj Visram, *A Khoja's Tour in Australia* (Bombay: India Steam Press, 1885), pp. v–vi.

³¹ Visram joins colonial Indians who were 'deeply enmeshed in re-imagining themselves across the many fault-lines of contact'. See Jane Haggis, Clare Midgley, Margaret Allen, and Fiona Paisley, *Cosmopolitan Lives on the Cusp of Empire: Interfaith, Cross-Cultural and Transnational Networks, 1860–1950* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

³² Ros Pesman, David Walker, and Richard White (eds.), *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Many Australians travelled to Britain and Europe in the early twentieth century: some travelled to London's literary scene, or used London as a base for further travel. Artists were drawn to European landscapes, training, and milieu. War provided white and Indigenous soldiers with access to international travel for the first time, especially during World War I.³⁴ Politics drew others: feminists such as Vida Goldstein and Jessie Street formed worldwide links through travel; Communist Party members such as Katharine Susannah Prichard travelled to the Soviet Union; and Aboriginal activists such as A. M. Fernando used metropolitan locations to broaden their audience.³⁵ Reversing the direction of nineteenth-century migration, some travellers never returned. They wrote about both their birthplace and their adopted country with an expatriate's intensity and a traveller's curiosity. Many spent a significant sojourn overseas. Artists and intellectuals, in particular, spent their lives moving between at least two locations that felt like home: Hilda Rix Nicholas trained in Paris; Sidney Nolan was in Britain from 1953; and Patrick White found in London, Lebanon, and Greece alternative homelands that nurtured his artistic vision of Australia.³⁶

From the 1930s, a parallel process encouraged Australians to travel at home: to understand their own country, especially its remote regions, and its proximity to the Asia-Pacific. The Australian National Travel Association launched *Walkabout* magazine (1934–74), which published many of the nation's best writers, featuring particular regions, historical tours, and distinctly Australian peoples and cultures.³⁷ Eleanor Dark wrote about the new long-distance tourist coaches that made outback Australia accessible, lamenting their speed, which introduced a 'jarring note'.³⁸ Dark considered Central Australia 'not only the geographical heart of the country' but also of great spiritual significance.³⁹ Many writers shared her feelings, making interior pilgrimages: the trend continues in books such as Rodney Hall's

³⁴ Richard White, 'The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War', *War & Society*, 5/1 (1987), 63–77.

³⁵ See Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen (eds.), *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s–1940s* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2008); Fiona Paisley, *The Lone Protestor: A. M. Fernando in Australia and Europe* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2012).

³⁶ Jeanette Hoorn, *Hilda Rix Nicholas and Elsie Rix's Moroccan Idyll: Art and Orientalism* (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2012); *Nolan on Nolan: Sidney Nolan in His Own Words*, ed. Nancy Underhill (Camberwell, Vic.: Viking, 2007); Patrick White, *Flaws in the Glass: A Self-Portrait* (London: Penguin, 1981).

³⁷ Mitchell Rolls and Anna Johnston, *Travelling Home, Walkabout Magazine and Mid-Twentieth-Century Australia* (London: Anthem Press, 2016).

³⁸ Eleanor Dark, 'They All Come Back', *Walkabout*, January 1951, p. 20.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Home: A Journey through Australia (1988) and Barry Hill's *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru* (1994). Aborigines, and Torres Strait and Pacific islanders, were central to the picture of Australia marketed to readers. *Walkabout* magazine circulated internationally through government agencies to encourage emigration and travel. Mid-century Australian writers used journalism, middlebrow magazines, and new media forms to create innovative travel-writing careers, creating and cultivating mid-range readerships.⁴⁰

Many focused on remote Australia. Ernestine Hill published short newspaper travel pieces, longer articles in *Walkabout*, and brought these together into travel books such as *The Great Australian Loneliness* (1937) and *The Territory* (1951). Hill characterises herself as a 'wandering "copy-boy" with swag and typewriter, to find what lay beyond the railway lines', and her books thrill with romance and love of country.⁴¹

Other writers saw opportunities beyond Australia. Frank Clune wrote a series of cheerfully adventurous travel accounts of Australia. *Try Anything Once* (1933) recalled his youthful travels at sea, as a soldier in both the American cavalry and for the Australian Imperial Force at Gallipoli, and diverse experiences overseas and in Australia. A series of books followed Clune 'rolling down' important Australian rivers or 'roaming around' particular regions. His frankly commercial approach led to a vast output (fifty-nine books, both travel and Australian history), which introduced Australian readers to Europe, the Pacific, and Asia. Colin Simpson's account of Japan introduced Australian readers to a culture that, post-World War II, seemed close but very foreign. Simpson convinced his readers that people couldn't be understood by looking from a car window, nor land truly felt by flying overhead: 'You have to get out and be with them on common ground, literally, rub shoulders with them, go along with them, be alone with them.'⁴² Writers celebrated mid-century modes of travel, creating popular travel writing for tourists. They were stridently democratic. Richard White suggests that for Clune and Simpson 'Being a tourist was simply being Australian: ordinary, egalitarian, unpretentious.'⁴³

⁴⁰ On Australian middlebrow writing, see David Carter, *Always Almost Modern: Australian Print Cultures and Modernity* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2013).

⁴¹ Ernestine Hill, *The Great Australian Loneliness* (1937; Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens, 1940), pp. 7, 8.

⁴² Colin Simpson, *Japan: An Intimate View* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1959), p. 7.

⁴³ Richard White, 'Armchair Tourism: The Popularity of Australian Travel Writing', in Toni Johnson-Woods and Amit Sarwal (eds.), *Sold by the Millions: Australia's Bestsellers* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), pp. 182–202 (at p. 194).

Unsettling Australia

If early twentieth-century writing sought to make Australians at home in the world, and in the continent, from the 1970s onwards travel writing by local and overseas writers sought to unsettle existing preconceptions about national identity, place, and belonging. This was in concert with revisionist national histories, increased political activism by Aborigines, recognition of them and of their land rights, and questioning in the 1960s and 1970s of traditional society: 'The New Australia', to borrow Simpson's 1970 book title.⁴⁴ *Journey Among Men* (1962) allowed zoologist-explorer Jock Marshall and artist Russell Drysdale to survey rural life and to correct some of the more prejudiced impressions held of tribal Aborigines. Their account is framed by their return from 'years of exile in Europe' to 'the cold beer and red dust on the fringe of the desert'.⁴⁵ This is a tour of bush 'characters' of the kind mythologised by Hill, but here the stereotypes are probed with gentle humour. Nicholas Jose's *Black Sheep* (2002) explores colonial types through a personal odyssey accounting for dispossession and genocide by tracing the writer's ancestor Roger, who lived with his Aboriginal wife Maggie in Borroloola. Masculinity, desert spaces, Aborigines, and settler mythologies were crucial to a body of work that remains highly influential.

Robyn Davidson's *Tracks* (1980) addresses the inherently masculine Australian national character and the physical endurance demanded by remote landscapes. Determinedly setting herself apart from male adventurers, Davidson framed her travel across the Australian continent as a journey of self-knowledge. Utilising nostalgic travel technologies (camels) inherited from mid-nineteenth-century 'Afghan' (usually Indian or Pakistani) immigrants, Davidson represents travel as both homage to and reinvention of a colonial bush heritage: an escape from the 'Australian cult of misogyny' by way of a woman's dialogue with Indigenous and multicultural interlocutors.⁴⁶ Davidson learnt her bush craft from Germanic tourist operators before securing an authentic Afghan-descendant teacher; she endured racism and sexism in remote country towns before camping freely in the ruins of a colonial homestead; and she transcends her book-learned knowledge about Aborigines and the 'idealism and indignant morality of . . . various good educations' (42) prior to finding her Aboriginal guide, Eddy, in whom she witnesses a form of belonging that she seeks to replicate in her own deep

⁴⁴ Colin Simpson, *The New Australia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970).

⁴⁵ Jock Marshall, *Journey Among Men* (South Melbourne: Sun, 1962), p. 9.

⁴⁶ Robyn Davidson, *Tracks* (1980; London: Picador, 1988), p. 18.

engagement with desert spaces. Davidson wrote about Australia from her 'poky London flat' (199), and her eulogised if gritty portrait of sunshine, nakedness, and Aborigines rankled some critics who were quick to condemn settler Australian appropriation of Indigenous knowledge and identity. Davidson's genuine if somewhat naïve motivation – wanting to travel the desert as 'a way of getting to know [Aborigines] directly and simply' (37) – continues to resonate with new audiences of the 2013 film adaptation of her book.

Bruce Chatwin sought answers to universalised human conditions in remote Aboriginal Australia in *The Songlines* (1987). Chatwin's elegant and allusive prose fascinates readers and travellers in its ambitious effort to account for Aboriginal geographies and mythologies. His is a less politicised and more aestheticised interest than Davidson's. It is also defiantly an outsider's take: Chatwin is most waspish when describing white Australian activists or community workers who challenge his interpretations of traditional culture and Australian politics. Chatwin's blending of fact and fiction muddies his claims to authority, and some critics chide the book's tendency to speak on behalf of Aborigines.⁴⁷ Three elderly men, waiting to die in their homeland, provide a closing scene that elegiacally invokes Aboriginal extinction: his companion Marian breathes 'Aren't they wonderful?' while Chatwin concludes 'They knew where they were going, smiling at death in the shade of a ghost-gum.'⁴⁸ Yet travel discourse figuratively breaks apart under the weight of both the difference of remote Aboriginal culture and Chatwin's European-based philosophising. The final third of *The Songlines* is made up of notes, quotations, and textual fragments from Chatwin's notebooks, juxtaposed with occasional vignettes. Doubtless a literary device (about which critics have mixed opinions), here European travel forms and identities appear to be undermined and evacuated by proximity to Indigenous culture.⁴⁹ Nicolas Rothwell's books about Central and Northern Australia evidence a similar textual performance of philosophical erudition in desert landscapes. *Wings of the Kite-Hawk: A Journey into the Heart of Australia* (2003) follows the journeys and stories of explorers, missionaries, and anthropologists. Rothwell, like Chatwin, brings Proust and Stendhal to the Australian

⁴⁷ Eric Michaels, *Bad Aboriginal Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 216–27.

⁴⁸ Bruce Chatwin, *The Songlines* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1987), p. 293.

⁴⁹ Michaels describes this section as 'the most pretentious padding I've yet encountered in a published work'. *Bad Aboriginal Art*, p. 22.

outback where he meets Central European émigrés who are experts in Aboriginal culture.⁵⁰

Reading the Country: Introduction to Nomadology (1984) on the other hand provides a theorised and experiential mediation on questions of travel, cross-cultural engagement, and belonging. Krim Benterrak (a Moroccan-Australian artist), Stephen Muecke (a white Australian academic and writer), and Paddy Roe (a senior Aboriginal man) travel to and within Roebuck Plains in north-west Western Australia, talking, painting, and writing their experiences of this densely imagined place.⁵¹ Migrant, settler, and Aboriginal understandings of travel and space are brought together by Muecke's postmodern theorising. This complex negotiation between different cultures, forms of knowledge, and modes of mobility and settlement draws upon the complex history of travel and writing in Australia. Writing is questioned: 'Now when Paddy Roe makes a trace in the sand and then erases it when he has finished his story doesn't that trace constitute writing . . .? Must a trace *endure* to qualify as writing?'⁵² This mapping of country remains unique in Australian travel writing, and continues to challenge discourses of anthropology, travel, and writing. Muecke continues such themes in *No Road (Bitumen All the Way)* (1997). Ross Gibson's *Seven Versions of an Australian Badland* (2002) matches Muecke's theoretical adeptness to investigate dark histories of travel and encounter. Travelling the central mid-coast of Queensland, Gibson explores the violence that underpins colonial progress. Any society wishing to become postcolonial, Gibson argues, must process collective memories of theft, murder, and dispossession. His travel along a stretch of isolated highway and within colonial archives provides a compelling vision of how colonial trauma and postcolonial guilt might be worked through.⁵³

Conclusion

Relationships between settler and Aboriginal Australians remain a defining characteristic of post-1990s travel writing. Many international travel writers, such as Paul Theroux in *Happy Isles of Oceania* (1992) and Bill Bryson in *Down Under* (2000), are highly critical of race relations. Such criticism may be

⁵⁰ See Robert Dixon, 'Ground Zero: Nicolas Rothwell's Natural History of Destruction', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 15/2 (2011), 177–88.

⁵¹ Krim Benterrak, Stephen Muecke, and Paddy Roe, *Reading the Country: Introduction to Nomadology* (Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1984).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵³ Ross Gibson, *Seven Versions of an Australian Badland* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2002).

warranted, but it lacks nuance, and is rarely attuned to a contested but continuing discourse of reconciliation. Paying attention to distinctly Aboriginal forms of travel narrative can provide greater depth but that requires reading broadly across visual, textual, and other forms. Muecke suggests that ‘this great travelling [Aboriginal] civilisation, moving on foot over the whole of the Australian continent’ must be considered in concert with ‘modernist discourses of travel which include not only linearity, but the further tropes of discovery, exploration, and commodification’. Aboriginal culture lays down a major challenge by undercutting claims to novelty: ‘Everyone has already been here before you, that’s what makes the trip worthwhile.’⁵⁴ The ‘return to Country’ story remains common in Aboriginal life writing, whereby modern Aboriginal people travel to traditional homelands of which they and their ancestors have been dispossessed. Robert Clarke suggests that ‘Journeying to territory formerly occupied by one’s kin is a powerful trope of postcolonial empowerment for colonised people.’⁵⁵ Here the imperial eye / I of European travel is refracted through journeys that are often multi-generational and delve as much into colonial history as the ‘everywhen’ of Aboriginal mythological time, such as novelist Kim Scott travelling to Noongar land with Aunty Hazel Brown in the collaborative meditation on place and identity *Kayang and Me* (2005).⁵⁶

Reading for the nuance of contemporary Australian culture needs to bring together different travel forms and styles. Cross-cultural collaborations produced *The Finish Line: A Long March by Bicycle through China and Australia* (1994), in which the Chinese-Australian writer Sang Ye’s bicycle-powered explorations link a nostalgic fascination with people and artifacts across geographical divides. Alice Pung writes of her Chinese-Cambodian family’s adjustments to and of suburban Melbourne. *Unpolished Gem* (2006) is defiantly not a stereotypical migration story – ‘This story does not begin on a boat’ – yet it provides a subtle, funny, and layered account of the Australian lives that refugees and their children make through attachments to both old and new homes.⁵⁷ Pung subsequently travels to Cambodia and China to trace her father’s story. Oscillating between father and daughter voices, her second book begins ‘His daughter is coming home. Well, not exactly home, but back

⁵⁴ Stephen Muecke, ‘Gulaga Story’, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 11/1 (2007), 83–91 (at p. 84).

⁵⁵ Robert Clarke, *Travel Writing from Black Australia: Utopia, Melancholia, and Aboriginality* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 116.

⁵⁶ W. E. H. Stanner coined the term ‘everywhen’ in *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays, 1938–1973* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1979) to describe Aboriginal mythological Dreaming.

⁵⁷ Alice Pung, *Unpolished Gem* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006), p. 1.

to Australia.⁵⁸ Narratives of Iranians and Iraqis who journey seeking asylum in Australia are similarly emerging to challenge simplistic political debates in which particular kinds of immigration journeys are constructed by governmental discourse as legal and moral, while others are clandestine and outside the law.⁵⁹ Recently arrived immigrants work out questions of identity and belonging through complex inheritances from diverse cultures. Migration passages and border controls, displaced communities with diasporic memories, and an acute sense of Australia's dual geographical distinction and global connection bind together mobility, print culture, and identity formation in contemporary Australian travel writing.

⁵⁸ Alice Pung, *Her Father's Daughter* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2011), p. 3.

⁵⁹ For example, Jacquie Everitt's *The Bitter Shore: An Iranian Family's Escape to Australia and the Hell they Found at the Border of Paradise* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2008). On immigration discourses, see Suvendrini Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination: Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

African Travel Writing

REBECCA JONES

Africa has long been a continent of mobility, traversed by traders, scholars, religious leaders, and migrants, among others.¹ Achille Mbembe describes centuries of African ‘mixing, blending and superimposing’, meaning that ‘the cultural history of the continent can hardly be understood outside the paradigm of itinerancy, mobility and displacement’.² With long-standing connections across the Indian Ocean as well as trade links with Europe, some Africans in the precolonial era, especially those literate in Arabic, such as Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta in his *Rihla* (c.1355), produced accounts of their travels into the African continent and the rest of the world.³

African oral texts have also, for centuries, narrated tales of travel, frequently crossing the boundaries between history and fiction. Daniel Kunene shows that the motif of the journey, particularly the journey into exile, is deployed in numerous African epics, such as the semi-historical Epic of Sundiata in the thirteenth-century Mali empire, in which Sundiata gains wisdom as he travels through foreign kingdoms during his exile.⁴ In many such epics, according to Mildred Mortimer, the journey represents ‘an intellectual and emotional initiation to maturity’, and an opportunity ‘to acquire the knowledge and/or power that will allow him or her to rejoin the community and to enjoy a heightened status’.⁵ Thus while these fictional or semi-historical epics might not be considered travel writing in the

¹ Stephanie Newell, *West African Literatures: Ways of Reading* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 12–13.

² Achille Mbembe, ‘Afropolitanism’, trans. Laurent Chauvet, in Simon Njami (ed.), *Africa Remix: Contemporary Art of a Continent* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2007), pp. 26–9 (at p. 27).

³ Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Broadway House, 1929).

⁴ Daniel P. Kunene, ‘Journey in the African Epic’, *Research in African Literatures*, 22/2 (1991), 205–23 (at p. 211).

⁵ Mildred Mortimer, ‘African Journeys’, *Research in African Literatures*, 22/2 (1991), 169–75 (at p. 171).

conventional Western sense, they nonetheless embody similar notions of wisdom, witnessing, and experience to those found in some more conventional travel writing.

However, few of these histories and stories of African travel were known to European travellers when they arrived in Africa from the fifteenth century. While the travel writing they produced in subsequent centuries was not always straightforwardly pro-imperialist, it nonetheless often developed what Mildred Mortimer calls ‘fictionalized stereotypes’ about Africa, centred particularly on primitivism and darkness.⁶ This chapter begins by exploring how the images of Africa that Europeans, particularly the British, shaped through travel writing from the fifteenth to twentieth centuries coalesced into some of the authorising images of the African continent in Western eyes, meaning that, as Simon Gikandi argues, ‘the figuration of the [African] continent as the site of difference is itself one of the most powerful inventions of European modernity’.⁷

The second half of the chapter, however, challenges the notion that travel writing about Africa has been a one-sided affair. Contributing to the growing scholarly literature on African-authored travel writing, it focuses on showing how southwestern Nigerian writers from the nineteenth century onwards have used travel writing to articulate the nascent colonial, and then independent, nation of Nigeria.

Europe Writing Africa: Encounters with Difference on the ‘Dark Continent’

Africa was not entirely unknown to Europe before Europe’s ‘Age of Discovery’ began in the fifteenth century; as well as Old Testament stories of Egypt and Ethiopia, there were descriptions of Africa (some second-hand) in classical sources such as the writings of Herodotus, Pliny the Elder, Ptolemy, and the Arab geographers.⁸ The travel compendium *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (c.1356) – supposedly an account of its author’s travels in Ethiopia and Egypt as well as elsewhere – was also highly influential in shaping early modern European perceptions of the world.⁹ As Michael

⁶ Ibid., p. 172.

⁷ Simon Gikandi, ‘Theory, Literature, and Moral Considerations’, *Research in African Literatures*, 32/4 (2001), 1–18 (at p. 4).

⁸ Taiwo Adetunji Osinubi, ‘West Africa’, in Jennifer Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), vol. 111, pp. 1270–6 (at p. 1270).

⁹ See Chapter 3 above.

E. Brooks notes, 'no single text has exhibited greater effects on the evolution and continuance of the Prester John legend'. The lost Christian kingdom of the East ruled by the priest-king Prester John was thought at first (and in Mandeville's text itself) to have been in India or Central Asia, but was later, from the early modern period especially, often located in Ethiopia.¹⁰

The first known account of Africa to emerge in Europe during the sixteenth century was written not by a European, but by the Berber Andalusi (then, 'Moorish') scholar now generally known as Leo Africanus (c. 1494–1552). His Italian- and Arabic-language *Descrittione dell'Africa* (1550), published in English translation as *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), describes the Barbary coast, Egypt, and the kingdoms of West Africa. Leo Africanus's account – while not entirely accurate – was widely regarded as authoritative, and it sparked European interest in the riches of the kingdoms of West Africa.¹¹

Early modern European travel accounts about the North African coast, concerned chiefly with naval adventures and Barbary pirates, remind us that, as Carl Thompson suggests, Europe's encounters with Africa were not always ventures into the unknown but, in some cases, representative of centuries of contact across the Mediterranean and with the Ottoman empire – with Europe sometimes in a position of vulnerability rather than imperial might.¹² However, such accounts also had lasting implications for racial classifications used by Europeans, such as that between the 'tawny Moors' of North Africa and the 'blackamoors', 'Ethiopians', or 'Negroes' of North and sub-Saharan Africa.¹³

From the seventeenth century onwards, many European powers raced to 'discover' Africa through trade and, subsequently, imperial conquest. Thus although the present discussion focuses on English-language travel accounts, travel narratives of Africa were published in many European languages,

¹⁰ John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. C. W. R. D. Moseley (London: Penguin, 2005); Michael E. Brooks, 'Prester John: A Reexamination and Compendium of the Mythical Figure who Helped Spark European Expansion', PhD thesis (University of Toledo, 2009), p. 86.

¹¹ Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa, written in Arabicke and Italian*, trans. John Pory (London, 1600). See also Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2006); Osinubi, 'West Africa', p. 1270; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 70.

¹² Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 153. See also Barnaby Rogerson, 'North Africa: The Mediterranean Maghreb' in Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration*, vol. 11, pp. 865–7 (at p. 865).

¹³ Lillian Gottesman, 'English Voyages and Accounts: Impact on Renaissance Dramatic Presentation of the African', *Studies in the Humanities*, 2/2 (1971), 26–32 (at p. 27).

particularly Portuguese and Dutch.¹⁴ Of the English writers, Mungo Park, who undertook expeditions in West Africa in 1795–7 and 1805, was one of the first explorers commissioned by the African Association, founded in 1788.¹⁵ As Mary Louise Pratt documents, Park's *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1799) sold 1,500 copies in one month, and was translated into French and German, demonstrating the European reading public's appetite for works of African exploration.¹⁶ Meanwhile, European exploration of East Africa began in earnest during the nineteenth century; in 1856, the Royal Geographical Society (founded in 1830) sponsored Richard Burton's explorations of East Africa.¹⁷

Scientific, naturalist, and ethnographic expeditions also began to proliferate from the eighteenth century, as Africa became the object of an Enlightenment-era desire to classify the living world.¹⁸ As Larissa Viana suggests, travel narratives describing such expeditions often positioned themselves as establishing objective truth about the world through faithful eyewitness observation and evidence.¹⁹ Yet these seemingly disinterested, not explicitly imperial, expeditions nonetheless often mobilised rhetorical figures that manifested mastery and conquest of the landscape, leading Mary Louise Pratt to term such narratives 'anti-conquest' narratives, in which 'European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony'.²⁰ The sentimental 'non-hero' figure of the traveller who focuses on personal adventure, danger, and tribulation also emerged during this era, thrilling readers with tales of daring and peril: 'Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, half naked and without any article of value by which I might procure provisions . . . I was convinced . . . that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable', writes Mungo Park.²¹

¹⁴ For instance, on Portuguese, German, Swedish, and French travellers and travel narratives in southern Africa, see Laura E. Franey, 'Southern Africa' in Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration*, vol. 111, pp. 1110–14; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 41–57.

¹⁵ Osinubi, 'West Africa', p. 1270.

¹⁶ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (London: W. Bulmer, 1799); Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 74; Osinubi, 'West Africa', p. 1271.

¹⁷ Roy Bridges, 'East Africa', in Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration*, vol. 1, pp. 355–60 (at p. 356).

¹⁸ Larissa Viana, 'The Tropics and the Rise of the British Empire: Mungo Park's Perspective on Africa in the Late Eighteenth Century', *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, 18/1 (2011), 33–50 (at p. 39); Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 38–68.

¹⁹ Viana, 'Tropics', p. 38.

²⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 7.

²¹ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1799; London: Wordsworth, 2002), p. 195, cited in Viana, 'Tropics', p. 40. On the 'anti-conquest', the sentimental 'non-hero',

'Anti-conquest' positions can also be detected in some Christian missionary travel writing about Africa, which was increasingly published from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, the North American Baptist missionary William H. Clarke declared himself pleasantly surprised to find the Yoruba region of West Africa 'fair, productive, beautiful and healthy' in the mid nineteenth century.²² Nonetheless, he maintained a hierarchy between the Yoruba people and the 'civilised and enlightened nations of Europe and America'.²³ The paternalistic reversal of racialised stereotypes of Africans was echoed in some of the humanitarian writing of slavery abolitionists in the eighteenth century, such as Anthony Benezet who, as Geraldine Murphy shows, delighted in Africans' 'innocent simplicity' in *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (1762).²⁴

In other cases, particularly in the high imperial era of the late nineteenth century, travel writers sought to affirm supposed European cultural superiority by representing Africans in explicitly hostile and racist terms of 'technological deficiency and mental incapacity', as Tim Youngs puts it, and denouncing scenes of apparent witchcraft, savagery, and cannibalism.²⁵ The insidious notion of Africa as 'heart of darkness', as it was memorably framed by Joseph Conrad in his novella of that name (1899), gripped the Western imagination.²⁶ Conrad's novella has been read, notably by Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe, as drawing on and reinforcing the archetypal racist European image of primitivised Africa – but also, by others, as locating the 'heart of darkness' simultaneously in the European colonisers.²⁷

and the rhetorical figures of 'imperial eyes' and 'monarch-of-all-I-survey', see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 38–85, 201–8.

²² William H. Clarke, *Travels and Explorations in Yorubaland, 1854–1858*, ed. J. A. Atanda (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 35.

²³ Letter from Clarke quoted in J. A. Atanda, 'Editor's Introduction', in Clarke, *Travels and Explorations*, pp. xi–xxxvii (at p. xxii).

²⁴ Anthony Benezet, *Some Historical Account of Guinea: Its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of its Inhabitants, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature, and Lamentable Effect* (London, 1762), cited in Geraldine Murphy, 'Oludah Equiano, Accidental Tourist', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27/4 (1994), 551–68 (at pp. 559–60).

²⁵ Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850–1900* (Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 65.

²⁶ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (1899; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

²⁷ Chinua Achebe, 'An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*' (1977), in *An Image of Africa* (London: Penguin, 2010), pp. 1–21 (at p. 19); see also Tim Youngs, 'Africa/the Congo: The Politics of Darkness' in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 156–73.

Egypt followed a different trajectory, registering in Europe not as a place of 'darkness' but as somewhere relatively well known through the classical and Christian sources. Deborah Manley describes how European pilgrims had long visited Egypt's Christian sites, but by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a more diverse body of European and North American travellers were arriving, their perceptions framed by a long history of contact.²⁸ As Derek Gregory shows, travellers and, increasingly, tourists in Egypt read about the country before they left and took libraries of travel literature with them. Travellers retraced familiar routes and tropes – now, not only those of the classical sources and the Bible, but also those of fellow tourists, travel writers, and guidebooks.²⁹ Even in the late twentieth century, Lucie Duff Gordon's *Letters from Egypt* was sold in 'almost every bookshop up and down the Nile'.³⁰

While less prominent in the popular imagination of the imperial traveller, working-class Europeans also travelled to Africa as traders, servants, and employees.³¹ Frank Emery's anthology of letters from British soldiers serving across Africa between 1868 and 1898 contains letters by private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, published in provincial British newspapers. Their travel writing was intimately tied up in 'the harsh business of imperial action . . . intervention against native polities, land-grabbing, exercising influence, and punitive actions'.³² But their letters also describe the danger, hardship, and poor labour conditions the soldiers endured: 'My clothes are worn to rags and I have not a boot to my feet, and God knows when I shall get any. I have drawn no pay since the 16th of January, and don't know when I shall', writes Private George Morris from South Africa in 1878.³³

Although the rhetoric of masculinity dominated exploratory and imperial travel writing, 'many hundreds' of British women also travelled to Africa from the nineteenth century.³⁴ Although many travelled as missionaries,

²⁸ Deborah Manley, 'Egypt, Western Travellers' in Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration*, vol. 1, pp. 386–93 (at p. 386).

²⁹ Derek Gregory, 'Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the Cultures of Travel', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds.), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 114–50 (at pp. 117–18).

³⁰ Katherine Frank, *Lucie Duff Gordon: A Passage to Egypt* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994), fn. 322.

³¹ Stephanie Newell, 'Dirty Whites: "Ruffian-Writing" in Colonial West Africa', *Research in African Literatures*, 39/4 (2008), 1–13 (at pp. 2–3).

³² Frank Emery, *Marching Over Africa: Letters from Victorian Soldiers* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986), pp. 13–14.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³⁴ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 2.

some travelled for exploration or leisure, such as Mary Kingsley, who travelled to West Africa between 1893 and 1895, or Lucie Duff Gordon, who described life in Egypt in her letters from that country (1865).³⁵ Sara Mills shows how some women travel writers were critical of aspects of imperialism, and adopted an ambivalent, 'tentative' subjectivity, while upholding other aspects of imperial discourse.³⁶ Mary Kingsley, for instance, undercuts the typical heroic explorer narrative with what Mills describes as a 'self-mocking, ironic tone', but also imposes a civilisational hierarchy between African and European: 'I do not believe that the white race will ever drag the black up their own particular summit in the mountain range of civilisation', Kingsley writes.³⁷

Western travel writing and the distinctive, if varied, images of Africa it has produced have had long-lasting effects. In 2006, Kenyan writer Binyavanga Wainaina published 'How to Write about Africa', a satire of Western discourse about Africa. 'Always use the word "Africa" or "Darkness" or "Safari" in your title', the piece begins:

Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, or in it, unless that African has won the Nobel Prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these. If you must include an African, make sure you get one in Masai or Zulu or Dogon dress.

In your text, treat Africa as if it were one country. It is hot and dusty with rolling grasslands and huge herds of animals and tall, thin people who are starving. Or it is hot and steamy with very short people who eat primates.³⁸

Wainaina suggests that Western writing about Africa is a literature of repetition, and indeed, some writers who have travelled in postcolonial Africa have nostalgically retraced canonical journeys or routes, with varying degrees of self-reflexivity.³⁹ As Carl Thompson argues, while contemporary Western travel writing now generally (although not always) avoids explicit racism,

³⁵ Lucie Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt, 1863–1865*, ed. Sarah Austin (London: Macmillan, 1865).

³⁶ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154; M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa: Congo Français, Corisco and Cameroons* (London: Macmillan, 1897), p. 680.

³⁸ Binyavanga Wainaina, 'How to Write about Africa', *Granta*, 92 (Winter 2005), 92–5 (at p. 92).

³⁹ For instance, Paul Theroux, *Dark Star Safari: Overland from Cairo to Cape Town* (London: Penguin, 2003); Tim Butcher, *Blood River: A Journey to Africa's Broken Heart* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2007), which follows in the footsteps of H. M. Stanley; Tim Butcher, *Chasing the Devil: The Search for Africa's Fighting Spirit* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2010), which retraces the Liberia and Sierra Leone journey in Graham Greene, *Journey Without Maps* (London: Heinemann, 1936); Ryszard Kapuściński, *Travels with Herodotus* (London: Allen Lane, 2007).

and is sometimes celebrated for its cosmopolitan ethos, nonetheless it has been criticised for its continued assumptions of authority to represent Africa, and its use of tropes of power, paternalism, and darkness.⁴⁰ Simultaneously, though, some travel narratives have attempted to engage directly with the continent's colonial and postcolonial history and politics, such as Michela Wrong's *In the Footsteps of Mr Kurtz* (2000), based on the author's time as a foreign correspondent in the former Zaire.⁴¹ The establishment of European settler societies in colonial southern and eastern Africa has produced, decades later, travel narratives that attempt to understand settler and colonial history and their descendants' place in postcolonial Africa.⁴²

African-Authored Travel Writing

The weight of these tropes and images of Africa – and the growing scholarship on European travel writing about Africa – gives the impression that the continent is saturated with Western imagery. Zimbabwean writer Petina Gappah observes that 'Missing from the bestseller lists, from any list, is the internal gaze, a book about travel in Africa by a black African.'⁴³ Tabish Khair et al. note that '[Non-European] travellers often *appear* to have left nothing or little in writing. Hence, the feeling grew – and it persists in the present – that until recently non-Europeans did not travel or hardly travelled.'⁴⁴ Indeed, African travellers rarely enjoy high visibility, whether in bookshops or in scholarship on travel writing.

Yet Africans have certainly been travelling and writing about the African continent and the world beyond, and scholarship is now beginning to recognise the wealth of travel writing they have produced, sometimes in ways that coincide with the Western genre, and sometimes in quite different forms. One of the first interventions in scholarship on African travel writing was a set of analyses of accounts of former slaves read as travel narratives, such as Olaudah Equiano's well-known *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of*

⁴⁰ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp. 154–5; Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴¹ Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in the Congo* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000).

⁴² For instance, Alexandra Fuller, *Scribbling the Cat: Travels with an African Soldier* (London: Picador, 2005).

⁴³ Petina Gappah, 'Not Yet Uhuru', review of *Dark Continent, My Black Arse* by Sihle Khumalo, *African Writing Online*, December/January 2008, www.african-writing.com/holiday/webpages/petinagappah.htm.

⁴⁴ Tabish Khair et al. (eds.), *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing* (Oxford: Signal, 2006), p. 6.

Olaudah Equiano (1789). While, like many travel narratives, the veracity of some of these accounts has been challenged, they nonetheless offer an important alternative perspective on the subjectivity of those captured as slaves and on their societies.⁴⁵

Such accounts also challenge us to consider the history and significance of travel in other contexts where voluntary, leisured travel may be scarcely available, as was also the case for black South Africans in apartheid South Africa, for instance.⁴⁶ Even in circumstances of much greater freedom, Africans' travels are sometimes restricted; for instance, global visa restrictions mean that Africans often do not experience the freedom to travel that their Western counterparts may take for granted. Nonetheless, plenty of Africans have travelled voluntarily; although from the late twentieth century, many middle-class Africans have engaged in tourism and leisure travel, historically, other forms of travel have been more common, such as for trade, education, labour migration, or religious purposes.⁴⁷

Relatedly, Aedin Ní Loingsigh argues that scholarship on travel writing has tended to examine how non-Western subjects 'participate in, and reconfigure, eurocentric modes of travelling, seeing and narrating', rather than recognising how African travellers have produced travel writing on their own terms.⁴⁸ Khair et al., too, note the 'interventionist' nature of their work on African and Asian travel writing, which is 'sometimes informed by European discourses even as it sets out to map their limits'.⁴⁹ Thus, some innovative studies of African-authored travel writing seek to challenge the generic and formal frameworks through which we read travel writing. Ní Loingsigh, for instance, admits both fiction and non-fiction in her study of francophone African travel writing, while Carli Coetzee suggests reading South African Sihle Khumalo's African travel book *Dark Continent, My Black Arse* (2007) in dialogue with the burgeoning South African self-help literature market.⁵⁰ Janet Remington shows how travel and witnessing are at the

⁴⁵ Vincent Carretta, *Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005).

⁴⁶ David Newmarch, 'Travel Literature', in Eugene Benson and L. W. Conolly (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Post-Colonial Literatures in English* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1586–98 (at p. 1598), cited in Loes Nas, 'Postcolonial Travel Accounts and Ethnic Subjectivity: Travelling through Southern Africa', *Literator*, 32/2 (2011), 151–72 (at p. 154).

⁴⁷ Musisi Nkambwe, 'Intranational Tourism in Nigeria', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 19/1 (1985), 193–204.

⁴⁸ Aedin Ní Loingsigh, *Postcolonial Eyes: Intercontinental Travel in Francophone African Literature* (Liverpool University Press, 2009), p. 2.

⁴⁹ Khair et al. (eds.), *Other Routes*, pp. 13–14.

⁵⁰ Ní Loingsigh, *Postcolonial Eyes*; Carli Coetzee, 'Sihle Khumalo, Cape to Cairo, and Questions of Intertextuality: How to Write About Africa, How to Read About Africa',

heart of Solomon Plaatje's investigative book *Native Life in South Africa* (1916) and novel *Mhudi* (1930), constituting a means of 'political assertion' and 'creative expressions of agency' during white rule in South Africa.⁵¹

Travel writing by African authors thus constitutes a heterogeneous body of writing. It ranges, to name but a few examples, from early twentieth-century Swahili *habari* – part-travelogue, part-history, part-autoethnography – to an autobiographical travelogue by pseudonymous Gold Coast clerk J. G. Mullen, who was trapped in Cameroon during the First World War; from Togolese author Tété-Michel Kpomassie's memoir *An African in Greenland* (1983), to Ivorian writer Véronique Tadjo's account of her journey to post-genocide Rwanda, *The Shadow of Imana* (2002); from Sweden-based Nigerian travel writer and photographer Lola Akinmade Åkerström's online narratives and global travel book *Due North* (2017), to the trans-African travel writing and photography project 'Invisible Borders'.⁵² Rather than attempt to encompass this great variety, the next section of this chapter traces selected examples of southwestern Nigerian travel writing.

Travel Writing and Colonial Intellectual Culture in Southwestern Nigeria

Accounts of journeys, both historical and fictional or semi-fictional, have been encoded in Yoruba-speaking southwestern Nigeria's oral genres and in travellers' personal reminiscences, but with no oral genre dedicated purely to accounts of travel, travel writing is not usually seen as an 'indigenous' genre in the region. However, the region also has a lively Yoruba and English print and literary culture, stemming from the codification of Yoruba as a written language in the mid nineteenth century, largely through the work of

Research in African Literatures, 44/2 (2013), 62–75; Sihle Khumalo, *Dark Continent, My Black Arse* (Cape Town: Umuzi, 2007).

⁵¹ Janet Remington, 'Solomon Plaatje's Decade of Creative Mobility, 1912–1922: The Politics of Travel and Writing In and Beyond South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39/2 (2013), 425–46 (at p. 426); Solomon T. Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (1916; Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2007); Solomon Plaatje, *Mhudi*, ed. Stephen Gray (1930; London: Heinemann, 1978).

⁵² Thomas Geider, 'Early Swahili Travelogues', *Matatu*, 9 (1992), 27–65; Stephanie Newell, 'An Introduction to the Writings of J. G. Mullen, an African Clerk, in the *Gold Coast Leader*, 1916–19', *Africa*, 78/3 (2008), 384–400; Tété-Michel Kpomassie, *An African in Greenland*, trans. James Kirkup (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983); Véronique Tadjo, *The Shadow of Imana: Travels in the Heart of Rwanda*, trans. Véronique Wakerley (Oxford: Heinemann, 2002); Lola Akinmade Åkerström, *Due North: A Collection of Travel Observations, Reflections, and Snapshots Across Colors, Cultures, and Continents* (Stockholm: Geotraveler Media Sweden, 2017); *Invisible Borders – the TransAfrican Project*, <http://invisible-borders.com>.

missionaries. Encounters with Christianity also created the conditions for some of the earliest known written travel accounts by a person of Yoruba origin: Samuel Ajayi Crowther (c.1807–91), a former slave and the first African bishop of the Anglican church. Crowther was a missionary for the Church Missionary Society (CMS). His journals, published in CMS reports which also contain the accounts of European missionaries, describe his travels around the Yoruba region and elsewhere in West Africa during the mid-nineteenth-century Niger expeditions.⁵³ The journals were written, as Michel Doortmont argues, in ‘the tradition of early nineteenth-century [European] travellers’.⁵⁴ Claudia Gualtieri suggests that, like other ‘Afro-Englishmen’, Crowther ‘endorsed the perspective of liberal Englishmen, used colonial stock images of the African, showed a strong adherence to the Bible, and took great care with writing in English for a British audience’.⁵⁵ However, P. R. McKenzie contends that Crowther’s travels also increased his knowledge of the Yoruba region, as he encountered varied religious and social practices. Alongside his missionary writings, Crowther wrote several of the earliest Yoruba vocabularies and a translation of the Bible; his travel writing could thus be read as part of this broader project of Yoruba knowledge production and intellectual culture.⁵⁶

Travel writing continued to be part of the repertoire of a number of Yoruba intellectuals in Lagos in the early twentieth century; as the region’s print culture developed rapidly, travel narratives were published by African-owned newspapers. Amidst a climate of Yoruba cultural nationalism in the early twentieth century, a number of Lagosian writers published travel narratives that sought to document the history and culture of Yoruba towns. In other cases, travel narratives expressed the writers’ sense of being ‘civilised’ Lagosians, distinct from both the Yoruba hinterland in Lagos’s long-standing imbrication with European culture and Christianity, and from colonial European culture. For instance, shortly before the British colonial

⁵³ For example, Samuel Crowther, *The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger: Journals and Notices of the Native Missionaries Accompanying the Niger Expedition of 1857–1859*, by Samuel Crowther and John Christopher Taylor (London: Church Missionary House, 1859). For more by Crowther, see the Bibliography.

⁵⁴ Michel R. Doortmont, ‘Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of the History of the Yoruba’, PhD thesis (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 1994), pp. 39, 42–3.

⁵⁵ Claudia Gualtieri, *Representations of West Africa as Exotic in British Colonial Travel Writing* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. 205.

⁵⁶ Peter Rutherford McKenzie, *Inter-Religious Encounters in West Africa: Samuel Ajayi Crowther’s Attitude to African Traditional Religion and Islam* (University of Leicester, 1976); Doortmont, ‘Recapturing the Past’, p. 48.

unification of the northern and southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914, a travel narrative by a pseudonymous writer called 'Special Correspondent' uses a rhetoric of primitivism and naturalisation to characterise northern Nigeria, implicitly distinguishing it from Lagos:

Scanning the plains to the right and left one sees a network of mud huts, grass-roofed, conical in shape and suggestive of Primitive men emerging from the dawn of civilization . . . Philosophically considered, they inspire you with a sublime love for the Simple Life and attune your soul to the plain melodies of mother Nature.⁵⁷

Travel narratives were also published amid Yoruba literary experimentation. At least sixteen lively and personalised travel narratives were published in the Yoruba-language Lagos newspapers *Akede Eko*, *Eleti-Ofe*, and *Eko Akete* in the 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁸ Often written as letters to the newspapers' readers, these were mostly regular serialised narratives, the longest totalling over 10,000 words. They describe their writers' journeys around the Yoruba-speaking region, but also farther across the southern Nigerian coast, and occasionally into distant northern Nigeria. The most prolific travel writer was I. B. Thomas (c.1888–1963), editor of the *Akede Eko*, who frequently travelled to cultivate newspaper readerships. Other writers included E. A. Akintan (1890–1957), editor of *Eleti-Ofe*, and A. K. Ajisafe (1875–1940), a prominent local historian, as well as several pseudonymous writers. These travel writers may have borrowed some rhetorical and formal conventions from Western travel writing; the Lagos newspapers occasionally printed foreign-authored travel writing about West Africa, and the travel writers may have known of the works of earlier missionary writers, which were available in Lagos.⁵⁹ However, the travel narratives can also be seen as the product of a culture of literary experimentation in the Yoruba press; I. B. Thomas's travel narratives, for instance, share rhetorical features with another of his serialised newspaper narratives, *Ìtàn Ìgbésí Aiyé Èmi Sègìlólá*, published in 1929 and now recognised as the first Yoruba novel.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Special Correspondent, 'A Trip to Northern Nigeria and Back', *Lagos Weekly Record*, 2 August 1913.

⁵⁸ Rebecca Jones, 'Writing Domestic Travel in Yoruba and English Print Culture, Southwestern Nigeria, 1914–2014', PhD thesis (University of Birmingham, 2014), pp. 39–49.

⁵⁹ Doortmont, 'Recapturing the Past', pp. 41–7.

⁶⁰ Rebecca Jones, 'The Sociability of Print: 1920s and 1930s Lagos Newspaper Travel Writing', in Derek Peterson, Stephanie Newell, and Emma Hunter (eds.), *African Print Cultures* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), pp. 102–24; Karin Barber (ed. and trans.), *Print Culture and the First Yoruba Novel: I. B. Thomas's 'Life Story of Me, Segilola' and Other Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Although the present discussion focuses on travel writing within Nigeria, it is important to note that Nigerians also published accounts of overseas travels since at least the late nineteenth century; Lagosian J. A. Payne, for instance, published an account in the newspaper *Eagle and Lagos Critic* of a journey to England via Sierra Leone, Senegal, and South America for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.⁶¹ As opportunities for international travel increased in the mid twentieth century, overseas travel accounts proliferated: from soldiers who wrote letters home during World War II and journalists' accounts of overseas trips, to students and other travellers in Europe and the USA, including renowned Yoruba novelist D. O. Fagunwa.⁶²

Travel Writing Unifying the Nation

Following the Nigerian civil war (1967–70), the urgent desire to unify the country's many ethnic and linguistic groups was reflected in a travel memoir by Babatunde Shadeko called *The Magic Land of Nigeria* (1980), an account of Shadeko's travels across 'all the nooks and corners of Nigeria while working as a Federal Government Surveyor' between 1969 and 1975.⁶³ Illustrating Shadeko's concern that Nigerians should identify themselves with the nation rather than by ethnicity, Part One is titled 'How to be a Detribalized Nigerian', followed by Part Two, 'Probes into our Common Bonds and Origins', and Part Three, 'The Challenges of Unity in Diversity'. Shadeko explains that his travelogue was 'inspired by my quest for and sincere belief in the unity and stability of Nigeria'; he hopes that it will enable Nigerians to 'appreciate each other's virtues and foibles in the spirit of unity and fraternity', and to become 'detrivalised', just as Shadeko says he has become through his travels.⁶⁴

Yet alongside its Nigerian nationalism, the book also inserts itself into the discourse of colonial travel writing. Shadeko describes how he makes the

⁶¹ Nozomi Sawada, 'The Educated Elite and Associational Life in Early Lagos Newspapers: In Search of Unity for the Progress of Society', PhD thesis (University of Birmingham, 2011), p. 232.

⁶² David Killingray with Martin Plaut, *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Kwame Osei-Poku, 'Agwa's London Diary', presentation at *African Travel Writing Encounters* conference, University of Birmingham, 9 March 2016; Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography* (New York: Praeger, 1970); Jones, 'Writing Domestic Travel', pp. 267–70; D. O. Fagunwa, *Irinajo, Apa Kini* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949).

⁶³ Babatunde A. Shadeko, *The Magic Land of Nigeria: A Surveyor's Scintillating and Thoughtprovoking Account of his Wanderings in Nigeria* (Lagos: Nationwide Survey Services, 1980).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

traditional explorer's gesture of a 'visual survey' of new terrain and ways of life he encounters on his travels, and he characterises surveyors as the postcolonial inheritors of exploration discourse:

For his work begins where the roads end. The main and minor paths are his routes. When he has left behind all contacts with means of communication and transportation, the surveyor is usually alone with the elements. As pathfinder on the frontiers of knowledge, he heads for the wooded virgin and untrodden land to complete, if he can, the unfinished task of a 'Discovery of Africa'.⁶⁵

A concern with national unity has remained important in some more recent travel writing. Since the turn of the millennium, the rise of the online space and accessible self-publishing technology has enabled Nigerian writers to publish travel writing in formats ranging from e-books and blogs to pieces in online journals and magazines, and even social media posts. Lagos-based travel writer Pelu Awofeso has published travel writing and guidebooks about Nigeria since 2003.⁶⁶ Awofeso initially envisaged an international audience for his travel writing, but many of his readers have proven to be fellow Nigerians who follow his progress via social media. Echoing Shadeko's concern with Nigerian unity but with emphasis on Nigeria's 'multiplicity' rather than 'detrribalisation', Awofeso writes, he says, 'with the hope that Nigerians would [through travel] see the value of the multiplicity of our different cultures and fight for [Nigeria's] continued unity'. The promotion of Nigerian tourism, and thus the generation of income for Nigeria, is also unashamedly part of Awofeso's agenda; he makes little of the distinction between tourism and travel that is found in some contemporary Western travel writing.⁶⁷

African Travel Writing 'through Western eyes'?

The travel narratives discussed above demonstrate how southwestern Nigerian travel writing has been produced for Nigerian audiences, to address Nigerian concerns, *and* has been implicated in Western travel writing traditions and discourse. The growing presence of African diaspora writing about Africa further complicates distinctions between African- and Western-

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶⁶ For example, Pelu Awofeso, *Tour of Duty* (Lagos: Homestead Publications, 2010). For more by Awofeso, see the Bibliography.

⁶⁷ Rebecca Jones, 'Nigeria is my Playground: Pelu Awofeso's Nigerian Travel Writing', *African Research and Documentation*, 125 (2015), 65–85.

authored writing.⁶⁸ For instance, British-Nigerian travel writer Noo Saro-Wiwa's *Looking for Transwonderland* (2012) describes her journey across Nigeria, including her late father Ken Saro-Wiwa's village in Ogoniland. Saro-Wiwa's travelogue plays with the ambiguity surrounding the diaspora returnee's relationship with Nigeria; Saro-Wiwa writes, she says, as 'part-returnee and part-tourist, with the innocence of the outsider'.⁶⁹ Unconvinced by this attempted liminal position, reviewer Adewale Maja-Pearce contends that Saro-Wiwa writes 'largely through western eyes'.⁷⁰ He thus rightly draws attention to the fact that Saro-Wiwa grew up mostly in Britain, was published in Britain, and is explicit about seeing Nigeria in Western tourism terms, as 'this final frontier that has perhaps received fewer voluntary visitors than outer space'.⁷¹ Yet the phrase 'through western eyes' may also underestimate the complex history of travel and shared textual cultures between Africa and the West.

This dichotomy between African and Western travel also plays out in assumptions about who may travel. Nigerian travel writer Lola Akinmade Åkerström describes how her 'motives for travel were deeply questioned' by numerous immigration officers: 'Why was I traveling? There had to be a more sinister reason beyond the need to explore and enrich my life through experiencing other cultures.' Travelling through Eastern Europe, she was frequently singled out amid a bus full of EU and US passport holders, and had to explain to immigration officers 'this unbelievable concept of a Nigerian traveling for the sole purpose of enjoyment'.⁷² This assumption that Africans do not travel for travel's sake means that Africa is again figured as a 'site of difference', as Gikandi argues. Clearly, travel writing by African authors can function as a liberatory genre by centring African mobility and African views of the world. But, simultaneously, what Janet Remington calls 'the pervasive politicization and racialization of travel' persists to the present day; opportunities to travel and the power of the traveller to describe the world remain uneven, as they were in the precolonial and colonial eras.⁷³

⁶⁸ For examples of other African diaspora travel writing about Africa, see the Bibliography.

⁶⁹ Noo Saro-Wiwa, *Looking for Transwonderland: Travels in Nigeria* (London: Granta, 2012), p. 9.

⁷⁰ Adewale Maja-Pearce, review of *Looking for Transwonderland: Travels in Nigeria* by Noo Saro-Wiwa, *Guardian*, 6 January 2012, www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jan/06/looking-transwonderland-saro-wiwa-review.

⁷¹ Saro-Wiwa, *Looking for Transwonderland*, p. 8.

⁷² Akinmade Åkerström, *Due North*, pp. 17–19.

⁷³ Janet Remington, "'It's a passport!' my inner voice yells", review of Lola Akinmade Åkerström's *Due North, Africa in Words*, 15 June 2017, <https://africanwords.com/2017/06/15/its-a-passport-my-inner-voice-yells-review-of-lola-akinmade-akerstroms-due-north>.

PART III

★

PERSPECTIVES ON TRAVEL
WRITING

(1)

*

Place and Travel Writing

Travel and the City

VICTORIA E. THOMPSON

From monumental structures to city streets, travel writers use the city to frame the form and content of their narratives. Cities are complicated and messy, yet even when attempting to reflect the chaotic aspect of them, authors must impose some order upon the disordered realities of urban life so as to make their accounts comprehensible. They do this in part by organising their texts around the built environment, using landmarks, streets, and neighbourhoods to shape the narrative in specific ways. Urban travel writing is thus highly attentive to the ways in which the spaces and structures of cities serve as metaphors for larger cultural, political, and social concerns and as a means for reflecting on the self.

Urban travel writing shares characteristics with other genres of writing about cities. Non-fiction accounts of cities multiplied in the mid eighteenth century, as they were transformed by social, economic, and political change.¹ A tradition of writing about one's own city emerged at this time, exemplified in works such as Louis Sébastien Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* for the eighteenth century, the investigative reporting of reformers such as Charles Booth in the nineteenth century, and, more recently, the works of Iain Sinclair on London or in a less traditional vein, Brandon Stanton's *Humans of New York*.² As with urban travel writing, these works seek to make the familiar foreign, or to explore aspects of

¹ A sampling of critical works on non-fiction writing about the city includes Catherine Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Stéphane Van Damme, *Métropoles de papier: naissance de l'archéologie urbaine à Paris et à Londres (XVIIe-XXe siècle)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012).

² Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, 12 vols. (Amsterdam: s.n., 1781–8); Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, 2 vols. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1889–91); Iain Sinclair, *Lights Out for the Territory: 9 Excursions in the Secret History of London* (London: Granta, 1997), and *London Orbital: A Walk Around the M25* (London: Granta Books, 2002); Brandon Stanton, *Humans of New York: Stories* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015).

urban life that are poorly understood by contemporaries.³ While many excellent studies of travel narratives about cities exist, the specifically urban dimensions of travel and travel writing are not usually explicit topics of analysis.⁴ This chapter contributes to the discussion by focusing primarily, although not exclusively, on European travel writing about European cities, from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. In this period, European cities served as sites for reflection on various processes of modernisation, including revolution, nation-building, economic transformation, and globalisation. Throughout this time, Europeans wrote extensively on other parts of the world, often with an eye towards justifying imperialist intervention and control.⁵ Writing on European cities was similarly shaped by geopolitical rivalries, but it also served as a means for interrogating what it meant to be European. In the twentieth century, the city became a site for theoretical analysis, and this chapter draws on the insights of theorists of urban space, including Maurice Halbwachs, Walter Benjamin, and Michel de Certeau, to explore the ways in which urban spaces structure travel writing on the city.⁶

The Monumental City

As sites of pilgrimage, political power, and trade, cities have always attracted travellers. In the late seventeenth century, a new reason for visiting cities emerged with the Grand Tour, a rite of passage for noble Englishmen who travelled to continental cities to ‘mingle with those more refined Nations, whom Learning and Knowledge did first Urbanize and polish’.⁷ Although an

³ Justin D. Edwards makes this point in “‘Why Go Abroad?’ Djuna Barnes and the Urban Travel Narrative”, *Journal of Urban History*, 29/1 (November 2002), 6–24.

⁴ For an explicit conceptualisation of urban travel writing as a genre, see Gillian Jein, *Alternative Modernities in French Travel Writing: Engaging Urban Space in London and New York, 1851–1986* (London: Anthem Press, 2016); Hagen Schulz-Forberg, *London–Berlin: Authenticity, Modernity, and the Metropolis in Urban Travel Writing from 1851 to 1839* (Brussels: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2006).

⁵ For helpful overviews, see Tim Youngs, ‘Introduction: Filling the Blank Spaces’, in Tim Youngs (ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), pp. 1–18; Roy Bridges, ‘Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720–1914)’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 53–69.

⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: étude de mémoire collective*, ed. Marie Jaisson (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008); Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Verso, 1983); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

⁷ James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell Shewing by What Cours, and in What Compasse of Time, One May Take an Exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of*

English institution, the Grand Tour was part of a larger eighteenth-century celebration of travel as a means of self-improvement. As Denis Diderot wrote in the *Encyclopédie*, 'voyages in the civilised states of Europe . . . are in the judgment of enlightened persons a most important component of the education of youth'.⁸

Eighteenth-century travel writers were particularly interested in monumental structures, from Roman ruins to palaces to prisons. For Joseph Addison, a classical education required placing oneself in the presence of Roman antiquities, where even an educated man would find himself 'taking new Hints, and raising different Reflections, according as a Man's natural Turn of Thoughts, or the Course of his Studies, directs him'.⁹

This is not to say that the everyday aspects of cities were neglected; Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768) takes readers into the most ordinary of spaces, including the rue de Nevers, a small alleyway through which the wastes of a nearby religious institution were transported.¹⁰ Yet while such spaces serve as locations for amorous adventures, monuments prompt introspection and self-transformation. In the Bastille, Sterne's fictional traveller Yorick meditates feelingly on the injustices of imprisonment, after the cry of a captive bird 'overthrew all my systematic reasonings'.¹¹ Similarly, in canto 4 of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1818), Italian cities prompt melancholy meditation on the passage of all things. On the Piazza San Marco in Venice, Byron contemplates the Doge's palace, where 'Statues of glass – all shiver'd – the long file / Of her dead Doges are declin'd to dust'.¹² Hugely influential, these works encouraged Europeans to write about their travels as a means of 'self-dramatization'.¹³

Christendome, and Arrive to the Practicall Knowledge of the Languages, to Good Purpose (London: Printed by T. B. for Humprey Mosley, 1642), p. 14.

⁸ Denis Diderot, 'Voyage', in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1751–72), vol. xvii, p. 477. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2016 edn), ed. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu>. My translation.

⁹ Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (The Hague: Printed for Henry Scheurleer, 1718), p. 201.

¹⁰ Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy and Continuation of the Bramine's Journal with Related Texts*, ed. Melvyn New and W. G. Day (1768; Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), p. 95; Félix Lazare and Louis Lazare, 'Nevers (rue de)', *Dictionnaire administratif et historique des rues de Paris et de ses monuments* (Paris: Vinchon, 1844), p. 483.

¹¹ Sterne, *Sentimental Journey*, p. 102.

¹² Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 4.15.1–2, in *The Major Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (1986; Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 152.

¹³ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 117.

Travellers did so most frequently while contemplating monumental structures within the city.

These travellers were particularly attracted to ruins as *memento mori*. In 1789, Hester Piozzi imagined Christian martyrs while at the Roman Colosseum, as Byron and many later sentimental travellers would also do.¹⁴ Travel writers demonstrated empathy with those who had come before them when in the presence of ruins; as Marguerite Blessington wrote, when contemplating ancient Rome ‘a mysterious sympathy is experienced’.¹⁵ British travellers readily adopted the Petrarchan tradition of looking for meaning about the human condition in ruins, thereby demonstrating their learning and their identification with both antiquity and its Renaissance rediscovery.¹⁶ This British respect for ruins distinguished them from others. John Chetwode Eustace was horrified by modern Romans, who had ‘forgotten the theatre of the glory and of the imperial power of their ancestors, as to degrade [the Roman Forum] into a common market for cattle’.¹⁷ Attention to the present condition of cities was part of a shift towards describing everyday urban life that began in the late eighteenth century.¹⁸ Yet it is the contrast that Eustace draws between the original purpose of Roman structures and their current use that allows him to elaborate national distinctions.

Maurice Halbwachs helps us understand why monuments serve an important function in travel narratives. Halbwachs wrote that if a ‘truth is to be settled in the memory of a group, it needs to be presented in the concrete form of an event, of a personality, or of a locality’. Monuments thus serve as touchstones for shared beliefs. An entire system of belief can be mapped by linking together several such ‘localizations’ within ‘a definite spatial framework’.¹⁹ British descriptions of post-revolutionary Paris exemplify this process. The earliest visitors described a wide variety of places where revolutionary events had occurred. By 1820, a coherent narrative emerges, focusing on the death of Louis XVI and concentrating on fewer, highly significant

¹⁴ Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, 2 vols. (London: A. Strahan, 1789), vol. 11, pp. 390–1.

¹⁵ Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington, *The Idler in Italy*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1839), vol. 11, p. 99.

¹⁶ On Petrarch’s role in establishing this tradition, see Andrew Hui’s ‘Petrarch’s *Vestigia* and the Presence of Absence’, in *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), pp. 89–130.

¹⁷ John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1816), p. 237.

¹⁸ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 146.

¹⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 200, 211.

locations, such as the current Place de la Concorde, where the king was executed. At each site, authors emphasised British traits such as empathy for the royal family, which they contrasted with French insouciance.²⁰ Awareness of a profound historical shift prompted this mapping; in this sense these locations served as *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory, where the past could be consciously remembered and used for present purposes.²¹ Collective memory as a means of establishing group identity can also be forged through textual traditions, as with nineteenth-century English travellers who quoted Byron at the same stops in their voyages through Italian cities.²²

Using urban locations to reflect upon historical change and personal transformation remains a hallmark of urban travel writing. In his *The Ghost of June* (1968), Rupert Croft-Cooke revisits a Barcelona neighbourhood where in 1932 his friends had included ‘criminals . . . out-of-work boxers, pimps, pickpockets and scum of all kind’.²³ They were all gone. He sits down for a drink at a spruced-up café, and when served an adulterated cocktail, realises that he has been taken for a tourist. As with many travel writers of the twentieth century, Croft-Cooke uses changes to the city to evoke nostalgia for a place and time that have disappeared.²⁴ Urban transformation can also demonstrate continuity. William Dalrymple opens his *City of Djinns* (1993) by evoking the material and ‘human’ ruins of Delhi. In Dalrymple’s account, the city is a palimpsest where the trauma of repeated violence is still visible. Of this history, the consequences of Partition, ‘the last great conflagration’, shape the book’s narrative and the vision of Delhi it presents to the reader.²⁵ What differentiates these texts from those of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is their focus on the ordinary aspects of urban life (sitting

²⁰ Victoria E. Thompson, ‘An Alarming Lack of Feeling: Urban Travel, Emotions, and British National Character in Post-Revolutionary Paris’, *Urban History Review/Revue d’histoire urbaine*, 42/2 (2014), 8–17 (at p. 11).

²¹ Pierre Nora argues that self-consciously constructed sites of memory are characteristic of modernity, in contrast to the supposedly unreflective memory of primitive societies. Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989), 7–24 (at p. 8).

²² Buzard, *Beaten Track*, pp. 117–20. For a more recent example, see Jan Morris, *Venice* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), which evokes Byron in several places, including the iconic Bridge of Sighs.

²³ Rupert Croft-Cooke, *The Ghost of June: A Return to England and the West* (London: W. H. Allen, 1968), p. 168.

²⁴ Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan note that this self-conscious nostalgia is characteristic of twentieth-century travel writing. See their *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 8.

²⁵ William Dalrymple, *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi* (New York: Penguin, 1993), pp. 8, 36.

in a café) or on spaces of poverty. This focus on the everyday rather than the monumental can be traced back to the nineteenth century.

Reading the Everyday Spaces of the City

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, descriptions of monuments did not disappear, but they were often rendered a part of the ordinary cityscape. As the travelling public expanded to the middle classes, travel writers were less inclined to display their erudition or their fine sensibilities, and more interested in everyday life. This shift coincided with the waning of Romanticism and the rise of realism in literature. As Katarina Gephardt has argued, the novel and the travel account were 'interdependent' genres that contributed equally in constructing the 'imagined community' of the nation.²⁶ Under the influence of nationalism, travel writers were less likely to see character traits as dependent on environment. Instead, they viewed national character as fixed and inherent.²⁷ While the traveller was unchanged by visiting a foreign place, the city was still assumed to reveal key truths about its inhabitants, and the prototypical traveller of this period portrayed himself as an astute observer of the everyday life of cities. As Arthur Symons wrote:

I have tried to draw confidences out of the stones that I have trodden but a few weeks or a few months, out of the faces that I have seen in passing . . . I have respected the sight of my eyes and the judgment of my senses, and I have tried to evoke my cities in these pages exactly as they appeared to me to be in themselves.²⁸

This traveller is very much like the *flâneur*, a nineteenth-century Parisian stereotype who was assumed to be male, middle-class, and whose observational powers allowed him to comment authoritatively on urban life.²⁹

²⁶ Katarina Gephardt, *The Idea of Europe in British Travel Narratives, 1789–1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 8; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1991).

²⁷ Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

²⁸ Arthur Symons, *Cities* (London: J. M. Dent, 1903), p. vi.

²⁹ The stereotype was most thoroughly elaborated in Louis Huart, *Physiologie du flâneur* (Paris: Aubert, 1841). On the nineteenth-century stereotype, see Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 'The *Flâneur* On and Off the Streets of Paris', in Keith Tester (ed.), *The Flâneur* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 22–42. On the masculinity of the *flâneur*, see Janet Wolff, 'The Invisible *Flâneuse*: Women and the Literature of Modernity', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 2/3 (1985), 37–48; Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988);

As *flâneur*, the traveller was immersed in the urban scene without being changed by it, an advantage in cities prone to overcrowding and political upheaval. While Symons began his discussion of Naples by evoking the ‘terror’ he felt in the city’s dark, dirty, and impoverished streets, he also stated that the experience left him with ‘more respect for civilization’, a reference to his own country. Symons blamed the Neapolitans for the state of their city, contrasting their ‘absolute . . . almost ingenious, lack of civilization’ with his more advanced nature, made evident in his strong reaction to the city’s unpleasant sights and smells.³⁰

This contrast also implied that such poverty did not exist in British cities. In the interwar period, Walter Benjamin explored the ways in which writing about the city contributed to the process of alienation that he saw as central to modernity. In doing so, Benjamin redefined the *flâneur* as a figure that participated in the mystification of capitalist socioeconomic relations by rendering the crowd a spectacle to be savoured. Looked at in this light, Symons’s account both distances urban poverty by identifying it with a foreign location and renders poverty enjoyable – even if that enjoyment is a frisson of fear. As Benjamin wrote, the *flâneur*’s comfort in the midst of urban crowds was based in his own blindness towards the socioeconomic relations that structure them; because of this, even ‘horrors have an enchanting effect’.³¹

Drawing on the conventions of the picturesque was one means of rendering the dark underside of the city enjoyable for the reader.³² When, in his *Voyage pittoresque en Algérie* (1845) Théophile Gautier ventures into the Casbah of Algiers at night, ‘The architecture . . . took on . . . the most mysterious and fantastic appearance . . . We heard nearby strange whispers, guttural laughs . . . We stepped on grayish masses that changed position while sighing.’³³ Impoverished by the French conquest, the Casbah was

Elizabeth Wilson, ‘The Invisible *Flâneur*’, *New Left Review*, 191 (1992), 90–110. More recently, scholars have argued for the existence of the *flâneuse*, or female *flâneur*. See Deborah L. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2000); and Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).

³⁰ Symons, *Cities*, p. 92.

³¹ Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 60.

³² Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

³³ Théophile Gautier, *Voyage pittoresque en Algérie*, ed. Madeline Cottin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1973), p. 194. Quoted in Victoria E. Thompson, ‘“I Went Pale with Pleasure”: The Body, Sexuality and National Identity among French Travelers to Algiers in the Nineteenth Century’, in Patricia M. E. Lorcin (ed.), *Algeria and France, 1800–2000: Identity, Memory, Nostalgia* (Syracuse University Press, 2006), pp. 18–32 (at p. 25).

a disorienting place for many French travellers. Crowded areas in European cities increasingly elicited similar expressions of anxiety. Naples, which Sharon Ouditt calls a 'liminal city', often evoked such fears.³⁴ In 1869, James Wayland Joyce wrote of 'the crowding, shouting, jostling, screaming and quarrelling of its Toledo, (its great street,) where it always seems to you as if the inmates of a lunatic asylum, all had been let loose, all running against each other, and all screaming at each other'.³⁵ In many instances, such moments in the text are resolved by putting the traveller back in command of the situation, although this is not always the case.³⁶ The reader, however, is always at a safe distance from the dangers faced by the travel writer venturing into urban chaos.

Social Darwinism encouraged a view of cities as reflections of biologically determined difference, in which both monuments to the past and the ordinary structures of the present were the product of inherent national traits.³⁷ In Charles Huard's *Berlin comme je l'ai vu* (1907) the entire city is evidence of a nation obsessed with order, obedience, and aggression. Huard voices his 'horror of this brutal Force, of these heavy fists, of these weighty boots' of the statues of Prussia's military heroes in the Tiergarten.³⁸ His horror is not that of the Romantic traveller, but of the nationalist. The opposition in Huard's account is not between the past and present of the country he visits, but rather between the national traits of the Germans and those of the French. When Huard ventures into Berlin's historic district in search of more lively street life, he finds there the same obsession with order and cleanliness that he found in modern neighbourhoods. Huard's depiction of Berlin flattens the distinctions between monumental and everyday space, and between past and present, as a means to argue that every part of a city is shaped by national character.

After World War I such stark portrayals of national difference were reconfigured, as some travel writers played with temporal and spatial comparisons to make political arguments. We see this in Ethel Mannin's 1934

³⁴ Sharon Ouditt, *Impressions of Southern Italy: British Travel Writing from Henry Swinburne to Norman Douglas* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 9.

³⁵ James Wayland Joyce, *Pictures of Italy: A 'Penny Reading' at Bovey Tracey, February 2, 1869* (Eton: Ingalton and Drake, 1869), p. 23.

³⁶ On fear and unease in travel writing, see Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton University Press, 1990); Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*; Jan Wellington, 'Traversing Regions of Terror: The Revolutionary Traveller as Gothic Reader', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 7/2 (2003), 145–67; Victoria E. Thompson, 'Foreign Bodies: British Travel to Paris and the Troubled National Self', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 15/3 (2011), 243–65.

³⁷ On the increased importance of race in travel writing on Eastern Europe, see Gephardt, *Idea of Europe*, p. 146.

³⁸ Charles Huard, *Berlin comme je l'ai vu* (Paris: Eugène Rey, 1907), p. 24.

description of Moscow. As a socialist, Mannin viewed the city's oldest landmarks as 'barbaric' and contrasted them with the Russia 'still in the making' that she saw in locations such as culture parks.³⁹ Other travellers used the transformation of Moscow to make different points. In a chapter entitled 'Let's join the Soviet crowd', French journalist Henri Béraud affirmed the *flâneur's* creed that strolling in Moscow is 'the good way to get to know a city'.⁴⁰ Walking the streets, he sees Paris in Moscow: the department stores of the Petrovka district resemble the rue La Fayette; the shops of the Riady area remind him of the rue de la Paix. Layering Paris onto Moscow creates a different sort of palimpsest. Rather than see in the present city the ruins of the same city's past, Béraud uses another city to suggest that in Moscow the promise of socialism has been betrayed. The foreign city overlaid on the city being visited is a harbinger of the future.

Spaces of commerce became important in nineteenth- and twentieth-century travel narratives, as economic progress (or the lack thereof) increasingly became the measure by which a nation was judged. Depictions of colonial commercial spaces, even when different from those of the home country, could reassure travellers that conquest was for the best. According to Han Mui Ling, descriptions of street commerce in travellers' accounts rendered Singapore a "'free" market place – a shop', thereby highlighting its promise as a site for British development.⁴¹ Urban commerce was also an important focus for twentieth-century travel writers for whom the contrast between capitalism and socialism was of central importance. In the 1926 essay he wrote on Naples with Asja Lacic, Benjamin described marketplaces and department stores as part of a larger process of commodification that impacted all the spaces of the city. Impermanent architecture and porous boundaries between inside and outside, home and street, effect a continual transformation as 'Balcony, courtyard, window, gateway, staircase, roof are at the same time stage and boxes.'⁴² These shifting urban spaces are a metaphor for the continual, yet ephemeral, transformation of material and labour into commodities that take on intangible qualities. For Benjamin and Lacic, Naples exemplifies the saturation of everyday life by

³⁹ Ethel Mannin, *Forever Wandering* (London: Jarrolds, 1934), pp. 178, 179, 208.

⁴⁰ Henri Béraud, *Ce que j'ai vu à Moscou* (Paris: Éditions de France, 1925), p. 85.

⁴¹ Han Mui Ling, 'From Travelogues to Guidebooks: Imagining Colonial Singapore, 1819–1940', *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 18/2 (October 2003), 257–78 (at p. 263).

⁴² Walter Benjamin and Asja Lacic, 'Naples' in Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, vol. 1, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 414–21 (at p. 417).

the spectacle of commodity capitalism. In the 1950s and 1960s, writers from the Eastern Bloc also looked to commercial spaces to define a city and its people. Descriptions of street markets, department stores, and even small shops in Western cities by writers such as the Yugoslav Vasa Popović elicited a mixed reaction among readers.⁴³ These markets were sites of difference where Western shoppers are shown in irrational thrall to consumer goods, yet the availability of these goods was sometimes considered a reflection of the superiority of the West.⁴⁴

Whether influenced by nationalism, socialism, or other ideologies, travel narratives that treat a city as a product of a coherent system of institutions, beliefs, and practices are well suited to adopting the *flâneur's* narrative voice. Such accounts assume that, as Henri Lefebvre has argued, each society has its own space, one that is a product of the various types of interactions possible among individuals living in a given place and time.⁴⁵ Even when pointing out contrasts and discrepancies (as Mannin did with the old and the new Moscow), the authoritative voice of the travel writer whose explanatory framework for urban life privileges one dominant factor lends coherence and consistency to these travel accounts.

Spatial Stories and Counter-Travel Writing

Over the course of the twentieth century, travel writers became increasingly aware that 'their often dubious pronouncements about people and cultures are only the opinions of an enthusiastic amateur'.⁴⁶ As a result, urban travel writing has become more self-conscious about the ways in which a travel narrative constitutes what Michel de Certeau calls a 'spatial story', or a unique itinerary through urban space.⁴⁷ De Certeau posited that users of urban spaces were able to forge their own pathways through the city and 'cobble together' (*bricoler*) their own 'spatial stories' that sometimes corresponded to, and at other times challenged, dominant interpretations of the

⁴³ Wendy Bracewell, 'Adventures in the Marketplace: Yugoslav Travel Writing and Tourism in the 1950s–1960s', in Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker (eds.), *Tourism: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 248–65.

⁴⁴ Anne E. Gorsuch, *All This is Yours: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 105.

⁴⁵ This sentence paraphrases Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*, 4th edn (Paris: Anthropos, 2000), p. 40.

⁴⁶ Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, p. 6. They also note exceptions to this approach in their discussion of the 'English Gentleman Traveler' in chap. 1.

⁴⁷ De Certeau, 'Spatial Stories', *Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 115–30.

cityscape. In contrast to narratives that view the city as shaped by a single overarching factor, such as national identity or capitalism, travel writing as a spatial story is marked by the specific identity and experiences of the author. An author's identity has always influenced the travel narrative; as scholarship on women's travel writing has shown, women travel writers have been denied access to some spaces while given preferential access to others.⁴⁸ Yet texts that make this evident rarely appeared before the twentieth century. When Ethel Mannin remarked that a taxi driver encountering her at night without any money to pay the fare might have 'raped or murdered me, or both', she drew attention to her status as a woman, whose sex might undermine her ability to navigate the city.⁴⁹ Similarly, sexuality influences a traveller's experience of a city. Jan Morris's account of Trieste (2001), which she first visited as a man, returns repeatedly to the ways in which categories of identity are artificial constructions hiding a more complicated reality. Morris evokes the indeterminacy of gender and sexual identity in a chapter entitled 'Love and Lust', when she recalls '[l]ong ago' bumping into a man in a hotel doorway. After exchanging pleasantries, 'we lingered for a moment and parted. When I think of Trieste, love and lust, I often think of him.'⁵⁰ This chance encounter is the stuff of which de Certeau's spatial stories are made, the personal experiences which give meaning to a city.

To bring identity into the narrative is to create a highly specific vision of a city. Hélène Cixous's 'Attacks of the Castle' does this by undermining the travel writer's ability to navigate the city. Cixous wants to visit Kafka's tomb in Prague's New Jewish Cemetery. But she can only see the gravestone through a rusted gate. Cixous then tries to find the Old Jewish Cemetery. 'Ten times', she writes, 'I asked directions in German, they stared at me as at a false ghost. No one spoke the tongue of my parents any more. Effacement effacement thy name is City.'⁵¹ The routes that Cixous describes on her way to the cemetery are comprised of street names and local landmarks, but they do not take her to her desired destination. Gazing, finally and again through a rusted fence, at a tomb in the Old Jewish Cemetery, she ends the essay with

⁴⁸ For an overview of much of this work, see Susan Bassnett, 'Travel Writing and Gender', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 225–41.

⁴⁹ Mannin, *Forever Wandering*, p. 63.

⁵⁰ Jan Morris, *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001), pp. 140, 141.

⁵¹ Hélène Cixous, 'Attacks of the Castle', trans. Eric Prenowitz, in Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 286–91 (at p. 288).

the words: “‘You have not changed,” I said.”⁵² As a feminist theorist, Cixous challenges the linearity of travel writing with its structure of a journey from here to there and from then to now, emphasising instead the circularity of the journey of the feminine self.

Similarly, in *Flâneuse* (2016), Lauren Elkin uses the trope of illegibility in her description of Tokyo to heighten awareness of her status as both woman and foreigner. Like earlier travel writers who quoted Byron when in Venice, Elkin references Roland Barthes. In *Empire of Signs* (1970) Barthes notes that in Tokyo there are no street signs; in order to navigate the city, he uses maps drawn by strangers.⁵³ Barthes likens these maps to haiku, meant to capture an instant in time and space without adding layers of meaning. In this they are unlike the traditional guidebook, which he earlier called ‘an instrument of blindness’, because it predetermined how a visitor experienced a city.⁵⁴ Barthes’s wish to resist an imposition of meaning on the urban landscape likely influenced Elkin’s choice to capture the difficulty of understanding a foreign city by dividing her narrative into disjointed sections of text that prevent the reader from imagining her movement through the city. Instead, we see only snapshots: the ‘dense crowds’ in the streets of Roppongi, the ‘fake French café called Aux Bacchanales’, ‘a street full of shops in Harajuku selling cheap women’s fashion’. When Elkin writes, ‘What bothered me most was the certainty I felt that there was a great city out there, full of places I wanted to discover’, the reader shares her frustration, having been given only minor bits and pieces of that city in the text.⁵⁵ By refusing to provide an itinerary that would allow the reader to follow her footsteps, Elkin depicts a city inaccessible to foreign understanding. Similarly, Pico Iyer gains an understanding of Japanese culture while in Kyoto through his relationship with a Japanese woman; the story of her self-discovery moves the narrative forward, and adds complexity to the romantic vision of Japanese women that he had upon his arrival. Through this relationship, he comes to realise that the foreigner’s anxiety about not being able to navigate another culture’s spaces is based on an assumption of superiority. To criticise the layout of another city is ‘like going into someone’s house and criticising the way he’s arranged the

⁵² Ibid., p. 291.

⁵³ Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982).

⁵⁴ Roland Barthes, ‘The Blue Guide’, in *Mythologies: The Complete Edition in a New Translation*, trans. Richard Howard and Annette Lavers (New York: Hill & Wang, 2012), p. 136.

⁵⁵ Elkin, *Flâneuse*, pp. 154, 155, 157, 164.

furniture. It's his house, and that's the way he likes it. It's not for the guest to start changing things around.'⁵⁶

The works of Cixous, Elkin, and Iyer can each be considered illustrations of counter-travel writing, which Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan describe as texts 'designed not merely to jolt [the reader] out of a familiar sense of complacency, but to associate that complacency with the process of travel and the genre of travel writing'.⁵⁷ In *The European Tribe* (1987), Caryl Phillips offers a counter-travel narrative that explicitly engages with the legacy of imperialism. His account of a year travelling through Europe explores the hybrid identity of a British citizen of Caribbean origin. As he visits immigrant neighbourhoods throughout Europe, Phillips's reference point is Casablanca's Kasbah, where he begins his journey. The Goutte d'Or of northeastern Paris thus has 'the atmosphere of the Kasbah', with its streets crowded with peddlers, brothels, faulty public hygiene, and predominantly Arab population. The Turkish immigrants and poor Germans of Berlin's Kreuzberg neighbourhood make Phillips wonder if 'the back streets of Istanbul looked like this'.⁵⁸ His critical use of Orientalist tropes shows how poor migrant neighbourhoods throughout Europe resemble each other and reminds readers of how Europe's imperialist past shapes its present. Phillips's vision of the city resembles that of Doreen Massey, who argues that the local has always been shaped by global processes.⁵⁹ Unlike nostalgic travellers who bemoan the loss of local particularities to a flood of homogenising global forces, Phillips shows how globalisation produces difference that can be seen in urban neighbourhoods. He does this effectively because his identity as both British citizen and black man shapes his experience. Phillips constructs his narrative so that he is both the detached, all-observing *flâneur* and a target of racism like any other ethnic minority. As *flâneur*, he makes general observations about European populations, and links neighbourhood and character. As a black man, he highlights the ways in which racism transcends particularities of time and space.

As spatial stories, these accounts suggest the heterogeneity of urban space, while also demonstrating how identity shapes urban experience. They take

⁵⁶ Pico Iyer, *The Lady and the Monk: Four Seasons in Kyoto* (New York: Vintage, 1991), p. 330.

⁵⁷ Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, p. 50. While I use this term to describe the texts discussed here, my interpretation of Iyer's *The Lady and the Monk* differs considerably from that of Holland and Huggan, who, in attributing no agency to the Japanese woman, Sachiko, in Iyer's text, argue (pp. 83–5) that Iyer's vision of Japan remains bounded by Western nostalgia for an imaginary 'Orient'.

⁵⁸ Caryl Phillips, *The European Tribe* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1987), pp. 63, 87.

⁵⁹ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

a critical stance towards progress and modernity that is reflected in the way in which the narratives reject linear movement through space. These accounts make explicit a feature of all urban travel writing, which does not mirror a cityscape, but rather pulls it apart and reconstructs different aspects of the built environment to comment upon self and other, present and past, the familiar and the foreign. The ways in which the travel writer reconstructs the city are influenced by cultural norms, literary conventions, and the identity of the writer herself. While repetition is to be expected in urban travel writing, as authors follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, each account is its own spatial story. As spatial stories, travel texts are '*narrative actions*' that link together spaces and meanings, create boundaries and bridges, and allow us to explore both the city and ourselves.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 116, emphasis in the original.

Travel Writing and the Desert

ROSLYNN HAYNES

The European stereotype of the desert as a flat, sandy waste derived from images of the Sahara and the Arabian Desert, the two deserts most familiar in the West. Yet deserts are found in every continent except Europe, and this geographic spread produces an immense variation in desert locations (coastal, inland), landscapes (sandy, salt, clay pan, rocky, mountainous, glaciated), rainfall (from zero recorded in the Atacama Desert to erratic flooding in the Australian deserts), stability (deserts have appeared and disappeared over time), and climate (hot, temperate, cold and ice-bound Antarctica – the most extensive of all deserts).

Irrespective of this physical diversity, the very word ‘desert’ involves powerful emotional and cultural associations. Derived from the Latin *desertum*, meaning ‘abandoned’, it suggests alienation and foreboding, connotations echoed in the word for desert in many languages.¹ The numerous accounts of travellers struggling through extremes of heat or cold, facing starvation, thirst, disorientation, and loneliness, reinforce this image, while the sense of immensity, of visual emptiness, the lack of temporal references in a seemingly changeless landscape, and the characteristic silence of deserts present a further psychological challenge, raising profound questions about identity and meaning.

However, these same qualities that many travellers find threatening have proved alluring for others. Precisely because of its visual desolation, its lack of material comforts and distractions, the desert may also engender a sense of the numinous, promoting inner reflection, spiritual inquiry, purification, and visionary enlightenment.² Conceivably, a desert landscape beneath a vast monochromatic sky may suggest a unified cosmos, created by one deity, rather than a diversity of gods or spirits and, significantly, the three major

¹ Roslynn D. Haynes, *Desert: Nature and Culture* (London: Reaktion, 2013), p. 7.

² Roslynn D. Haynes, *Seeking the Centre: The Australian Desert in Literature, Art and Film* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 28.

monotheistic faiths, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, originated in the deserts of the Middle East.³

For these reasons, desert travel writing is rarely confined to physical description. Overtly it may seem to be concerned with destinations, details, and difficulties but, as in mountaineering, the principal narrative more often concerns an inner journey involving encounters with landscape, race, culture, religion, or the physical and mental challenges involved. The various travel writers considered in this chapter include religious pilgrims, adventurers, explorers, missionaries, scientists, and those who feel the need to undertake extreme hardship. For some the desert has explicitly religious significance; for others, its stark landscape, whether perceived as beautiful or terrifying, is a personal challenge to survive and to be the first to reach a destination; for others still, it is a place of desolation, horror, and death. In most cases these diverse reactions arise from the writers' motives and temperament, their ability to be absorbed in their surroundings, and their psychological state. Because of their number (twenty-two major deserts) and variety,⁴ as well as the diversity of travellers, this essay focuses on only three desert areas: those of the Middle East, Central Asia, and Australia.

The Middle Eastern Deserts

The earliest known account of desert travel is the book of Exodus, thought to have been written during the sixth century BCE, but based on much earlier oral traditions. In Exodus, the Negev Desert becomes a theatre for the drama of divine actions that establish the Israelites as God's Chosen People. Escaping from slavery in Egypt by a miraculous crossing of the Red Sea, they survive only because God provides food, water, directional guidance, and, later, victory over other desert tribes, allowing them to claim the Promised Land of Canaan (Joshua 1–24). Exodus and Joshua implicitly legitimise tribal conquest and seizure of land as a right, initiating a practice that continued through *ghazu* (tribal desert raiding) and nineteenth-century imperialism to the ongoing Middle East conflicts of modern times. Exodus also prefigures many elements of subsequent desert narratives, from those of the *hajj* to the present: the conquest of desert wilderness, the dangers involved, and the quest for fulfilment, often formalised as a religious or secular pilgrimage through a hostile land.

³ Haynes, *Desert*, pp. 110–15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11.

Written accounts of the *hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca required of all able Muslims, constitute a specific genre known as the *rihla hijaziyya*. Typically, the *rihla* combines personal narrative with descriptions of place, people, and customs, quotations from the Qur'an, prayers, and poetry.⁵ Its religious context distinguishes it from early European accounts written by infidel travellers disguised as Muslim pilgrims, intent on infiltrating Mecca. For them, the landscape, the pilgrims, and their customs are the primary interest, as in this account by Ludovico di Varthema, Italian diarist and traveller, who entered Mecca in 1503, disguised as a Mamluk escorting a caravan of 40,000 pilgrims:

I must not forget to mention our meeting with the sea of sand . . . This is a very large level plain, which is full of white sand as fine as meal . . . and although we had the wind with us we could not see each other at a distance of ten paces. The men ride on camels in certain wooden boxes, in which they sleep and eat, and the pilots go in advance with their compasses as they do at sea. And here many died from thirst, and a great many died because when they dug and found water they drank so much that they burst; and here mummies are made.⁶

In 1814 the Swiss Orientalist Jean Louis Burckhardt, disguised as a Syrian trader, joined a pilgrim caravan travelling to Mecca, an exploit that was emulated by a succession of British adventurers, determined, at the risk of death, to engage in the forbidden rites of the *hajj*. Two years earlier, while travelling in southwestern Syria (now Jordan) disguised as 'Sheikh Ibrahim Ibn Abdallah', Burckhardt had been conducted through a narrow canyon, Al Siq, becoming the first European to view the ancient Nabataean city of Petra, wealthy centre of the spice trade in the first centuries BCE. His vivid descriptions of the 2,000-year-old buildings carved into pink sandstone cliffs, 'the situation and beauty of which are calculated to make an extraordinary impression upon the traveller', attracted the Scottish artist David Roberts whose lithographs popularised Petra as a tourist destination.⁷

Most notorious amongst the British who gained illicit entry into Mecca was the flamboyant Richard Francis Burton. For him the desert symbolised escapism from civilisation and immersion in an antithetical lifestyle.⁸ In 1853,

⁵ Daniel Grammatico and Louise Werner, 'The Travel Writer Ibn Jubayr', *Aramco World*, 66 (2015), 40–3. For more on the *rihla*, see Chapter 9.

⁶ *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, ed. George Percy Badger, trans. John Winter Jones (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001), p. 33.

⁷ J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London: John Murray, 1822), p. 424.

⁸ Tim Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), p. 85.

disguised as a travelling sufi, he entered Mecca where, deluding officials, he was lowered into the Kaaba and conducted around the interior, reciting prayers. Aware that ‘a blunder, a hasty action, a misjudged word, a prayer or bow not strictly the right shibboleth’ would mean death, he courted further risk by ‘making a rough plan with a pencil upon my white Ihram’ during the long prayers.⁹ Here, as throughout his writings, we hear the self-congratulatory voyeur, observing while unobserved. Edward Said, while acknowledging Burton’s knowledge of the Orient, notes ‘a sense of assertion and domination over all the complexities of Oriental life’, of Western superiority over the Orient.¹⁰ Despite his extensive journeys in the Arabian Desert, Burton gives few descriptions of the landscape, focusing instead on Oriental life and customs. A rare vivid description of a natural phenomenon quickly becomes a comment on Arab superstition:

Here the air was filled with those pillars of sand . . . They scudded on the wings of the whirlwind over the plain, huge yellow shafts, with lofty heads, horizontally bent backwards, in the form of clouds . . . It required little stretch of fancy to enter into the Arabs’ superstition. These sand-columns are supposed to be Genii of the Waste.¹¹

By contrast, Burton’s compatriot Charles Doughty was attracted by the mystique and harshness of the Arabian Desert. After travelling in the Middle East during the 1870s he published a 1,200-page classic, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, describing the desert in all its moods and colours. Doughty’s descriptions are given in the antiquated language of his scholarly background, overlaid with Arabic rhythms and cumbersome Latin constructions:

The summer’s night at end, the sun stands up as a crown of hostile flames from that huge covert of inhospitable sandstone bergs; the desert day dawns not little and little, but it is noontide in an hour. The sun, entering as a tyrant upon the waste landscape, darts upon us a torment of fiery beams, not to be remitted till the far-off evening.¹²

This deliberately archaic style is appropriate for his perception of the Arabian Desert as peopled by the ghosts of ‘nomad Hebrew Patriarchs’ of the past, and in the present by the Bedouin, who ‘continue to observe a Great Semitic

⁹ Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1857), vol. 11, p. 230.

¹⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), p. 195.

¹¹ Burton, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 11, p. 69.

¹² Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. (1888; New York: Cosimo Classics, 2010), vol. 11, p. 323.

Law, unwritten; namely the ancient Faith of their illimitable empty wastes'.¹³ Having thus constructed the Orient to conform to his preconceptions and selective observations, Doughty, like Burton, desired it to remain changeless.

Equally anxious to believe in a Holy Land frozen in time were Christian pilgrims, hoping to tread where the prophets and Jesus had walked. Edward Robinson provided a model for their responses, conveniently correlating every natural feature of the desert, every local custom, with a biblical text. 'Under the shade of such a [terebinth] tree Abraham might well have pitched his tent at Mamre.'¹⁴ When, in 1869, Thomas Cook announced the first of his escorted tours to the Holy Land, large numbers of British travellers seized this opportunity to bolster their faith against the challenges of Darwinism and the Higher Criticism of German biblical scholars.

The early twentieth century brought a new generation of desert travellers who saw the Middle East not primarily as a timeless ancient land but as a location of strategic military importance at a time of European expansionism. Benjamin Reilly has correlated the rise of British and French travel in Arabia in the period 1890–1920 with the rise of imperialism: 'Nearly all travellers were active in the northern deserts of Arabia, in an area that would be an active theatre of World War I.'¹⁵ Best known of these 'travellers' was T. E. Lawrence, who became famous as 'Lawrence of Arabia'.

Previously an archaeologist in northern Syria, Lawrence was co-opted by the British government in 1914 to make an undercover military survey of the Negev Desert and to promote an Arab revolt against the Turks. His acceptance by Prince Faizal offered the socially awkward Lawrence new freedom and authority, and a desirable identity as a soldier hero, albeit a complex and ambiguous one. On the one hand Lawrence's courage, leadership, and physical endurance epitomised masculinity; on the other, his 'dressing up' in long white robes and Arab headdress suggested an element of fantasy, femininity, even of bridal attire.¹⁶ In *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* he wrote, 'We [Lawrence and the Bedouin] were fond together, because of the sweep of the open places, the taste of wide winds, the sunlight, and the hopes in which we worked. The moral freshness of the

¹³ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. xiv, x.

¹⁴ Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, and the Adjacent Regions: Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, 3 vols. (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1856), vol. 111, p. 15.

¹⁵ Benjamin Reilly, 'Arabian Travellers, 1800–1950: An Analytical Bibliography', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 43/1 (2016), 71–93.

¹⁶ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 170–1, 186–7.

world-to-be intoxicated us.’¹⁷ Lawrence was both repelled and attracted by the violence of desert cultures. Appalled at the requirement to execute an Arab defector, he could order a brutal massacre of Turks: ‘Blood was always on our hands: we were licensed to it.’¹⁸

Deserts have evoked very different responses from women travellers. Mary Louise Pratt has argued that, instead of the dissociated, masculine scrutiny that typically judges, reifies, and instinctively relegates the observed person or object to inferior status, the female gaze is concerned to explore the new and the strange.¹⁹ Sara Mills notes the personal statements in women’s texts, their heterogeneity that defies stereotypical colonial discourse, and their rejection of the authoritative status characteristic of male travel writing.²⁰ Billie Melman goes further, arguing that English women travellers experienced Middle Eastern travel as an emancipation from the bourgeois restrictions of gender-based social spheres and domestic expectations, while their unprejudiced interest in ethnography often led them to regard cultural differences favourably rather than disdainfully.²¹ Isabel Burton, wife of Richard Burton, saw much to recommend the wearing of the veil and identified the desert with ‘purity of . . . mind and the dignity of human nature . . . then you gradually improve yourself for Oriental life, and unfit yourself for that of Europe’.²²

We also find amongst women travellers an aesthetic response to the desert. Lady Anne Blunt delighted in the brilliant colours and stark beauty of the Arabian Desert:

It was, without exception, the most beautiful view I ever saw in my life . . . Before us lay a foreground of coarse reddish sand . . . Across this sand lay a long green belt of barley . . . Beyond this, for a mile or more, the level desert fading from red to orange, till it was again cut by what appeared to be a shining sheet of water reflecting the deep blue of the sky.²³

¹⁷ T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926; University of Adelaide, 2014), Introduction, unpaginated.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 1, unpaginated.

¹⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 2.

²⁰ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 47.

²¹ Billie Melman, *Women’s Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

²² Isabel Burton, *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land*, 2 vols. (London: Henry S. King, 1875), vol. 1, pp. 2–3.

²³ Anne Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd: The Cradle of the Arab Race: A Visit to the Court of the Arab Emir, and “Our Persian Campaign”*, 2 vols. (1881; London: Forgotten Books, 2013), vol. 11, p. 33.

In the writings of Gertrude Bell and Freya Stark we see a similar love of the desert, despite the political agenda underlying their journeys. For both women, the Arabian Desert represented not just physical, but intellectual and psychological liberation. Their discussions of history and politics, alongside vivid descriptions of desert landscape and Bedouin culture, are coloured by the exhilaration of exchanging domesticity, patriarchy, and convention for adventure and freedom. 'The gates of the enclosed garden are thrown open, the chain at the entrance of the sanctuary is lowered . . . and, behold! The immeasurable world. The world of adventure and of enterprise.'²⁴ Many of Bell's journeys to unmapped desert areas of Palestine, Syria, and Arabia scarcely ever visited by Westerners were beset with the double danger of extreme conditions and warring tribal confederations; but Bell remained non-judgmental of the Bedouin tradition of raiding and counter-raiding. Presenting herself as the daughter of the 'paramount sheikh of Northern England', she recorded in her journal being received as an equal by Bedouin sheikhs, who discussed politics and world affairs with her.²⁵ In 1918 she was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society for her explorations in Syria and Arabia.

Bell's contemporary Freya Stark, inspired by *One Thousand and One Nights*, learned Arabic and was one of the first Western women to journey through the Hadhramaut desert. She gained a Royal Geographical Society award for her cartographic skill in mapping the remote volcanic Elburz Mountains, the Valleys of the Assassins, and the Zagros Mountains of southwestern Iran. In these dangerous explorations, she was outside British protection but, confident of her abilities, represented herself in her writings as nomadic traveller, social lioness, public servant, writer, cartographer, and myth-maker. In contrast to the male European construction of the harem as a site of either eroticism or demeaning slavery, Stark insisted on the mutually supportive community of women and the power of the harem in policy-making. She also left memorable descriptions of landscape, like this of the Hadhramaut plateau: 'The waters and the wind have worked, and the flat surface is eaten into and threatened on every side. The great ravines roll themselves down to Hajr, over an immense fan of eroded tortured lands . . . To right and left the uninhabited valleys fell away.'²⁶

²⁴ Gertrude Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, intro. Sarah Graham-Brown (1907; London: Virago, 1985), pp. 1–2.

²⁵ Sarah Graham-Brown, 'Introduction', in Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, pp. v–xviii (at pp. xx, v).

²⁶ Freya Stark, *A Winter in Arabia* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1940), pp. 246–7.

British military officer Bertram Thomas was similarly fascinated by the notorious Rub' al Khali, or the Empty Quarter of the Arabian Peninsula, the world's largest sand desert and one of the hottest, with sand dunes up to 1,000 feet high. In 1930, with a small team of Omanis and Bedouin, and guided by Sheikh Salih bin Kalut, he became the first Westerner documented to have traversed the 1,300 kilometres from the coast of Oman to the coast of Qatar, a dangerous area riven by tribal anarchy. Thomas had both a scientific and an anthropological interest in the desert. He collected over 400 natural history specimens, and recorded towering sand dunes and ancient tracks allegedly leading to the lost city of Ubar, long buried beneath the sands. His book *Arabia Felix* details the customs of the local people and the landscape with military precision:

My attention was suddenly arrested by the phenomenon of silver patches in the low troughs, looking from a distance like sheets of ice or the salt residues of dried-up lakes. Such *ghadhera* – they proved to be gypsum – appeared with growing frequency throughout these dunes of Yibaila and Yadila.²⁷

Yet occasionally Thomas, too, becomes lyrical:

The starry sky, lighted up by the moon rising behind us, now changed to silver mirrors the little patches of water that lingered in beach depressions or wadi channels. It was fascinating [. . . to] see mirrored Venus moving straight in her course before one, skipping from pool to pool, or sailing serenely across a lagoon.²⁸

Equally fascinated by the Empty Quarter was entomologist and explorer Wilfred Thesiger, who twice crossed it in company with two Bedouin guides, to whom he dedicated his narrative, *Arabian Sands*. Like many desert travellers, he notes the sense of past and present coalescing. 'The patina of human history was thick along the edges of the desert', where tribes 'claimed descent from Ishmael and listened to old men who spoke of events which had occurred a thousand years ago as if they had happened in their own youth'.²⁹ Thesiger's acknowledged threefold purpose was to be first, to be famous, to be alone:

The Empty Quarter . . . was one of the very few places left where I could satisfy an urge to go where others had not been [. . . It] offered me the chance to win distinction as a traveller; but I believed that it could give me more

²⁷ Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix: Across the "Empty Quarter" of Arabia* (1932; Hong Kong: Hesperides Press, 2006), p. 164.

²⁸ Bertram Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (1931; Redditch: Books Ltd, 2013), Adventure 111, unpaginated.

²⁹ Wilfred Thesiger, *Arabian Sands* (1959; London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 37–8.

than this, that in those empty wastes I could find the peace that comes with solitude and, among the Bedu, comradeship in a hostile world.³⁰

For Thesiger, as for many desert travellers, the emptiness and the silence were a transformative experience: 'No man can live this life [of a nomad] and emerge unchanged. He will carry, however faint, the imprint of the desert . . . and he will have within him the yearning to return.'³¹ An essential feature of Thesiger's experience was the close bond with his Bedouin companions. So far from harbouring racial superiority, Thesiger felt 'in their tents . . . like an uncouth, inarticulate barbarian, an intruder from a shoddy, materialistic world'.³² Because of his admiration for their code of honour, their generosity and courage, he, too, wished the Bedouin to remain fixed in a traditional lifestyle of hardship and privation, rather than being degraded by the Western values that accompanied the discovery of oil.³³

Deserts of Central Asia

The Gobi, and the neighbouring Taklamakan Desert, in Central Asia have also attracted travellers with a wide span of interests. Archaeological finds indicate that long before recorded history these deserts, now remote from population centres, were a bidirectional highway for goods and culture passing between China, Central Asia, and Europe along the so-called Silk Road (actually, there were many such routes) connecting the oasis towns along the north and south periphery.³⁴

For Europeans, the most distinctive aspect of the Arabian Desert was freedom from constraints; but in the case of the Gobi Desert of western China, it was pre-eminently the silence. This resonated strongly with Mildred Cable, one of three remarkable women missionaries committed to evangelising in western China in the first decades of the twentieth century:

The only sound was the steady quiet tramp of the animals' feet and the soft tread of the carter's cloth shoes . . . I had previously known great silences, but in comparison with this it seemed that they were noisy. There was not even a blade of grass to rustle, a leaf to move, a bird to stir in its nest . . . no one spoke, we only listened intently.³⁵

³⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

³¹ Ibid., p. 15.

³² Ibid., p. 38.

³³ Ibid., p. 12.

³⁴ Haynes, *Desert*, pp. 101–3.

³⁵ Mildred Cable, *The Gobi Desert* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950), p. 23.

Between 1923 and 1936 Cable, together with Evangeline and Francesca French, followed old trade routes and faint caravan tracks to Tibetan villages, Mongol encampments, and Muslim towns throughout Xinjiang Province, distributing Bibles and other Christian literature. 'Alone, or with a carter, sometimes riding a donkey, sometimes on foot, five times we traversed the whole length of the desert, and in the process we had become part of its life.' Having survived the dangers of the Gobi Desert, with its mirages, cyclonic whirlwinds, and strange illusory sounds that lure the unwary traveller from the path, Cable reflected: 'The old desert fathers held that solitude is a thing to be earned, and on our long, slow journeys we knew that we were earning it.' In such desert spaces, 'The detachment of life from all normal intercourse imparts a sense of gravity to every rencontre . . . On a desert track there is no such thing as a casual meeting.'³⁶ Because of their position at the crossroads of ancient cultural exchange, their vast fossil beds of prehistoric fauna, and the discovery of 4,000-year-old mummies, the Taklamakan and Gobi deserts have attracted waves of scientific travellers for whom the desert represented a source of archaeological and palaeontological treasures to be discovered and, if possible, plundered.

Between 1893 and 1932 the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin led five major expeditions, two across the Taklamakan Desert, mapping Lake Lop Nor, previously uncharted rivers, the remains of cities, grave sites, and the section of the Great Wall in the Tarim Basin. He excavated marine sediments on the Tibetan plateau and unearthed extinct cultures in the eastern Tarim Basin and 10,000 bamboo manuscripts from the ancient 'silk roads'. The last of the classical nineteenth-century explorers, he wrote:

To my eyes the desert ocean was invested with a fascinating beauty. Its silence, its unbroken stillness, exercised a magic charm over me. It was grand, a majestic sight. The wizard power of the *desiderium incogniti* was drawing me on with an irresistible spell to enter the castle of the desert king, where I was to unseal the revelations of old-world legend and story.³⁷

Hedin's account of the dangers and discoveries of his journeys is exuberant and gripping, conveying the suspense and immediacy of the danger, the splendour and magnificence of the Orient, the silence of the deserts, and the loneliness of long journeys as formative experiences.

Hedin's contemporary, Sir Marc Aurel Stein, a Hungarian-born archaeologist in the British service in India, made four major expeditions to Central

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 276, 287, 172.

³⁷ Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper Brothers, 1899), vol. 1, p. 513.

Asia between 1900 and 1930, facilitating the rediscovery of the 'Silk Road' and the rich diversity of its cultural and linguistic history and archaeology. He located the Jade Gate, marking the western extent of China, and recovered manuscripts in the lost Tocharian languages of the Tarim Basin, but for him the real treasure of the Gobi Desert was contained in the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang. In these Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, Stein found a vast store of Buddhist statuary, ancient art, and manuscripts, the most famous being the Diamond Sutra, the world's oldest printed text, preserved for over a millennium in the dry desert air. In exchange for a small donation to the resident monk, Stein procured twenty-four cases of manuscripts, pictures embroidered on silk, and four crates of paintings, which he divided between the British Museum and the National Museum of India. From Hellenistic references in these paintings he realised that 'the influence of Graeco-Buddhist models [had] victoriously spread itself to the Far East' and that the so-called Silk Road had been a route for cultural and religious exchange between Europe and China.³⁸ Stein was knighted for these 'discoveries' and awarded the Founder's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society but, by today's standards, he was an archaeological pirate, appropriating paintings, frescoes, statues, and manuscripts for a negligible payment. In mitigation, it could be said that the treasures he removed are now available to the world's scholars, while many of those he left behind have been lost or destroyed.³⁹

The Australian Deserts

Unlike the travellers discussed so far, the nineteenth-century explorer-travellers of the Australian deserts were officially dispatched on an economic mission – to discover in the uncharted interior arable and grazing land. However, the individual expedition leaders were also driven by desire for fame as explorers. Failing to discover an agricultural paradise in the arid centre, they reinvented themselves in their narratives as heroic individuals, subtly changing the original objectives of their expeditions from economic benefit to endurance, from exploration to exploit.⁴⁰ The popularisation of this new kind of hero, the hero as victim, initiated a national culture of hatred for the interior, characterised as malevolent and treacherous, with deceptive mirages and eccentric 'rivers' that were more often dry watercourses. These

³⁸ Marc Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks: Brief Narrative of Three Expeditions in Innermost Asia and Northwestern China* (New York: Pantheon, 1964), p. xii.

³⁹ Jeannette Mirsky, 'Introduction', in Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Haynes, *Seeking the Centre*, pp. 71–88.

narratives of frustrated exploration influenced Australian writers for a century and more, supplying the context for a Gothic fiction in which the landscape was vilified as harsh, malevolent, and unrelenting.⁴¹

The mythology of heroic failure began with John Eyre's account of his epic journey across the southern coastal deserts in 1841. Disregarding his Aboriginal guide, he recorded, 'The frightful, the appalling truth now burst upon me, that I was alone in the desert . . . in the wildest and most inhospitable wastes of Australia, with the fierce wind raging in unison with the scene of violence before me.'⁴² Four years later, Charles Sturt's obsession lay in discovering an inland sea, from which great rivers would flow into the arid interior. Believing himself preordained to discover the 'sacred mystery' of the interior and to be the first to unfurl the British flag at the geographical centre of the continent, he pressed north from Adelaide in 1844. Blockaded by drought at Depôt Glen, his party failed to reach the Centre and was forced to turn back. Nevertheless, in his narrative written for a popular audience, Sturt recreated himself as heroically combating insuperable odds. The geographical impasse of being 'locked up in the desolate and heated region . . . as effectively as if we had wintered at the Pole', becomes a psychological prison where, ironically, the 30-metre-high parallel sand dunes of the Simpson Desert 'rose up in terrible array against us . . . succeeding each other like waves of a tempestuous sea'.⁴³ To Sturt, 'It appeared as if we were the last of creation amid the desolation and destruction of the world . . . nor was there a shadow of hope in that dreary and monotonous wilderness.'⁴⁴ Similar experiences were implicit in the names the explorers inscribed on the map: Mt Disappointment, Mt Deception, Mt Desolation, Mt Despair, Mt Misery. Even Ernest Giles, the most optimistic of the Australian explorers, wrote of his experience in the Gibson Desert: 'I felt somewhat lonely, and cogitated that what has been written or said by cynics, solitaries, or Byrons, of the delights of loneliness, has no real home in the human heart. Nothing could appal the mind so much as the contemplation of eternal solitude.'⁴⁵

⁴¹ Gerry Turcotte, 'Australian Gothic', in Marie Mulvey Roberts (ed.), *The Handbook to Gothic Literature* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 10–19.

⁴² Edward John Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, in the Years 1840–1*, 2 vols. (London: T. & W. Boone, 1845), vol. 11, pp. 1–2.

⁴³ Charles Sturt, *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia, 1844–45*, 2 vols. (University of Adelaide, 2016), vol. 1, p. 265.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 328.

⁴⁵ Ernest Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed: The Romance of Exploration*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), vol. 1, p. 166.

The deaths of successive explorers, famously those of Ludwig Leichhardt in 1848 and of Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills in 1861, through misdirection and flawed judgment, created a nexus in popular culture between fame and death, such that Burke was recast as a tragic hero, defeated by impossible odds, while successful explorers such as John McDouall Stuart, Ernest Giles, Augustus Gregory, and Peter Warburton, who returned alive, were almost forgotten.

From this colonial experience, the central Australian deserts entered into the national culture, first as a site of danger, madness, and death, later as a source of adventure stories, then as a remote area of no economic worth. However, during the twentieth century, this judgment was overturned by a new source of wealth, tourism, leading to a revisionist attitude towards the desert. Today most visitors travel there in comfort to view the iconic landmarks of Uluru (Ayers Rock) and Kata Tjuta (the Olgas), but some, influenced perhaps by their encounter with Aboriginal culture, find in the desert a place of spiritual renewal. Aboriginal writer Ruby Langford described her first visit to Uluru in these terms:

It was like a huge animal that was asleep in the middle of nowhere . . . I could feel the goosebumps and the skin tightening at the back of my neck . . . It made me think of our tribal beginnings . . . Time was suddenly shortened to include all of history in the present, and it was stretched to a way of seeing the earth that was thousands of years old.⁴⁶

In the case of Robyn Davidson's 2,700-kilometre trek in 1977 across Australia's Western Desert from Alice Springs to the Indian Ocean with a dog and four camels, physical challenge and mystical experience coalesced. Her book *Tracks*, and the subsequent film, stimulated a neo-Romantic cult of the desert, especially amongst women, as a space for enlightenment and self-discovery. Davidson's description of her first view of Uluru expresses this mystique:

And then I saw the thing. I was thunderstruck. I could not believe that blue form was real. It floated and mesmerized and shimmered and looked too big. It was indescribable . . . All the tourists in the world could not destroy it, it was too immense, too forceful, too ancient to be corruptible.⁴⁷

Later, accompanied by an Aboriginal elder, she gradually divested herself of material concerns, immersing herself in the spirit of the desert:

⁴⁶ Ruby Langford, *Don't Take Your Love to Town* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1988), p. 234.

⁴⁷ Robyn Davidson, *Tracks* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 131.

The self in a desert becomes more and more like the desert. It has to, to survive. It becomes limitless, with its roots more in the subconscious than the conscious . . . it becomes more concerned with realities related to survival. But as is its nature, it desperately wants to assimilate and make sense of the information it receives . . . translated into the language of mysticism.⁴⁸

Recent Challengers

By the late twentieth century, it was no longer possible to be the first to ‘conquer’ a desert and the focus changed to discovering a new, more difficult route involving maximum endurance.

In 1972 Geoffrey Moorhouse, an English journalist with no prior experience of deserts, camels, navigation, or Arabic languages, set out on a 3,600-mile journey across ‘the great Sahara Desert from west to east, by myself and by camel. No one had made such a journey before.’⁴⁹ His ‘primary aim . . . was not to explore the extremity of human experience . . . but to examine the bases of my fear’, ‘that fearful void’.⁵⁰ After five months of gruelling hardships, he was forced to abandon the Journey, still 2,000 miles from his destination, but having reached two of his goals – Tombouctou and Tamarasset (the refuge of French priest and mystic Charles de Foucauld). Grinding toil, exhaustion, and a continual fear and distrust of his Arab companions coloured his response to the desert. ‘All I could feel was agony, suffering, pain, mindlessness, endlessness, futility . . . I was scarcely recognisable as a human being . . . I wondered whether I had forfeited a little of my soul to the desert – maybe the greater part of it.’⁵¹

By contrast, the motivation for British army officer Charles Blackmore’s engagement with the notorious Taklamakan Desert, known as ‘the Sea of Death’, was the drive to ‘find a spot in the world . . . sufficiently remote to be hailed as breaking the last frontiers of exploration’.⁵² Determined to make the most difficult crossing, he eschewed the oases on the old silk routes to north and south, insisting on traversing the 1,250 kilometres from west to east

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 193.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Fearful Void* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), Kindle edn, loc. 60.

⁵⁰ Ibid., locs. 286, 93.

⁵¹ Ibid., loc. 3731.

⁵² Charles Blackmore, *Conquering the Desert of Death: Across the Taklamakan* (London: Tauris Parke, 2008), p. 7.

through the middle of the desert. After frustrating delays negotiating with Chinese officials, his party set off in 1993 on this exhausting journey, with men and camels toiling up the steep dunes and stumbling off the ridges. Striding ahead of his party, Blackmore recorded, in the trope of the colonial explorers bent on subduing a 'female' land, his triumph at being, as he believed, the first to set foot there. 'No one had seen it before: it was mine. I was its conqueror and my footsteps would strip the virginity from the ruffled layers of sand that stretched unbroken and pure in front of me.'⁵³

Deserts have continued to offer challenges. In 2012, inspired by Thesiger's journey, Alastair Humphreys and Leon McCarron, unable to afford camels, trudged across the Empty Quarter hauling a steel cart with their supplies, and in 2015, British explorer Mark Evans, accompanied by two Omanis and a Bedouin, set out to retrace Bertram Thomas's 1,300-kilometre journey. Today's travellers, equipped with navigation devices and modern technology, and favoured by more frequent way-stations, can never fully experience the challenges of their predecessors, but deserts, with their harsh physical conditions and visual emptiness, are still perceived as offering a liminal space between the materialism and comforts of Western culture and the possibility of spiritual revelation through physical deprivation. For those oppressed by the materialism, competitiveness, crowds, and stress of Western culture, deserts with their stark beauty, their solitude, space, and silence continue to offer the challenge of intense experience and the alluring promise of spiritual enlightenment.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Travel Writing and Rivers

ROBERT BURROUGHS

From the bed of the Yangtze River at the harbour of Fuling in the Chongqing province of China, protrudes Baiheliang, the 'White Crane Ridge'. Inscribed on this sandstone monolith over more than 1,200 years, words and pictures form 'a vivid record of the river's life'.¹ Hydrological annotations, first taking the form of engraved fish eyes, chart low-water levels since 763 CE, the time of the Tang dynasty. Baiheliang is one of the earth's oldest records of travellers' inscriptions of rivers. Engraved on it are not only practical, navigational measures, but also musings on nature and human existence. With a poignant irony to which I shall return later in this chapter, one set of dramatic carvings associates the Yangtze with infinity: 'The River Runs Forever'.²

Whereas the mythographer Roland Barthes could declare of the sea 'that it bears no message', updating the centuries-old depiction of the oceans as 'chaos, undifferentiation, timelessness, and abstraction', rivers serve as guides to the human histories and cultures that have harnessed and been channelled by them.³ Fresh water sustains life and invigorates mythologies.⁴ Rivers foster innumerable traditions, legends, rituals, and poetics. Mythic channels leading to the underworld, or springing from paradise, recur in various societies. So too do anthropocentric symbols of the river as a highway, a journey, a healer, and as time itself. Particular rivers have been individually characterised (the Mississippi as 'Ol' Man River', for instance, or 'Father Thames')

¹ Peter Hessler, *River Town: Two Years on the Yangtze* (London: John Murray, 2001), p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³ Quotations from Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972), p. 112; Christopher L. Connery, 'There was No More Sea: The Supersession of the Ocean, from the Bible to Cyberspace', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2006), 494–511 (at p. 505).

⁴ Christopher L. Connery, 'The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary', in Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayke (eds.), *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 284–311 (at p. 290).

or deified (the Potamoi of Greek mythology, or the Ganga).⁵ They have given shape to national and regional identities, and to writers' careers. For Amelia B. Edwards, venturing beyond the limits of 'Cook's tourist' by reaching the second cataract of the Nile, and by means of a *dahabeeyah* not a steamship, established her sense of the magnitude of ancient Egyptian history and with it her credentials as an Egyptologist.⁶ Mark Twain's reputation was forged on his chronicling of the Mississippi, on the banks of which he had grown up.⁷

While their ubiquitous usage as metaphors, symbols, and characters means that writing about rivers flows over many literary genres, not least poetry, this chapter examines non-fictional accounts of real journeys. In modern travel writing, as in fiction and poetry, there is a strong undertow pulling writers towards metaphoric interpretations of riverine experience. However, the documentary origins of this genre mean that it tends to look beyond symbolic meanings towards the social, political, and environmental forces that carve a river's 'imaginative life'.⁸ In the following section I give instances of travel writing's contribution to the cultural and social currents by which rivers attain their shared and individual meanings. In the final section I examine this process in greater depth by focusing on two pressing concerns in recent travel writing, namely 'extreme' physical pursuits and environmental degradation.

The following discussion ranges over waterways, continents, and centuries, but is necessarily selective. I have prioritised some of the major rivers, though clearly experiences of and writing about these differ markedly from smaller channels. More attention might have been paid to the upper Thames, for example, which has, since Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat: To Say Nothing of the Dog* (1889), hosted a tradition of rather twee skiff narratives consolidating an image of genteel England.⁹ Even relatively minor waterways have deep histories and emotional soundings, as proven by Alice Oswald's long poem *Dart* (2002), and by Olivia Laing's narrative of

⁵ Nick Middleton, *Rivers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2012), chap. 2; Wyman Herendeen, *The River and the Myth of Geography* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1986).

⁶ Amelia B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, 2nd edn (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1891), p. 1. See Patricia O'Neil, 'Destination as Destiny: Amelia B. Edwards's Travel Writing', *Frontiers* 30.2 (2009), 43–71.

⁷ Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1883); Thomas Ruys Smith, "'The Mississippi was a Virgin Field': Reconstructing the River before Mark Twain, 1865–1875', *Mark Twain Journal*, 53/2 (2015), 24–66.

⁸ Ruys Smith, 'Reconstructing the River', p. 56.

⁹ See also Robert Gibbins, *Sweet Thames Run Softly* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1945).

a walking tour of the River Ouse, *To The River: A Journey Beneath the Surface* (2011). One of the remaining tasks of literary and cultural studies is to connect literary rivers, their 'imaginative lives', in all their individuality and whether grand or small, to one another and to the larger systems of water to which they belong. In seeking to understand the challenges of such a project, the following section begins by comparing cultural constructions of rivers and oceans.

'The natural highways of all nations'

In the twenty-first century, seas and oceans have come to the fore of literary and cultural studies, promising the advent of a 'blue humanities'. The new 'Oceanic Studies' speak to 'unbounded examples' of transnational 'relatedness', distinct from 'landlocked' 'methodologies of the nation and the post-nation', in the words of Hester Blum.¹⁰ Rivers have attracted less attention, perhaps because of their affiliation with society on land. Historically rivers have been more individuated by circumscribed projects of empire, nation, and self than have the oceans, in particular, the *mare liberum* beyond sovereignty. According to Nick Middleton, 'no less than three-quarters of the world's international boundaries follow rivers for at least part of their course'.¹¹ Rivers do of course traverse national boundaries. The Danube, which has freedom of international navigation much like the high seas, is celebrated as a cradle of art, literature, and philosophy in works such as Claudio Magris's *Danube* (1989).¹² But rivers also define peoples, their changing physical properties helping to create cultural differences between neighbouring peoples. As borders, rivers give shape to the 'imagined community' of the nation and its cultural and political divisions, just as people have named and defined rivers.¹³ Having served both as a fulcrum of civil war and in 'help[ing] to foster a nascent sense of reunion', for example, the history of the Mississippi demonstrates that rivers can simultaneously define inclusive and separatist national identities.¹⁴ Travellers on this river navigate their place in

¹⁰ Hester Blum, 'The Prospect of Oceanic Studies', *PMLA*, 125/3 (2010), 670–7 (at p. 671). See also John R. Gillis, 'The Blue Humanities', *Humanities*, 34/3 (2013), www.neh.gov/humanities/2013/mayjune/feature/the-blue-humanities.

¹¹ Middleton, *Rivers*, p. 54.

¹² Middleton, *Rivers*, p. 69. See also Nick Thorpe, *The Danube* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁴ Ruys Smith, 'Reconstructing the River', pp. 24, 40.

these competing visions long after their original political impetus has subsided, as I shall discuss.

In 1849 Henry David Thoreau mused that rivers ‘must have been the guides which conducted the footsteps of the first travellers’. For those who live near them they provide a constant ‘lure’ to ‘distant enterprise and adventure’. They are then for Thoreau ‘the natural highways of all nations’. However, the faraway enticements that Thoreau proceeds to detail, ‘the most interesting scenery, the most populous portions of the globe’, and the sites ‘where the animal and vegetable kingdoms attain their greatest perfection’ are all terrestrial, as opposed to maritime, destinations.¹⁵ These comments are instructive, for it is as guides to the nation or region, and as servants to human enterprise, that travel writing has usually inscribed rivers. Throughout colonial times and beyond it, the Ganga (or Ganges), for example, has been an emblem of ‘Eternal India, exotic land of spirituality, poverty, and death, its essence untouched by the modern world’.¹⁶ If occasionally punctured by the danger of Thuggees or by rites deemed offensive, colonial travellers deployed a rhetoric of the ‘picturesque’ Ganga which fixed in time and generalised Indian culture as an aesthetically pleasing and even moving backdrop to European progress.¹⁷ More recent travel discourses on India’s most sacred river – Ganga is both the name of the river and its deity – continue to describe its divine meanings and purifying powers, while examining these critically in the face of social inequality, or industrial pollution and other environmental threats. Julian Crandall Hollick, for instance, frames his journey with two questions capturing a ‘paradox’: ‘How can Indians pollute Ganga yet at the same time worship her as a goddess? How can so many millions take a “holy dip” every morning to wash away their sins in a river that is polluted by so much waste, both human and industrial?’¹⁸ As with other observers, Hollick’s travels reveal to him not the answers to these questions but a sense of their inadequacies, and the

¹⁵ Henry David Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1911), p. 9.

¹⁶ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 24.

¹⁷ Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim, in Search of the Picturesque, during Four-and-Twenty Years in the East; With Revelations of Life in the Zenana*, 2 vols. (London: Pelham Richardson, 1850), vol. 1, pp. 91–5; Honoria Lawrence, ‘Letter to a Friend’ (1980), in Assa Dorm, Richard Barz, and Barbara Nelson (eds.), *An Anthology of Writing on the Ganga: Goddess and River in History, Culture and Society* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 70–8; E.B. Havell, ‘On the Ganges’ (1905), in Dorm, Barz, and Nelson (eds.), *Writing on the Ganga*, pp. 79–84.

¹⁸ Julian Crandall Hollick, *Ganga: A Journey Down the Ganges River* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2008), p. 1.

complexities that underlie the apparent paradox. Still, modern travellers tend to share their colonial-era forebears' expectation that the river can be a guide to broad, national questions and characteristics.

Where the Ganga has been viewed by travellers in terms of sacred traditions, other rivers and riverine populations have been assumed to lack cultural inscription prior to the arrival of Westerners. Travellers have charged themselves with making sense of these uncharted waters. Typically such writings emerge from contexts of empire, first taking the form of exploration narratives. The Amazon has an especially long history of such voyages, dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ Exploration of the African interior in the nineteenth century, a prelude to European colonisation, similarly was achieved by river navigation. Locating the sources of the major waterways advanced European geographical knowledge, created inroads for mercantile and missionary expansion, and imposed Eurocentric traditions. By the middle of the nineteenth century the Niger was, for Britons, synonymous with a roll call of voyagers seeking its inland sources – Mungo Park, Hugh Clapperton, Richard and John Lander, and more – whose supposed dutiful sacrifice marked the region and its waters as a 'white man's grave'. Popular interest in the contest to 'discover' the sources of the Nile meant that the high-profile expeditions of Richard Francis Burton and John Hanning Speke (1857–8) and Speke and James Augustus Grant (1863) arguably outstripped the geographical significance of their findings. Livingstone's journeys along the Orange and Zambezi rivers encouraged new generations of explorers to emulate the Scottish missionary. For Henry Morton Stanley, the 'finding' of Livingstone himself was a famous accomplishment. Stanley would go on to traverse the entire continent from east to west by following the River Congo to its Atlantic destination. Stanley's expeditions also connect exploration to empire: his final work in Africa was the founding of King Leopold II of Belgium's Congo Free State.²⁰

African exploration texts are typically free of the picturesque appreciations of Ganga travellers. Late nineteenth-century voyages in particular are dominated by practical and political dangers or puzzles, though even in Park's early, Romantic-era example of the genre, aesthetic appreciation of the

¹⁹ Anthony Smith, *Explorers of the Amazon* (University of Chicago Press, 1994). See also Lesley Wylie, *Colombia's Forgiven Frontier: A Literary Geography of the Putumayo* (Liverpool University Press, 2013).

²⁰ David Lambert, *Mastering the Niger: James MacQueen's African Geography and the Struggle over Atlantic Slavery* (University of Chicago Press, 2013); Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

'majestic Niger' quickly gives way, upon its first sighting, to the scientific revelation that it flows eastwards.²¹ While Victorian Britain fostered a saintly image of Livingstone, to give another example, David and Charles Livingstone's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries* (1866) is by contrast a hard-headed, sober account of various personal challenges amid the persistence of Indian Ocean slave trafficking. Understood in geographical and navigational terms, rivers are conceived prosaically as routes and obstacles. In Stanley's self-consciously sensational quest narrative *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), the river takes on the role of an antagonist. Steering past a whirlpool at the Congo cataracts leads Stanley to contemplate the movement of water in unusual detail. His 'terrified eyes' witness 'rising . . . mounds' of liquid making a 'stunning uproar' and replaced by a 'fatal pit' which 'angrily yawned behind the stern of our boat'. Subsequent accounts of the whirlpool as it 'yawned' and 'belched' reinforce its monstrous form. In this Victorian odyssey the Congo rapids form no lesser an adversary than Charybdis.²²

Stanley's epic framework is surpassed by the Darwinian timescales of Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* (1899). Conrad had travelled up the Congo by steamship and recorded his impressions in a diary.²³ In *Heart of Darkness*, the protagonist's journey upstream on the (unnamed) river is, in one famous passage, likened to 'travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world, when vegetation rioted on the earth and the big trees were kings'. The emptiness and quiet of the 'impenetrable forest', 'warm, thick, sluggish' air, and the 'deserted' and 'gloom[y]' expanses of water 'bewitch[ed]' the traveller into an encounter with 'one's past . . . but it came in the shape of an unrestful and noisy dream, remembered with wonder amongst the overwhelming realities of this strange world of plants, and water, and silence'.²⁴ More than an adversary, in *Heart of Darkness* the river becomes symptomatic of a broader threat of degeneration through environmental conditions. As many critics argue, so too are African peoples depicted in terms of a barbarism that Conrad also associates with the (European) unconscious mind. Perhaps it is the generalising and vague nature of Conrad's descriptions

²¹ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1799; Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1858), p. 162.

²² H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent* . . . , 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros, 1878), vol. 11, pp. 395, 402. Youngs notes Stanley's debt to the classics in 'Africa/The Congo: The Politics of Darkness', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 156–73 (at p. 161).

²³ Joseph Conrad, 'Congo Diary' (1890), in Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough (1899; New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), pp. 159–66.

²⁴ Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, pp. 35–6.

of peoples and places in Central Africa which have encouraged many subsequent voyagers, in the Congo and beyond, to appropriate aspects of *Heart of Darkness*, sometimes challenging its racial bigotry even as they confirm its influence.²⁵ Conradian aesthetics overwhelm knowledge of local specificities. Of his journey to Bunce Island, in the Sierra Leone River, Caryl Phillips recalls a familiar temptation for travellers: 'I tried hard to push the word Conradian from my mind, for I understood it to be imbued with all kinds of ambiguous connotations . . . but truly this was a Conradian world that I was entering.'²⁶ By resisting the influence of Conrad, Phillips ironically echoes Conrad's sense of the river journey.

On water as on land, the prior inscription of place is central to modern travel writing, enabling dialogue across texts and contexts as travellers venture in the wake of precursors. Dominant iconographies are tested by individuals seeking to define their own journeys through their similarity to or (more often) distinction from their forebears. The Mississippi's identities were established in US travel writing primarily through the works of white men, not least the fiction and non-fiction of Mark Twain.²⁷ In *Old Glory* (1981), Jonathan Raban states his desire to experience the Mississippi, which 'is more an imaginary river than a real one', owing to his childhood fascination with *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884).²⁸ Accidentally leaving his copy of Twain's novel in a hotel room at the start of his journey proves to be not 'such a bad augury after all' but a moment of initiation: 'This was a voyage I was going to have to make alone.'²⁹ Indeed Twain's writing proves to offer no obvious guide to people and place. Raban finds that the locals do not read Twain, and observes the irony that even memory of Twain's own 'angry masterpiece', *Huckleberry Finn*, has in a sense been lost to tourism, the 'profit-making . . . sentimental kitsch' of Twain's place of origin, Hannibal, Missouri.³⁰ Even so, *Old Glory* imagines kinship with Twain, or rather his famous fictional creation, when Raban's abrupt return to the river from the

²⁵ Youngs, 'Africa/The Congo'.

²⁶ Caryl Phillips, 'Sierra Leone: Bunce Island', in *Colour Me English* (London: Harrill Secker, 2011). Quoted in Yvonne Reddick, "'This was a Conradian world that I was entering": Colonial and Postcolonial River-Journeys Beyond the Black Atlantic in Caryl Phillips's Work', *Wasafiri*, 31/3 (2016), 34–41.

²⁷ Thomas Ruys Smith, 'The Mississippi River as Site and Symbol', in Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 62–77 (pp. 70–2).

²⁸ Jonathan Raban, *Old Glory* (1981; London: Picador, 1985), p. 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 303.

sterilities of Hannibal sounds 'odd, weighty echoes of Huck Finn's escape from St. Petersburg', Twain's proxy for his childhood home.³¹

Planning his canoe journey down the Mississippi leads Eddy L. Harris, in *Mississippi Solo* (1988), to a historical perspective which stresses connection and at the same time multiplicity:

the blue line [on the map] blurs and fragments until there is more than one Mississippi River. There is the river of legend, the Father of Waters. The river of steamboats and gamblers. The river flowing with tears and sweat of slaves. I can hear the beating of Indian drums and the singing of slaves resting in the shade of plantation willows on the banks of the old man river.³²

In his 'river quest' Harris ponders his place in a history of unlike experience brought together by the flow of water. His repeating personification of the river as a father and his emulation of Ernest Hemingway (not a renowned Mississippi traveller) claim kinship with the 'river of legend'. Numerous passages of *Mississippi Solo* update traditional representations 'of rugged and capable masculinity' exemplified by Twain's evocation of the steamboat pilot.³³ In one episode Harris places himself in this tradition by successfully racing in his canoe against a sailboat captain.³⁴ As a black American, however, Harris is also forced to confront the racist grounds on which he might be barred from the river's traditions, when, in a moment of ill-judged humour, an otherwise sociable interlocutor calls him 'River Nigger'.³⁵

The merging of personal and cultural histories is again poignantly rehearsed in another record of Mississippi travel, Mary Morris's *The River Queen: A Memoir* (2007). Exploring both the river and her feelings towards her recently deceased father, Morris arrives at Hannibal. She seeks to verify her father's claim to have once lived next door to the house in which Twain was raised. Much of the town is given over to Twain tourism, and her father's house no longer stands. As in so many other respects, the legend of the famous author threatens to blot out alternative viewpoints on the river, as well as Morris's family past. However, in the gift shop Morris discovers a photograph of Twain from 1902, the time of his final return to Hannibal, in the margins of which her father's house is discernible. From within the

³¹ Ibid., p. 308.

³² Eddy L. Harris, *Mississippi Solo: A River Quest* (New York: Nick Lyons, 1988), pp. 7–8.

³³ Ruys Smith, 'Reconstructing the River', p. 24.

³⁴ Harris, *Mississippi Solo*, pp. 106–10.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 70. See also Harris's *Native Stranger: A Black American's Journey into the Heart of Africa* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

'Mark Twain theme park' the traveller restores personal history: 'I know that my father walked here. He stood on this street and looked at the river.'³⁶ Perhaps unwittingly, Morris writes truly in the spirit of Twain, whose account of his own return to Hannibal in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) explores memory and loss. Twain came back as if a ghost, 'one who returns out of a dead-and-gone generation', and spends his time rather like Morris, 'recognizing and metaphorically shaking hands with a hundred familiar objects which no longer exist'.³⁷

Perilous Journeys and Environmental Dangers

As Steve Mentz observes of maritime travel, while humans have sought to profit from the efficiency of waterborne travel, human bodies cannot long endure submersion in water. For Mentz, these two conflicting points establish the corpus of literary sea voyages around risk and exhilaration.³⁸ Such feelings are at the forefront of many accounts of river journeys as well, above all in the numerous canoeing narratives published in the twentieth century, of which *Mississippi Solo* is an example.³⁹ Whether at sea or on rivers, however, the word 'exhilaration' might be inapt should we consider dangerous journeys that have been forced upon travellers. The former slaves Olaudah Equiano and Samuel Ajayi Crowther would, in 1789 and 1841, respectively, describe the Niger riverine system as a portal 'into another world' generating feelings of awe, astonishment, and also familial loss, cultural dislocation, and suicidal despair.⁴⁰ Many of the forced migrations in world history involve travel on water, though first-hand accounts are rare. The desire to reimagine these many lost journeys is one defining aspect of postcolonial travel writing.⁴¹

³⁶ Mary Morris, *The River Queen: A Memoir* (New York: Picador, 2007), p. 189.

³⁷ Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, p. 524.

³⁸ Steve Mentz, 'The Sea', in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 454–63 (at p. 454).

³⁹ Classic canoeing narratives include John Graves, *Goodbye to a River: A Narrative* (1959; New York: Vintage, 2002). Twenty-first-century additions to the subgenre include Kira Salak, *The Cruellest Journey: 600 Miles by Canoe to the Legendary City of Timbuktu* (London: Bantam, 2005); Jennifer Kingsley, *Paddlenorth: Adventure, Resilience, and Renewal in the Arctic Wild* (Vancouver: Greystone, 2015).

⁴⁰ Samuel Crowther, 'The Narrative of Samuel Ajayi Crowther', ed. J.F.A. Ajayi, in Philip Curtin (ed.), *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 298–316 (p. 309); Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*, ed. Werner Sollors (1789; New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), chap. 2.

⁴¹ See Reddick, "'This was a Conradian world'".

Danger has long been important to many voluntary journeys on rivers, too. Tales of adversity entice readers with sensational scenes of prowess, bravery, and sacrifice. According to Margaret Cohen, the travel genre (and subsequently prose fiction itself) emerges out of ‘remarkable occurrences’, particularly mishaps, as recorded in ships’ logs.⁴² Carl Thompson highlights the centrality of the suffering traveller to Romanticism, and a romanticised yearning to escape the trappings of industrialised society features in accounts of river adventure.⁴³ Harris, for one, views his journey as an antidote to modern life which has been ‘Computerized, mechanized, itemized, formalized, and most dangerously, standardized’.⁴⁴ In other writings, however, travellers suffer in pursuit of wealth, empire, and fame. Stanley’s *Through the Dark Continent* is an example of colonial travail. The Congo cataracts that Stanley described in Homeric terms claimed the life of Frank Pocock, Stanley’s deputy. Pocock is represented as an ideal English coloniser-in-the-making whose most brazen request to the Welsh-American Stanley is that he and his fellow deputies be allowed to ‘make a small British flag to hoist above our tent, and over our canoe on the lakes’.⁴⁵ Marking his place in a pantheon of fallen explorers, reportage of Pocock’s death imagines Britain’s stake in Africa to be pitched on virtuous self-sacrifice.

Eighty years or so after Stanley, the *Traveler’s Guide to the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi* (1956) spelled out the explorer’s connection between the *Odyssey* and the Congo cataracts in its account of ‘Hell’s Cauldron, the formidable whirlpool immediately below Matadi, compared with which Charybdis and Scylla are insignificant’. No longer regarded as a formidable opponent, however, their significance is as an ‘attraction’ which proves ‘thrilling’.⁴⁶ In its modern forms, ‘extreme’ travel can view the obstacles posed by riverine travel as the goal of the journey, rather than a means to other ends. Peter Fleming’s *Brazilian Adventure* (1933) marks a transition between purposefulness and pleasure. Fleming signed up to an expedition to relieve Percy Fawcett, a British colonel lost in the Amazon rainforest. As the mission descended into farcical in-fighting and failure, Fleming’s narrative takes the form of a race back downriver against the expedition

⁴² Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 66–72.

⁴³ Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

⁴⁴ Harris, *Mississippi Solo*, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. 11, p. 402, vol. 1, p. 49.

⁴⁶ Tourist Bureau for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, *Traveler’s Guide to the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi*, 2nd edn (Brussels: Information and Public Relations Bureau, 1956), p. 644.

leader, in which little more than his own pride is at stake. The ‘achievement’ of winning the race rather heroically against the odds is both ‘intrinsically valueless’ and ‘absolutely satisfying’.⁴⁷

Fleming is at pains to query popular reportage of ‘the Terrors of the Jungle’.⁴⁸ Usually, however, literary accounts of ‘extreme’ journeys tend to prioritise physical risk and endurance, sometimes at the expense of historical and cultural insights or personal reflection. Phil Harwood’s account of the ‘first source-to-sea descent’ of the Congo acknowledges somewhat superficially his repeating Stanley’s journey.⁴⁹ Harwood graciously concedes that a rival work, Tim Butcher’s *Blood River: A Journey to Africa’s Broken Heart* (2008), is the more substantially researched alternative to his own book: ‘Indeed I wish I could write like that’.⁵⁰ Still, Harwood’s account of his canoe romp reinforces the association of ‘extreme’ journeying with particular parts of the globe where extremity is tied to Eurocentric notions of geographical remoteness and cultural dissimilarity as well as to war, and political and environmental instability. In their marketing, in particular, these books somewhat awkwardly conflate dangers of the natural world and the political sphere as if these are all part of the same experience whose coexistence need not be explained or considered in depth. As Harwood declared in one publicity statement:

The Congo has suffered horribly throughout its history, and due to generations of foreign exploitation, political instability, corruption and civil war, not to mention a prevalence of crocodiles, hippos, waterfalls and huge rapids, the river seems to have been given a wide berth. But if you’re looking for a true adventure travel destination, then look no further – the Congo has it all!⁵¹

Given that this form of travel often depends on rivers retaining their natural wildness, however, contemporary narratives of canoe voyages have observed changing natural and environmental conditions, including

⁴⁷ Peter Fleming, *Brazilian Adventure* (1933; London: Jonathan Cape, 1984), p. 363.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Phil Harwood, *Canoeing the Congo: The First Source-to-Sea Descent of the Congo River* (Chichester: Summersdale, 2013).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁵¹ Phil Harwood, ‘Canoeing the Entire Congo River . . . and Living to Tell the Tale’, *Guardian*, 27 January 2012. In truth, as the *Traveler’s Guide to the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi* of 1956 suggests, there is a long history of tourist travel on the Congo – often pitched in terms of its own ‘extremeness’. For earlier examples, see Stephen Donovan, ‘Touring in Extremis: Travel and Adventure in the Congo’, in Tim Youngs (ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), pp. 37–54.

ecological diversity. In modern river narratives problems of pollution become unavoidable, as testified to by Harris while drifting through miles of 'foamy scum' around the mouth of the Arkansas River.⁵² As noted previously, human and industrial pollution has become key to the topoi of Ganga travel, posing problems for the traveller seeking to marvel at the river's sacred power or its picturesque beauty. Yet more immersed in the problem of pollution than the canoe journey is the swimmer's narrative. Roger Deakin's *Waterlog: A Swimmer's Journey through Britain* (1999) is one of the first books to explore the trend for wild swimming in the UK. In it, personal intimacy with water and observations on the human shaping of nature are wedded. Deakin's decision to swim in the natural waterways of Britain is motivated by a good-humoured but heartfelt wish to evade the sterilities of mainstream English society. His is a powerful ode to the art of travelling to find new vantage points – in this case the perspective from close to the surface of water. While he is mainly in search of natural or historic sites, there are moments of invective against river management. The rerouting of the River Lark in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, into 'an outsized concrete canyon' to safeguard a Tesco carpark is a 'public humiliation' over which Deakin weeps.⁵³ *Waterlog* belongs to a tradition of 'Swimming as transcendental experience – a spiritual, originary, mystical, or purifying exercise . . . corresponding in the West exactly to the high period of industrial capitalism', and to its romanticised rejection.⁵⁴ Deakin explores the sensuality of water, as well as the physical vulnerability which he shares with natural waterways: 'When you swim, you feel your body for what it mostly is – water – and it begins to move with the water around it.' Wild swimming places the traveller 'in nature, part and parcel of it'.⁵⁵

Deakin, though, seems to be less comfortably merged in the social body. As with many other nineteenth- and twentieth-century representations of aquatic recreation, *Waterlog* rejects popular pastimes in favour of privileged absorption in the natural world.⁵⁶ Dipping in his own private moat, he notes: 'It certainly beat Phil Collins over the PA at the swimming pool.'⁵⁷ While the final third of his book explores Deakin's serious reflections on his attempts at

⁵² Harris, *Mississippi Solo*, p. 212. See also Graves, *Goodbye to a River*.

⁵³ Roger Deakin, *Waterlog: A Swimmer's Journey through Britain* (London: Vintage, 2000), pp. 67, 68.

⁵⁴ Connery, 'Oceanic Feeling', pp. 294–5.

⁵⁵ Deakin, *Waterlog*, pp. 3–4.

⁵⁶ See Connery, 'Oceanic Feeling', p. 293; Allan Sekula, *Fish Story* (Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 2002), p. 108.

⁵⁷ Deakin, *Waterlog*, p. 73.

an extreme, dangerous swim, the spectacle of a gang of motorbikers perilously diving (without their bikes) from a bridge at Ingleton, North Yorkshire, which he witnesses in one of his few forays to the north of England, is a comic interlude, if ultimately 'inspiring'.⁵⁸ With its interest in the natural world directed by an understandable avoidance of swimming in unclean waters, *Waterlog* could be called a neo-Victorian travelogue, reimagining British waters on nineteenth-century terms 'around . . . simple attractions: the beach, the bathing, a spot of fossil hunting'.⁵⁹ It locates its futures, if anywhere, in an imagined Arcadia that rewards personal isolation with nature.

For the majority of travellers, the problems facing natural waterways cannot be so easily escaped. Throughout many parts of the world, rivers are subject to industrial-scale projects of irrigation, channelling, redirection, and damming. 'In Europe today', observes Middleton in 2012, 'almost 80% of the total discharge of the continent's major rivers is affected by measures designed to regulate flow, whether for drinking water supply, hydroelectric power generation, flood control, or any other reason.'⁶⁰ The many side-effects of mass human exploitation include problems of runoff and erosion, and pollution by chemical and other contaminants (not least sewage), prompting conservation projects and environmental schemes. Management of rivers has had several escalating adverse effects, ranging from threats to native species of fish and the blossoming of toxic algae to resettlement of human populations and flooding. The construction of reservoirs and dams along the upper reaches of China's Yellow River and the USA's Colorado River have challenged their ability to reach the sea, starving the North Pacific and the Gulf of California of fresh water and sediment.⁶¹ Levels of salt, oxygen, and temperature all are thought to have been altered by river-damming on modern, industrial scales. Fresh water is an increasingly prized and unequally distributed resource. In some parts of the world droughts are expected to increase owing to human-induced global warming. Conflict over access across and within national borders is predicted to escalate in future. Cleansing and basic sustenance must be balanced against disposal of waste and the by-products of other human activities. Perhaps the pervasive image of the river as a 'highway', as used by Thoreau and others, has helped encourage blindness to the vulnerability of waterways to human activity, and to the connection between rivers and all other water. In industrialised

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁶⁰ Middleton, *Rivers*, p. 84.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 100.

areas, seldom do rivers run the colour of the 'blue humanities'. Intimately connected to economic development in the Global South, particularly the booms in Brazil and India, rivers can guide travel writers and readers alike to confront the murkier waters in which ecocritical and postcolonial sensitivities meet.

This last point leads me to return to Baiheliang in the Fuling River, and a most insightful river travel book. Published on the eve of the construction of the Three Gorges Dam, Peter Hessler's *River Town: Two Years on the Yangtze* (2001) observes life before the displacement of communities, the submersion of landscapes and landmarks – the latter including Baiheliang – and the transformation of a flowing river into 'all that stagnant water'.⁶² A century before Hessler, Isabella Bird had complained on her approach to Chongqing (which she transliterated as 'chung-king') that 'the rush of the fast-rising river carried us all too swiftly past much that was worthy of observation', but nonetheless paused her relentlessly factual narrative for relatively unusual descriptions of the region in its 'infinite picturesqueness'.⁶³ Today, Baiheliang is housed 30 metres below the Yangtze's surface in China's first underwater museum, with some of its carvings removed to the Three Gorges Museum in Chongqing.⁶⁴ By Hessler's own measurement, the river had risen just two inches in the 1,234 years between its first recording and his visit in 1996.⁶⁵ *River Town* is now curiously akin to Baiheliang (and to Bird's *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* of 1899) as a testament to a flooded culture, and in 2013 Hessler updated his own part in this story in the pages of *National Geographic*. Travel writing as a genre is prone to wistfulness and the desire to record endangered cultures, and this is reflected in some writings about rivers, such as Harris's descriptions of the 'enslaved' Mississippi, Twain's recollections of the steamboat era, or Deakin's lament for the Lark.⁶⁶ Whereas most other narratives featured in this chapter describe journeys along rivers, *River Town* is primarily an account of residence beside a river, of careful observation of its passage, and of the peoples who live near it. Hessler's spell in residence affects his perspective. His is an even-handed assessment of the cost of

⁶² Hessler, *River Town*, p. 124.

⁶³ Mrs J. F. Bishop (Isabella L. Bird), *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (London: John Murray, 1899), pp. 481, 485. See also p. 501.

⁶⁴ See Peter Hessler, 'Return to River Town', *National Geographic*, March 2013, <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2013/03/fuling-china/hessler-text>.

⁶⁵ Hessler, *River Town*, p. 94.

⁶⁶ Harris, *Mississippi Solo*, p. 57.

'progress' as measured by the Chinese with whom he speaks, in which the fate of the Yangtze signals the direction of the nation in the wake of the Cultural Revolution. If 'the river runs forever', according to one inscription on Baiheliang, then human interventions irrevocably can change its flow, and with it the course of history.

Travel and Mountains

AMRITA DHAR

Human attainment of the highest summit of our planet came after centuries of regarding mountains as desolate and forbidding locations, with whole cultures attributing to them danger, or divinity, or both. In the mid twentieth century, the momentum of several decades of mountaineering energy came together with technology, strategy, and international relations to make human presence possible at the top of the mountain called Chomolungma (in Tibet), Sagarmatha (in Nepal), and Everest (elsewhere). Summitteer Tenzing Norgay later recalled the view from the summit:

Around us on every side, were the great Himalayas, stretching away through Nepal and Tibet. For the closer peaks . . . you now had to look sharply downward to see their summits. And, farther away, the whole sweep of the greatest range on earth – even Kangchenjunga itself – seemed only like little bumps under the spreading sky. It was such a sight as I had never seen before and would never see again – wild, wonderful, terrible. But terror was not what I felt. I loved the mountains too well for that. I loved Everest too well. At that great moment for which I had waited all my life my mountain did not seem to me a lifeless thing of rock and ice, but warm and friendly and living.¹

Norgay, who lived and died an unlettered man, tells his story with an unmistakable directness in the narrative recorded by James Ullman with the help of Norgay's friend and interpreter Rabindranath Mitra.² The slipperiness of reported testimony notwithstanding, we cannot ignore the charge of sharp details like the ambiance of the mountainous Sherpa heartland, Solu-Khumbu, before Nepal admitted Western travellers,

¹ Tenzing Norgay, with James Ramsey Ullman, *Man of Everest* (1955; London: Reprint Society, 1956), pp. 265–6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 300–2. Later in life, Norgay would work with Malcolm Barnes to author another book, *After Everest: An Autobiography* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977).

Norgay's boyhood stint in a monastery, and the uses of yaks for pack and meat and blood within Sherpa communities as he was growing up. This chapter takes *Man of Everest* as a representative text, for at its heart is the turn of a sensibility: when the stakes of mountain travel were enlarged in heretofore unimagined ways. It became ever more possible to think not only of the summit but of different routes to it, and of traversing creatively the valleys and the passes linking them.

Mountaineering has been called the most literary of all sports.³ Norgay is astutely self-reflexive about the written word:

It may seem strange, but one thing I have many of is books. As a boy I never saw one, except, perhaps, as some rare thing in a monastery; but since I have been a man and gone on expeditions I have heard and learned much about them. Many men I have climbed and travelled with have written books. They have sent them to me, and though I cannot read them myself, word by word, I understand what they say, and they mean much to me. Now it means much to have my own book. A book, I think, is what a man has been and done in his life; and this one is mine. Here is my story. Here is myself.⁴

Other mountaineers would agree about mountain travel's exceptional suitedness for narrative. Albert Mummery admits in his preface to *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus* (1895) that 'Fate decrees that the mountaineer should, sooner or later, fall a victim to the *furor scribendi*' (a piercing need to write).⁵ Katie Ives of *Alpinist* magazine notes perceptively that 'Beneath the history of mountaineering, a steady, shimmering current ran of great books generating adventures – some of which, it seemed, would always give rise to more great books.'⁶ Cognisant of the inter-animation between mountain travel and writing, this chapter will present a select survey of mountain travel literature. In closing, it will offer three examples that make us question the line between travel and belonging, and whose insight and literary innovation invite us to extend our imagination into high places, involving fresh registers of engagement that encompass ecological thinking and global decolonisation.

³ Bruce Barcott, 'Accidents in North American Mountaineering 1995', *Harper's Magazine*, 1 August 1996, p. 65.

⁴ Norgay, *Man of Everest*, p. 22.

⁵ Albert Mummery, *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), p. vii.

⁶ Katie Ives, 'The Sharp End', *Alpinist*, 42 (2013), 11–12, www.alpinist.com/doc/ALP42/42-11-sharp-end.

Mountain Travel as Metaphor

There are many purposes of mountain travel: religion, art, commerce, service, exploration, science, sport, dreams of empire or apologies for it, but one stands out: the quest for encounter with the self. The activated power of the mountain metaphor, accommodating aspiration, inspiration, introspection, and quest, has been deployed, among others, by Isaiah in the Bible: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it.'⁷ Elsewhere, the Tang dynasty poet Po Chü-i (772–846 CE) wrote, blending the material and the metaphorical, about 'Climbing to the Top of Incense Burner Peak':

But till one plumbs the limits of sight and hearing,
how to know the vastness of this universe,
where Yangtze's stream is thin as a strand of rope
and P'en Town littler than my palm?⁸

Another legendary poet, Hán Shān, to whom is ascribed a remarkable collection of mountain-recluse poems in the Taoist and Chan traditions, is credited with comparable moments of clarity and longing.

I have lived at Cold Mountain
these thirty long years.
Yesterday I called on friends and family:
More than half had gone to the Yellow Springs . . .
Now, morning, I face my lone shadow:
Suddenly my eyes are bleared with tears.⁹

In Europe, at the height of the Italian Renaissance, Petrarch wrote about reading Saint Augustine on Mont Ventoux as a record of spiritual search (*Epistolae Familiares*, 1v.1). John Donne, writing in the social, religious, and intellectual turmoil of late sixteenth-century England, asserted a place for Truth 'On a huge hill / Cragged and steep' ('Satyre 3'). A similar spiritual yearning animates Matsuo Bashō, the seventeenth-century Japanese poet, on Mount Kazuraki:

⁷ Isaiah 2:2.

⁸ Po Chü-i, *Selected Poems*, trans. Robert Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 90.

⁹ Hán Shān, *Cold Mountain Poems: Twenty-Four Poems*, trans. Gary Snyder, 2nd edn (San Francisco: Press-22, 1972), poem 10.

God of this mountain,
 May you be kind enough
 To show me your face
 Among the dawning blossoms?¹⁰

In subsequent periods, for English-speaking readerships, the association between mountains and journeys of self-knowledge would surface in the literary representations of mountains in the Romantic work of mountain travellers and poets like Samuel Taylor Coleridge ('Hymn before Sun-Rise, in the Vale of Chamouni'), John Keats ('Lines written in the Highlands after visiting the Burns Country'), and Percy Bysshe Shelley ('Mont Blanc: Lines Written in the Vale of Chamouni'). This tradition continued in the United States of America in the post-Romantic work of poets like Walt Whitman ('Song of Myself', particularly sections 10, 21, and 33 of the 1867 version of 'Walt Whitman', as the poem was then named), Edna St Vincent Millay ('Renaissance'), Al Young ('The Mountains of California: Part I'), and Evie Shockley ('her table mountain'). In the twentieth century, the Black Mountain poets such as Larry Eigner, Charles Olson, and Denise Levertov wrote nature lyrics as exercises in acute observation, and David Budbill, in conscious imitation of Hán Shān, recreated the mountain-sojourn become home in poems such as 'I Am Still Here Because for Example': 'On a summer morning when I step out . . . and the purple finches sing their intense and liquid songs . . . then I know why, after thirty years, I still live among these mountains far from the city.'¹¹

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century mountain travellers, unlike Petrarch, may not look any more for pious morals around heights. To Colin Thubron approaching Kailash in Tibet, for instance, mountain travel enabled a dissection of the very premise of travel and the traveller's acknowledged or unacknowledged intentions. 'A journey is not a cure. It brings an illusion, only, of change . . . To ask of a journey *Why?* is to hear only my own silence.'¹² But a trace of the early spiritual imperative remains even among the most hardened of mountain wanderers. It emerges, for instance, in *Pot* ('The Path') by Nejc Zaplotnik, twentieth-century icon of Slovenian alpinism: 'A path leads nowhere but on to the next path . . . these words grew within me as I put my will and the limits of my human capabilities to the test . . .

¹⁰ Matsuo Bashō, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, trans. Nobuyuki Yuasa (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 82.

¹¹ David Budbill, *Moment to Moment: Poems of a Mountain Recluse* (1975; Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press, 1999), pp. 43–4.

¹² Colin Thubron, *To a Mountain in Tibet* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011), p. 10.

So thoroughly that I know I didn't reach them . . . Therein lies the greatness of life.¹³ Zaplotnik's desire for the unattainable, no less legitimate for knowing its impossible objective, still resonates with mountain travellers.

The kind of mountain travel that prioritises arrival at its summit is relatively new. Pursuit of the summit can also grow old quickly. Dorothy Pilley, who helped found the world's first mountaineering club established by women for women, wrote in her memoir *Climbing Days* (1935) about her earliest enchantment with mountaineering in the 1920s. Ironically, as she began training to gain the summit, her rhetoric focused increasingly on the journey itself:

It was like waking up from a half sleep with the senses cleared, the self released. It was as if I had never seen anything before to strike me as beautiful [. . . William] Wordsworth does not exaggerate at all; the hills, the cliffs, the cataracts haunt the mind that first gives itself to them 'like a passion'.¹⁴

As Pilley acknowledged, the difficulty of giving satisfactory expression to mountain experience is ever-present. Robert Macfarlane's *Mountains of the Mind* (2003) shows how what we call a mountain is 'in fact a collaboration of the physical forms of the world with the imagination of humans'. His history of our fascination with these 'contingencies of geology' underlines how wild landscapes have a tenacious hold on human imagination as places onto which we project our longings, griefs, and achievements.¹⁵ For Tenzing Norgay, on the other hand, a mountain was a matter of heart. Months after his summit of Everest,

I am back on this hill [Darjeeling's Tiger Hill, from where Everest can be seen 110 miles away] long ago, with my seven American ladies and I am remembering what I said to them. 'No, it is not that one. That is Lhotse. Nor that. That is Makalu. It is the other one. The small one.' . . . Perhaps that is a strange name for the biggest mountain on earth. But also not so strange . . . for what is Everest without the eye that sees it? It is the hearts of men that make it big or small.¹⁶

The mountains of the mind outlined by a British writer and the mountain of the heart indicated by a Sherpa mountaineer are surprisingly close to each

¹³ Translation from *Pot* (1981) by Mimi Marinsek, in Bernadette McDonald, *Alpine Warriors* (Victoria, BC: Rocky Mountain, 2015), p. 13.

¹⁴ Dorothy Pilley, *Climbing Days* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1935), p. 2.

¹⁵ Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination* (New York: Pantheon, 2003), p. 19.

¹⁶ Norgay, *Man of Everest*, p. 311.

other. Both conceptions acknowledge the human regard that makes mountains into places of rest, belonging, or challenge for their travellers. As the following brief survey shows, for most mountain travel writers, their mountains stand somewhere within that spectrum.

Motivations for Mountain Travel

For eighteenth-century travellers, Alpine heights inspired both fascination and terror. As Macfarlane notes, some even preferred to be blindfolded while crossing high Alpine passes.¹⁷ Writing from Turin on 6 January 1714, George Berkeley recalled the ‘rocks and precipices’ of Mount Cenis, which ‘at the best are high, craggy, and steep enough to cause the heart of the most valiant man to melt within him.’¹⁸ Written in 1757, Edmund Burke’s *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* includes, among instances of the sublime, the ‘noise of vast cataracts’ and ‘raging storms’, itself resonant with Joseph Addison’s assertion of the ‘agreeable horror’ to be found in a storm at sea with its ‘foaming billows and floating mountains’.¹⁹ Despite the possible sound and fury, a contemplative and deliberate immersion to a point of secular yet mystical communion continues to be one of the most recognisable forms of mountain travel. We see this in accounts from Henry David Thoreau on Katahdin in Maine, John Muir in the Sierra Nevada of California, Francis Younghusband on Aghil Pass in the Karakoram, and severally, Umapasrad Mukherjee, Prabodh Kumar Sanyal, and Sanku Maharaj in the Garhwal and Kumaun Himalayas.²⁰ Vikram Seth and Bill Aitken have documented their love affairs with particular mountain landscapes.²¹

¹⁷ Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind*, pp. 145–6.

¹⁸ *The Works of George Berkeley, Including His Letters to Thomas Prior, Dean Gervais, Mr. Pope, Etc.*, 2 vols. (London: Thomas Kegg, 1843), vol. 1, p. 18.

¹⁹ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 2nd edn (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1759), p. 151; *Spectator*, 489, 20 September 1712.

²⁰ Henry David Thoreau, ‘Ktaadn’, in *The Maine Woods*, ed. Joseph J. Moldenhauer (Princeton University Press, 1972); John Muir, *The Eight Wilderness-Discovery Books* (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 1992); Francis Younghusband, *The Heart of a Continent: A Narrative of Travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Chitral* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1896); Umapasrad Mukherjee, *Bhramana Amnibās*, 5 vols. (Kolkata: Mitra & Ghosh, 1983–93); Prabodh Kumar Sanyal, *Uttar Himālaya Carita* (Kolkata: Dey’s, 1983); Sanku Maharaj, *Dhaulira Dhāre Dhāre* (Kolkata: Mitra & Ghosh, 1996).

²¹ Vikram Seth, *From Heaven Lake: Travels through Sinkiang and Tibet* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983); Bill Aitken, *The Nanda Devi Affair* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1994).

Exploration and knowledge-making remain persistent reasons for mountain travel, although the stakes have changed with time. In the sixteenth century, Swiss naturalist Konrad Gesner recorded botanical observations from his mountain wanderings in *Libellus de lacte* (1541), adding to the volume an enthusiastic advocacy for mountain travel.²² In the eighteenth century, Genevan physicist Horace Bénédict de Saussure assembled more than thirty years of geological study in *Voyages dans les Alpes* (1779–96).²³ *The Glaciers of the Alps* (1860) and *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* (1871) by nineteenth-century Irish physicist John Tyndall combined early glaciology with popular science and encouragement of ‘strong and joyous hours’ of ‘bodily action’ spent in ‘natural scenery’.²⁴ German naturalist George Forster explored Tahiti in 1773 and 1774 (as part of James Cook’s second circumnavigation voyage) and wrote about mountain climbing in Polynesia in ways that interlock the colonial project of mapping and conquest with tropes of tropical fecundity.²⁵ In the twentieth century, Edwin Atkinson meticulously collected varied data about flora, fauna, places, and peoples of the subcontinental mountains in *The Himalayan Gazetteer*.²⁶

For espionage blending into exploration during the ‘Great Game’ in Asia in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the ‘pundits’ of British India stand out: among others, adventurer Abdul Hamid, brothers Nain and Kishen Singh Rawat, and scholar Sarat Chandra Das.²⁷ A different kind of scholarship occupied Ekai Kawaguchi, who studied Buddhist scriptures in Tibet, and the polyglot and polymath Rahul Sankrityayan, who synthesised a staggering amount of journeying and learning into lyrical travelogues and

²² Konrad Gesner, *Libellus de lacte, et operibus lactariis, philologus pariter ac medicus; cum Epistola ad Iacobum Auienum de montium admiratione* (Tiguri: Christopher Froschauer, 1541).

²³ Horace Bénédict de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes, précédés d’un essai sur l’Histoire Naturelle des environs de Genève*, 4 vols. (Neuchâtel: Samuel Fauche, 1779–96).

²⁴ See John Tyndall, *The Glaciers of the Alps* (London: J. Murray, 1860), and *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* (New York: D. Appleton, 1871), p. v.

²⁵ See George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, 2 vols. (1777; Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000); and Sabine Wilke, ‘Spectacular Scenery and Slippery Descents: Narrating the Mountains of Tropical Polynesia’ in Sean Ireton and Caroline Schaumann (eds.), *Heights of Reflection: Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), pp. 134–49.

²⁶ Edwin T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, 3 vols. (1882; Delhi: Cosmo, 1973).

²⁷ See Derek Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990). See also Nain Singh Rawat, *Ēṣiyā kī pīṭha para: jīvana, anveshana, tathā lekhaṇa*, ed. Uma Bhatt and Shekhar Pathak (Nainital: Pahar Pothi, 2006); Sarat Chandra Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, ed. Nobin Chandra Das (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1893).

riveting historical fiction.²⁸ Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mountaineers Robert Shaw, Bill Tilman, Eric Shipton, and Harish Kapadia have all explored heretofore little-visited places. Their writing has provided readers with a cumulative body of knowledge about the Karakoram, Garhwal and Kumaun Himalayas, and the Central Himalayan mountains.²⁹ For mountaineering rivals but fellow-suffragists Annie Smith Peck and Fanny Bullock Workman, the travels were also about extending a somewhat different set of frontiers.³⁰ Workman famously had herself photographed reading a suffragette broadside with the headline 'Votes for Women' at nearly 21,000 feet in the Karakoram in 1912. In *No Map Could Show Them* (2016), climber and poet Helen Mort pays homage to such trailblazers of gender and class, even as she explores the formal lines of convergence between poetry and alpine ascent.³¹

Employment or vocation have prompted different kinds of mountain travel, the travellers' reports reflecting the various ways in which the setting of the work influenced the work itself. Numerous such accounts survive, from those by missionaries and medics, to state-funded explorers and cartographers.³² Journalists have sometimes turned serious mountain travellers to do their job, as Jan (then James) Morris did, to report news of the Everest summit for the *London Times* in 1953.³³ Long after his famous ascent of Everest, Edmund Hillary wrote about giving back to the land – through establishing medical units and schools – where he had gained so much.³⁴ High- and low-altitude porters, guides, *sirdars*, and cooks have continued to render their own crucial service in the mountains. Particularly for the

²⁸ Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet* (Madras: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1909); Rahul Sankrityayan, *Volgā se Gangā* (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1964).

²⁹ Robert Shaw, *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand, and Kashgar* (London: John Murray, 1871); H. W. Tilman, *The Seven Mountain-Travel Books* (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 1983); Eric Shipton, *The Six Mountain-Travel Books* (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 1985); Harish Kapadia, *Across Peaks and Passes in Himachal Pradesh* (New Delhi: Indus, 1999), *Across Peaks and Passes in Garhwal Himalaya* (New Delhi: Indus, 1999).

³⁰ Annie Smith Peck, *A Search for the Apex of America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1911); Fanny Bullock Workman and William Hunter Workman, *In the Ice World of Himalaya: Among the Peaks and Passes of Ladakh, Nubra, Suru, and Baltistan* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900).

³¹ Helen Mort, *No Map Could Show Them* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2016).

³² See, for instance, Walter Weston, *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (London: John Murray, 1896); Howard Somervell, *After Everest: The Experiences of a Mountaineer and Medical Missionary*, 5th edn (1936; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950); John Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, 2nd edn (1841; London: John Murray, 1872); and Charles Bruce, *Twenty Years in the Himalaya* (London: Edward Arnold, 1910).

³³ Jan Morris, *Coronation Everest* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958).

³⁴ Edmund Hillary, *View from the Summit* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).

Himalayas, there is no overstating the importance of their work from the nineteenth century onwards. It is important to register the desperate paucity of these voices in authorial positions. Some go to the mountains precisely in search of these voices. In the twenty-first century, Nandini Purandare and Deepa Balsavar have visited the climbing Sherpas of Darjeeling to record the direct or indirect testimonies of those who provided the real backbone for Himalayan expeditions in the twentieth century.³⁵

There are also those who travel in the mountains primarily for leisure and enjoyment. The nineteenth-century British author Leslie Stephen went to the Alps, as he said, as a 'harmless monomaniac' in love with the hills.³⁶ His writings later formed the core of one of mountaineering's pivotal texts, *The Playground of Europe* (1871), which charted the change of continental perceptions of mountains from objects of 'unmitigated horror' to those of 'rapture', while also emphatically legitimising a human (albeit overwhelmingly masculine) adoration of the heights.³⁷ As the mountaineering holiday came into its own, aristocratic Irishwoman Frederica Plunket recorded her joyous adventures in the Alps, simultaneously undertaking to 'persuade other ladies to depart more than is their usual habit from the ordinary routine of a Swiss summer tour'.³⁸ Some have pursued health in the mountains: in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the freedom of the hills enjoyed during their convalescence deeply informed the writings of Elizabeth Le Blond and Isabella Bird.³⁹ In India of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tracker-turned-conservationist Jim Corbett wrote extensively about the *shikar*, the sportsmanlike hunt for big game.⁴⁰ In the twentieth century, the American mountaineer, environmentalist, and feminist Miriam Underhill practised and wrote about 'Manless Alpine Climbing', advocating for female climbers taking on 'the entire responsibility for carrying the climb through to a successful finish'.⁴¹ A quiet resourcefulness and humour informs Diana Shipton's narrative of travels in the Central Asian

³⁵ Deepa Balsavar and Nandini Purandare, 'The Story of the Climbing Sherpas of Darjeeling: First Impressions', *Himalayan Journal*, 69 (2014), 1–19.

³⁶ Leslie Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. vii.

³⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 1–69.

³⁸ Frederica Plunket, *Here and There Among the Alps* (London: Longmans, Green, 1875), Preface.

³⁹ Elizabeth Le Blond, *The High Alps in Winter; or, Mountaineering in Search of Health* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1883); Isabella Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893).

⁴⁰ Jim Corbett, *The Jim Corbett Omnibus*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴¹ Miriam Underhill, 'Manless Alpine Climbing', *National Geographic*, 66/2 (1934), 131–70 (at p. 131); Miriam Underhill, *Give Me the Hills* (Riverside: Chatham Press, 1956).

mountains during her time with Eric Shipton, British Consul-General in Kashgar in the years leading up to World War II: 'Eric's idea of [travelling] "gradually" did not wholly agree with mine . . . Very weary, very wet, and most effectively "broken in", I limped back to our camp. But I was glad to be among the mountains.'⁴² Contemporary to the Shiptons, English mountaineer Frank Smythe acknowledged his early *Mountaineering Holiday* (1940) that turned him towards a future of alpine exploration and photography. His popular Himalayan books early combined gripping storytelling with visual placing of the reader amidst the action of a climb.

Mountain walking has meant different things to travellers from various parts of the world. In the twentieth century, Bill Bryson and Simon Armitage have tried to walk the long-distance Appalachian Trail and the Pennine Way respectively, their deliberate departure from their quotidian lives aimed towards connecting with the land beneath their feet in some primal manner.⁴³ On the other hand, Leslie Marmon Silko's recollection of the trails, arroyos, and ledges of the Tucson Mountains is a meditation on the undulating landscape as a home for Pueblo American peoples for more generations than recorded history can account for.⁴⁴ In the twenty-first century, Anindya Mukherjee walked in the fictional footsteps of a literary hero, mapping his travels in acute awareness of going where the author inspiring them had never gone. In following Sankar, protagonist of Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay's bestselling Bengali novel *Cāñdera Pāhāra* ('Mountains of the Moon'), to the Ruwenzori, Mukherjee pays enduring tribute to a writer whose own conjuration of expansive Africa had owed to earlier literatures of travel.⁴⁵ Tim Cope's 6,000-mile horseback journey across the Eurasian steppes foregrounds for readers of the twenty-first century the ancient relationship between humans and horses that is responsible for some of the longest-surviving nomadic cultures of our planet.⁴⁶

To some mountain travellers and writers, the extreme challenge of the heights takes centre-stage. Thrilling accounts by nineteenth-century

⁴² Diana Shipton, *The Antique Land* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950), p. 17.

⁴³ Bill Bryson, *A Walk in the Woods: Rediscovering America on the Appalachian Trail* (New York: Broadway Books, 1998); Simon Armitage, *Walking Home: A Poet's Journey* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013).

⁴⁴ Leslie Marmon Silko, *The Turquoise Ledge* (New York: Viking, 2010).

⁴⁵ Anindya Mukherjee, 17-part serialised travel reports, *Uttara Banga Sambad*, 20 August – 6 October 2015; Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay, *Cāñdera Pāhāra* (Kolkata: Mitra & Ghosh, 1937).

⁴⁶ Tim Cope, *On the Trail of Genghis Khan: An Epic Journey through the Land of the Nomads* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

mountaineers Edward Whymper and Albert Mummery aroused both public esteem and outrage with their inspired mountain feats and the tragedies attending their travels.⁴⁷ Maurice Herzog's *Annapurna* (1951), a controversial telling of the first 8,000-metre summit and the hardships of men desperate to return to safety, catapulted its author to celebrity status in France and beyond.⁴⁸ Twentieth-century climbers Nea Morin and Gwen Moffat documented their coming of age into mountaineering as a way of life, their accounts of hard and sustained romance with the heights inspiring countless beginners, particularly women, for generations afterwards.⁴⁹ In the later twentieth century, climbers and authors Chris Bonington, Jerzy Kukuczka, and Reinhold Messner radically altered human conceptions both of physical endurance and the intellectual and emotional toll it is possible to pay in unforgiving places and yet return to tell the tale.⁵⁰

The critical conversation around mountain writing too has evolved alongside the reasons for undertaking the journeys themselves. Reflecting trends in mountain history that seek to excavate stories of older human engagement with mountains, Martin Korenjak has written on the early modern beginnings of Western enthusiasm for mountains as places of travel.⁵¹ Resonant with a later twentieth-century turn towards mountaineering history that prioritises the economic and cultural settings of the travellers, Maurice Isserman and Stewart Weaver have crafted a narrative of human endeavour in the Himalayas in a story that roots accounts of mountain ascents in the cultural, social, political, and intellectual worlds shaping the mountaineers themselves before they ever reach their summits.⁵² Bernadette McDonald's social histories of Polish and Slovenian mountaineering similarly extend our ideas of what constitutes

⁴⁷ Edward Whymper, *Scrambles amongst the Alps in the Years 1860–69* (London: John Murray, 1871); Mummery, *My Climbs in the Alps*.

⁴⁸ Maurice Herzog, *Annapurna* (Paris: Arthaud, 1951), trans. Nea Morin and Janet Adam Smith (New York: Dutton, 1953).

⁴⁹ Nea Morin, *A Woman's Reach: Mountaineering Memoirs* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968); Gwen Moffat, *Space Below My Feet* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961).

⁵⁰ Jerzy Kukuczka, *My Vertical World: Climbing the 8000-Metre Peaks*, trans. Andrew Wielochowski (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 1992); Reinhold Messner, *The Crystal Horizon*, trans. Jill Neate and Audrey Salkeld (Seattle, WA: The Mountaineers, 1989).

⁵¹ Martin Korenjak, 'Why Mountains Matter: Early Modern Roots of a Modern Notion', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 70 (2017), 179–219.

⁵² Maurice Isserman and Stewart Weaver, *Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

a mountaineer and reasons for mountain travel.⁵³ In a comparable vein, and speaking to important debates about diversity and representation, Katie Ives's patient syntheses of largely forgotten climbing histories has confirmed an ongoing project of unearthing as many kinds of climbing voices as there have been climbing.⁵⁴ Lauret Savoy has written autobiographically and lyrically about race, migration, displacement, and memory in the high and wild places of North America.⁵⁵ Kerwin Klein's environmental history of mountaineering responds to critical questions framed through cultural studies and ecocriticism; Abbie Garrington's literary history of mountaineering places accounts of the pursuit in conversation with the literary experiments of the modernist avant-garde; Julie Rak's work on the dynamics of gender in high-altitude expedition narratives contributes to the fields of life-writing and popular culture studies.⁵⁶ As a historian of ideas, Peter Hansen has examined the extraordinary difficulty of the post-Enlightenment West to imagine nature in terms other than that of dominion.⁵⁷ Jon Krakauer's contentious non-fiction on wilderness environments serves as an example of this difficulty; it has nevertheless done notable work to open up entire lines of thinking for non-specialist audiences.⁵⁸

The persistent challenge of travel writing is that it must try and bring alive the experience of those who have been, to those who have not. In such situations, travellers choose often to depict not so much the landscape as their relationship with it. The following three voices from three parts of the world illustrate some ways in which writing about mountain travel welcomes

⁵³ Bernadette McDonald, *Freedom Climbers* (Victoria, BC: Rocky Mountain, 2011), *Alpine Warriors*, and *The Art of Freedom: The Life and Climbs of Voytek Kurtyka* (Victoria, BC: Rocky Mountain, 2017).

⁵⁴ See, for instance, Katie Ives, 'A Wild of One's Own', *Alpinist*, 47 (2014), 11–13, 'A House of Stone and Snow', *Alpinist*, 49 (2015), 13–14, 'Between the Lines', *Alpinist*, 51 (2015), 11–12, 'Off the Map', *Alpinist*, 52 (2015), 11–14, and 'The Ice-World, Beyond', *Alpinist*, 53 (2016), 11–12.

⁵⁵ Lauret Savoy, *Trace* (Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 2015).

⁵⁶ Kerwin Lee Klein, 'A Vertical World: The Eastern Alps and Modern Mountaineering', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 24/4 (2011), 519–48; Abbie Garrington, 'What Does a Modernist Mountain Mean? Auden and Isherwood's *The Ascent of F6*', *Critical Quarterly*, 55/2 (2013), 26–49; Julie Rak, 'Social Climbing on Annapurna: Gender in High-altitude Mountaineering Narratives', *English Studies in Canada*, 33/1–2 (2007), 109–46.

⁵⁷ Peter Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man: Mountaineering after the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

⁵⁸ Jon Krakauer, *Into the Wild* (1996; New York: Anchor, 1997) and *Into Thin Air: A Personal Account of the Mount Everest Disaster* (New York: Anchor, 1997).

readers into those intimate spaces where travellers negotiate their own positions of visitation or belonging within these landscapes.

Three Voices of Mountain Travel

For poet and conservationist Gary Snyder, mountain travels spur writing. A lifetime's pledge followed his shattering experience after climbing Mount St Helens in Washington as a young man. On 14 August 1945, he descended the mountain to see photographs of a blasted city, possibly Hiroshima, on a bulletin board:

The morning sun on my shoulders, the fir forest smell and the big tree shadows; feet in thin moccasins feeling the ground, and my heart still one with the snowpeak mountain at my back . . . I swore a vow to myself, something like, "By the purity and beauty and permanence of Mt. St. Helens, I will fight against this cruel destructive power and those who would seek to use it, for all my life."⁵⁹

Over the years, his activism and writing would proceed along with the climbing. As he confesses in 'On Climbing the Sierra Matterhorn Again After Thirty-One Years': 'Range after range of mountains / Year after year after year. / I am still in love.'⁶⁰ For Snyder, mountain travel becomes a means of accessing deep time and place:

One granite ridge
A tree, would be enough
. . .
Hill beyond hill, folded and twisted
Tough trees crammed
In thin stone fractures
A huge moon on it all, is too much.
The mind wanders. A million
Summers, night air still and the rocks
Warm. Sky over endless mountains.⁶¹

A comparable metaphysical connection between person and place finds insistent expression in the poetic prose of a twentieth-century Scottish writer

⁵⁹ Gary Snyder, 'Atomic Dawn', in *Danger on Peaks* (Washington, DC: Shoemaker & Hoard, 2004), p. 9.

⁶⁰ Gary Snyder, *No Nature: New and Selected Poems* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), p. 362.

⁶¹ Gary Snyder, 'Piute Creek', in *Riprap, & Cold Mountain Poems* (San Francisco: Four Seasons Foundation, 1965), p. 6.

and teacher. For Anne (Nan) Shepherd, for whom ‘every reality that matters ultimately to human beings, is a reality of the mind’, the Cairngorm Mountains present a profoundly pleasurable existential challenge.⁶² At ‘The Summit of Corrie Etchachan’ she finds a ‘grey plateau . . . A mountain shut within itself, yet a world, / Immensity’.⁶³ The landscape cannot be adequately perceived but must be walked:

Walking thus, hour after hour, the senses keyed, one walks the flesh transparent. But no metaphor, *transparent*, or *light as air*, is adequate. The body is not made negligible, but paramount. Flesh is not annihilated but fulfilled. One is not bodiless, but essential body.⁶⁴

Muscle, motion, and memory necessarily write themselves into a mountain manuscript. Manuscript is a good word for a mountain narrative, for as Shepherd tells us, the hands always enter into it, as receptors and recorders of experience:

The feel of things, textures, surfaces, rough things like cones and bark, smooth things like stalks and feathers and pebbles rounded by water, the teasing of gossamers, the delicate tickle of a crawling caterpillar, the scratchiness of lichen, the warmth of the sun, the sting of hail, the blunt blow of tumbling water, the flow of wind – nothing that I can touch or that touches me but has its own identity for the hand as much as for the eye.⁶⁵

While Shepherd’s metaphysical meditation moves because of its roots in the fundamental physicality of mountain experience, the physicality of mountain experience and its connections with global histories of colonialism and economic disparities between peoples dominate in the account of Ang Tharkay, *sirdar* (chief of staff) of the world’s first successful 8,000-metre-peak expedition. Tharkay started life in the Nepalese village of Khunde, ‘too small to be found on any map’.⁶⁶ ‘[W]e are practically in the heart of the [Everest] massif, where all of the peaks have Tibetan names that invoke life and power’

⁶² Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain: A Celebration of the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland* (1977; Edinburgh: Canongate, 1996), p. 1.

⁶³ Nan Shepherd, *In the Cairngorms* (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1934). Reproduced at www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/poetry/poems/summit-corrie-etchachan.

⁶⁴ Shepherd, *The Living Mountain*, p. 83 (Shepherd’s italics).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁶⁶ Ang Tharkay, with Basil P. Norton, *Sherpa: The Memoir of Ang Tharkay*, trans. Corinne McKay (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 2016), p. 21. In 1950, Tharkay approached mountaineer Basil Norton to write his biography. With no language in common, they enlisted the help of a mutual friend, Mohan Lal Mukherjee, to transcribe Tharkay’s oral Nepalese into English. Henri Delgove subsequently translated these notes into French. *Mémoires d’un sherpa* was published by Amiot-Dumont in Paris in 1954. This work is now finally available in English.

(p. 35). Within this setting of mountains whose names signify worship lies the apparent contradiction of a mid-twentieth-century Sherpa aspiring to travels far, wide, and high. '[E]verywhere and always I saw the snow-covered high peaks . . . We were forbidden to try to seek them out, to try to visit their sanctuaries . . . I never thought that my future career would force me to go against my childhood faith' (p. 27).⁶⁷ In the course of his life, Tharkay would resolve this conflict into something approaching contentment. Despite the travails of life as a worker for hire in some of the harshest environments of the world – 'The expedition organizers barely treated us as humans' (p. 55) – the stories of encounters with ever higher landscapes come thick and fast in Tharkay's memoir. The rhetoric in French is not Tharkay's, just as the rhetoric in English in *Man of Everest*, with which this chapter began, is not Norgay's. As readers, we have to listen closely for the narrative's indications of mediation: '[A]fter all, this is an unpretentious story, told simply as I find it deep within my memory, the only journal that I was able to keep, as I do not know how to read or write' (p. 67). It is, however, important to understand these works as crucial testaments of the intersections of colonialism, labour, love, languages, literacy, orality, and mountaineering. Otherwise, we continue to exclude some of the most vitally important voices of mountain history. After the French success on Annapurna in 1950, Tharkay was invited to spend a week in Paris. A prophetic wistfulness for decolonised and unrestricted travel haunts the meditations of this first-time airplane traveller: 'Flying over the Alps reminded me of our gigantic Himalayan summits. The Alps were bluer and more separated . . . I also would have liked to climb these magnificent peaks that rose up before my eyes' (p. 154).

Mountain travel writing is often considered to be a highly symbolic form, the striving towards and realisation of elevation standing in for claims to territorial dominion, or spiritual insight, or both. Examples of ascent narratives that willingly participate in or are appropriated by projects of power, conquest, or supremacy abound in the dominant story of mountain travel writing. But in reading mountain narratives as repositories of timeless allegories, we risk overlooking the specificities of location, circumstance, and impetus that compel a particular mountain experience or the means and manner of its recording. We also risk critical ignorance of the cruxes of

⁶⁷ The French has a slightly different valence. 'Je ne pensais guère alors que le métier que j'adopterais un jour m'obligerait à trahir la foi de mon enfance'. Tharkay, *Mémoires d'un sherpa*, p. 23.

gender, race, class, physical ability, and economic capacity that animate the travellers who reach for the mountains. Some of the most textured travel writing about mountains invites and rewards attention to much more than the summit, just as it also urges inclusive engagement with the social and cultural identities of those who travel to the high places that they then write about.

Polar Travel

ELIZABETH LEANE

Travel writing looms large in literary histories of the polar regions. The best-known Arctic and Antarctic texts have been and continue to be accounts of travel: official narratives, diaries, and memoirs by explorers – John Franklin, Robert F. Scott, Apsley Cherry-Garrard, and others – and travelogues by professional writers such as Barry Lopez and Sara Wheeler. While the Arctic and Antarctic icescapes have both inspired influential works of fiction and poetry, such as Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’ (1798), these too centre on tales of travel, drawing on polar exploration accounts for their detail.¹ Many Arctic indigenous peoples are traditionally nomadic, so that storytelling and travel become intertwined in their cultures. But the originally oral and linguistically diverse nature of these cultures means that many of the most prominent Arctic narratives are those produced by travellers from elsewhere.² The uninhabited Antarctic takes the dominance of the travel narrative to its apogee: all writing about the Antarctic from experience is travel writing of a sort, in that any encounter with the place is premised on a journey.

In bringing the opposite ends of the Earth into the same frame, the category of ‘polar travel writing’ is both useful and problematic. Geographically symmetrical, the two regions have obvious climatic similarities as well as the same extremes of light and dark. For European cultures, both regions historically signified geographical limits that could be accessed only through the reports of a few intrepid adventurers. Both are symbolic

¹ See, e.g., Jessica Richard, “‘A paradise of my own creation’”: *Frankenstein* and the Improbable Romance of Polar Exploration’, *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 25/4 (2003), 295–314; John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), especially chap. 9; and Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1992), chap. 6.

² Eric Heyne, ‘Literature, North American’, in Mark Nuttall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 2005), vol. 11, pp. 1186–91 (at p. 1186).

'edges' of the globe that can boast their own literal centres: the geographic poles. These real but non-tangible points became foci of national and masculine endeavour in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, culminating in 'races' between rival teams. A hundred years later, both regions feature prominently in the scientific and popular discourses around climate change, as environments particularly vulnerable to threat. It is no surprise that they are considered, for some purposes at least, interchangeable.

Such an easy conflation, however, ignores the significant differences between the far north and south. The Arctic is an icy ocean surrounded by land – land full of wildlife; long inhabited by diverse groups of indigenous peoples (including Inuit, Saami, and Chukchi); and now the sovereign territory of many nations, encompassing Greenland (an autonomous dependency of Denmark) and parts of Canada, Alaska, Russia, Iceland, and Scandinavia. The Antarctic is a continent weighed down by ice shelves kilometres thick, surrounded by an ocean, with no indigenous inhabitants, no permanent human population and no terrestrial animals bigger than a midge. No nation owns the Antarctic continent: seven territorial claims are put into hiatus (but not erased) by the 1959 Antarctic Treaty. Cartographically, due to the dominance of the Ptolemaic mapping tradition, the north has long been considered 'up' and the south 'down', a perceptual bias so taken for granted as to be unnoticeable, and all the more powerful as a result. A journey to Antarctica is always registered, at some level, as a journey to the Earth's underside.

Arctic and Antarctic travel tales, broadly speaking, stretch back many centuries. Arguably the earliest Antarctic travel narrative belongs to Polynesian culture. Oral legend describes seventh-century Rarotongan navigator Ui-te-Rangiora's canoe journey to (in the translation of a nineteenth-century ethnologist) 'a foggy, misty, and dark place not seen by the sun', where he encountered 'the frozen sea of *pia*' (arrowroot, which looks like snow when scraped).³ Although it is impossible to prove their historical reliability, narratives of early canoe travel to the far south continue to circulate in contemporary Maori culture.⁴ While in Western culture Antarctica existed conceptually for many centuries before anyone

³ S. Percy Smith, 'Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori: Being an Introduction to Rarotongan History', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 8 (1899), 1–48 (at pp. 10–11). Later commentators argue that the account may have been influenced by European travel stories. See Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Pacific* (1938; University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 116–18.

⁴ See, e.g., Ken McAnergney, 'In My Mind I'm Goin' to Antarctica', in Ralph Crane, Elizabeth Leane, and Mark Williams (eds.), *Imagining Antarctica: Cultural Perspectives on the Southern Continent* (Hobart: Quintus, 2011), pp. 115–21.

encountered it – probably the first recorded use of ‘Antarctic’ in English appears in a late fourteenth-century translation of Mandeville’s *Travels* (in a celestial context) – it was exploration narratives that brought the place, as it was materially encountered, into human consciousness.⁵ Early European narratives of Arctic travel are, like Ui-te-Rangiora’s, semi-legendary and second-hand: the ancient Greek story of Pytheas’s voyage to ‘Thule’, the journeys of early medieval Celtic monks, the sagas of the Viking settlement in Greenland.⁶ From the fifteenth century, European voyages of exploration were venturing into the far north, in search of the Northwest and Northeast passages, and to a lesser extent the far south, as vessels sought a passage around Cape Horn.

No short survey can hope to do justice to the range of narratives produced over the last few centuries by travellers in these two vast regions. Taking as its starting point James Cook’s circumnavigation of the Antarctic in the mid-1770s, this chapter examines the development of the polar expedition narrative until the ‘conquest’ of the poles, before turning to the more personal and political accounts of encounters with far northern and southern places that have characterised the last hundred years. Both the far north and far south function for travellers in overlapping and sometimes contradictory ways: as places of adventure, heroism, trial, escape, transformation, simplification, renewal, and, most recently, anxiety.

Publish or Perish: Expedition Accounts

‘Now for the run home and a desperate struggle to get the news through first. I wonder if we can do it.’⁷ These words of Robert F. Scott, written in mid-January 1912 as his team turned back from the South Pole, came under scrutiny when his journal was posthumously edited for publication: the phrase ‘to get the news through first’ was deleted. Explorers like Scott knew that success in publication and exploration were interdependent, but there was no need to alert readers to this.⁸ Thus the original diary’s record of

⁵ *The Defective Version of Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (c.1385; Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 78–80. Here the adjective appears as ‘Antertyk’ or ‘Antertyke’.

⁶ See Sarah Moss, *Scott’s Last Biscuit: The Literature of Polar Exploration* (Oxford: Signal, 2006), pp. 3–4, 29–56, for a detailed discussion of these early narratives.

⁷ Robert Falcon Scott, *Journals: Captain Scott’s Last Expedition* (1913; Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 377, 470.

⁸ Expeditions overwintering in Antarctica would themselves normally take large libraries, including numerous travel accounts. See, e.g., *Catalogue of Books of the ‘Discovery’ 1901* (s.l., [1901]), pp. 9–11.

a struggle for publication becomes, in its edited version, a struggle for survival. Both the entry and its excision point to the same conclusion: if you were a polar explorer, then writing publicly about what you did, and being the first to do so, was just as important as *what* you did.

This kind of rush to publication produced what might be considered the earliest properly Antarctic travel narrative. James Cook's second expedition of 1772–5 was the first to cross the Antarctic Circle, at one point reaching over 70° s, and (unknowingly) coming within a hundred miles of Antarctica itself. The official expedition narrative, *A Voyage toward the South Pole, and Round the World* (1777), would thus provide an auspicious starting point for the far southern travel writing genre – had Cook not, to his chagrin, been beaten to the publishers by a crewman's unauthorised version.⁹ John Marra's *Journal of the Resolution's Voyage* (1775), published anonymously only six weeks after the expedition's return, instead has the best claim to initiating the genre.

Marra's struggle to find language to convey the first impressions of the Antarctic ice highlights the challenge of using a homegrown vocabulary to capture an alien environment. In his description of 'ice islands', architectural, maritime, and mythological metaphors jumble against one another: 'a most romantic prospect of ruined castles, churches, arches, steeples, wrecks of ships, and a thousand wild and grotesque forms of monsters, dragons, and all the hideous shapes that the most fertile imagination can possibly conceive'. Even penguins are gothic in Marra's account, their continual 'screaming' adding to the 'horror of the scene'.¹⁰ Cook's description of Antarctic icebergs is far more detached, interested in their geometry, consistency, and possible provenance, but his much-quoted pronouncement on the region – 'Lands doomed by Nature to perpetual frigidness; never to feel the warmth of the sun's rays; whose horrible and savage aspect I have not words to describe'¹¹ – displays a similar groping for language. This sense that the continent exceeds description has since become an ironic cliché of its travel literature.

Like Cook's, many national polar expeditions forbade the publication of members' journals or narratives, at least until the official version had appeared. The leader's account, often produced at government expense and with the imprimatur of officialdom, usually became the received (if not

⁹ Naturalist George Forster's unofficial narrative of the expedition also beat Cook's to press, by a matter of weeks.

¹⁰ John Marra, quoted in Alasdair McGregor (ed.), *Antarctica: That Sweep of Savage Splendour* (Hawthorn, Vic.: Penguin, 2011), p. 5.

¹¹ James Cook, *A Voyage toward the South Pole, and Round the World*, 2 vols. (1777; Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1970), vol. 11, p. 243.

the only) version. Thus, with occasional exceptions, early published impressions of the polar regions are those of a small minority. This domination of official accounts has obscured the diversity of travellers, who included the working-class and ethnically diverse crews of whaling and sealing vessels, as well as the indigenous people who assisted and sometimes joined exploring parties in the Arctic. While not all polar expedition leaders were themselves social elites,¹² the persistence in popular polar – and particularly Antarctic – histories of an outdated ‘great man’ approach has produced a canon of far northern and southern travel narratives built around individual ‘heroes’ – a canon that has only recently been challenged and broadened.¹³

Dozens of official expedition narratives were published in the nineteenth century, many of them from voyages in search of the Northwest Passage (or, indeed, in search of those in search of the Northwest Passage). Arctic expedition leaders, including William Parry, John Ross, and John Franklin and their Antarctic counterparts, such as Charles Wilkes, Jules Dumont d’Urville, and James Ross, all published detailed accounts of their journeys. Normally multi-volume publications, these narratives were expensive to produce and purchase. Nonetheless, they could become bestsellers when the events of an expedition were particularly dramatic, as in Franklin’s *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823), which recounted an overland journey in Northwest Canada that famously saw its members reduced to eating their boots. With the disappearance of Franklin’s third expedition in the late 1840s and the ensuing international search, the popularity of Arctic expedition narratives reached its peak. American explorer Elisha Kent Kane’s *Arctic Explorations* (1856), for example, sold 65,000 copies.¹⁴

For the most part, national expeditions were not altruistic ventures: extending empires, forging strategic trade routes, and scouting out potential resources were all strong incentives for early polar travel. Some travellers had quite explicit commercial motivations. European whaling vessels ventured into the Arctic from the late sixteenth century, and Cook’s reports of plentiful wildlife triggered decades of exploitation of southern fur seals in the sub-Antarctic and Antarctic islands. However, these working travellers tended not to publicise their commercial secrets by going into print. There were

¹² Cook came from a working-class background, and Scott’s family had financial struggles.

¹³ See Ben Maddison, *Class and Colonialism in Antarctic Exploration, 1750–1920* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), pp. 6–7.

¹⁴ Peter J. Kitson (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation 1835–1910*, part 1, vol. 1: *North and South Poles* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), p. 142.

exceptions, for those who had unusually high cultural capital or could boast specific achievements: they include whaler/explorer William Scoresby's *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery* (1823) and Antarctic sealing captain James Weddell's *A Voyage Towards the South Pole Performed in the Years 1822–24* (1825), which publicised his besting of Cook's farthest south. Accounts continued to appear during the factory whaling period in Antarctica, including Norwegian magnate Lars Christensen's *Such is the Antarctic* (1935), but they were never as internationally prominent as the more glamorous exploration narratives.

By the later nineteenth century, with readerships expanding, publishers and newspaper reporters began to create, rather than simply report, dramatic adventures in the far north and south. The ill-fated *Jeanette* expedition towards the North Pole, and the *Southern Cross* expedition, which conducted the first land-based exploration of Antarctica, were both funded by media barons (respectively James Gordon Bennett, Jr, who published the *New York Herald*, and George Newnes, whose portfolio included *The Strand Magazine*).¹⁵ Even if an expedition was not sponsored by a publishing outlet, a book or media deal could help to defray expenses. This put pressure on leaders, who were not always accomplished writers. Ernest Shackleton, Richard Byrd, Douglas Mawson, and Robert Peary all at times used ghost-writers or leant heavily on other expedition members to produce the required narrative. 'First-hand' accounts were thus often highly mediated.

Relying on funding from an expedition narrative had its pitfalls: a venture perceived as disappointing or boring could mean poor sales. Even a 'conquest' did not guarantee a bestseller if it seemed too easily done. When Leon Amundsen, whose brother Roald had successfully led a Norwegian team to the South Pole in late 1911, tried to negotiate an advantageous English publishing deal for the expedition narrative, he was beaten down: 'Your brother does not seem to have had any exciting adventures.'¹⁶ Being, and writing in, Norwegian also did not help, although Leon's respondent contrasted Roald's style disparagingly with that of his mentor and countryman Fritjof Nansen, author of bestsellers *The First Crossing of Greenland* (1890) and *Farthest North* (1897). The British exploration

¹⁵ Such deliberate generation of exploration news was not unique to the polar regions – Bennett had funded Henry Morton Stanley's expedition in search of David Livingstone. See Beau Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer: The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery* (Oxford University Press, 1993), which includes Arctic case studies.

¹⁶ Robert Donald, Letter to Leon Amundsen, 15 March 1912, Brevs. 812, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo.

tradition, notes Francis Spufford in an Antarctic travel essay of his own, was ‘very literary . . . almost willing to give higher priority to eloquent descriptions of journeys than to the journeys themselves’.¹⁷

It is unsurprising, then, that the two texts most often identified as the ‘classic’ polar travel narratives of this period – Scott’s *Journals* (originally published as *Scott’s Last Expedition* in 1913) and Apsley Cherry-Garrard’s *The Worst Journey in the World* (1922) – both emphasise the value of the story as much as action. The expedition they describe – the *Terra Nova* expedition (1910–12) – was itself presented by the media within a series of narrative frames: initially a quest for the South Pole; then, with Amundsen’s unexpected turn to the south in late 1910, an exciting ‘race’; and finally, with the British polar party’s forestalment by the Norwegian team and eventual demise only miles from a depot, a national tragedy. Knowing that he would be unable retrospectively to shape his diary entries into a smooth narrative, the dying Scott emphasised the worth of the ‘tale’ itself as a justification of the journey. ‘Had we lived’, he wrote towards the end of his famous ‘Message to the Public’, ‘we would have had a tale to tell . . . which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman. These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale.’¹⁸ The ‘roughness’ of his ‘notes’ lies not in his style (Scott’s literary ability is about his only quality that all commentators agree on) but in their journal format: the raw material from which polar narratives were usually built. The poignancy of Scott’s journals lies in each entry’s lack of knowledge of what will follow. Despite the posthumous editing, and Scott’s own increasingly explicit knowledge that he was writing a public rather than a private document, his *Journals* seem to give a compellingly direct conduit into his experiences.

While the attraction of Cherry-Garrard’s *The Worst Journey in the World* is in some ways the opposite – it offers the wisdom of hindsight rather than the immediacy of experience – the primacy of story is similarly at its heart. Publishing ten years after the fact, the classically trained Cherry-Garrard had some distance from the expedition, in which he served as assistant zoologist. Writing a memoir rather than an official account, he was able to venture personal opinions, reflections, and psychological evaluations (advice from his neighbour George Bernard Shaw also did not go astray). He complemented these with excerpts from his own and others’ diaries and letters as well as published reports and narratives, thus producing a polyvocal

¹⁷ Francis Spufford, ‘On Observation Hill’, *Granta*, 67 (Autumn 1999), 241–53 (at p. 250).

¹⁸ Scott, *Journals*, p. 422.

effect that contrasted markedly with Scott's *Journals*. But Cherry-Garrard's major narrative move was to shift focus from the polar tragedy to another journey, the 'Worst Journey' of his title: a six-week trek that he undertook in midwinter, with Edward Wilson and 'Birdie' Bowers (both of whom later died alongside Scott), to collect eggs from an emperor penguin colony (Wilson thought the embryos would provide vital evolutionary information). Cherry-Garrard begins the long chapter recounting this expedition by quoting a line from Scott's diary that foreshadows the latter's 'Message to the Public': 'It [the journey] makes a tale for our generation that I hope may not be lost in the telling.'¹⁹ After his account of the journey itself, in which the three men suffered temperatures down to -60°C , the loss of their tent, and various other unimaginable trials, Cherry-Garrard reports that the penguin eggs, duly deposited in the British Museum, were indifferently received. The quest was evidently for nothing; or rather, for itself, because the endurance of the narrative – 'the telling' – becomes its only proof of worth.

With its nostalgic tone and disillusionment with postwar Britain, *The Worst Journey* can be read as 'the culmination of, and an elegy for, the nineteenth-century cult of the explorer'.²⁰ Though many polar expedition narratives followed, the genre began to turn away from official reports and towards narratives of personal encounters with place.

Encounters with Polar Places and Peoples

These kinds of encounter required a consciousness of dwelling in the polar environment rather than simply moving through it. While American naval officer Richard Byrd wrote accounts of his flights in the late 1920s and 1930s over both the North and South poles, the book for which he is best known is *Alone* (1938), in which he describes five dark months spent deliberately isolated in a small hut in Antarctica's interior. Unlike his earlier 'factual, impersonal narratives' the book is, in Byrd's words, 'intimate' and focused on 'feelings'.²¹ Yet *Alone* is no less a performance of masculine hardiness than the narratives which preceded it: indeed, Byrd saw the simplicity of the experience as promising a newly 'rigorous existence' at a stage when polar travel had been 'softened' by increasing mechanisation.²² Time, not distance, and

¹⁹ Apsley Cherry-Garrard, *The Worst Journey in the World: Antarctic 1910–1913* (1922; London: Picador, 1994), p. 235. The original source of the quotation is Scott, *Journals*, p. 259.

²⁰ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 59.

²¹ Richard Byrd, *Alone* (1938; London: Harborough, 1958), p. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

stasis rather than movement, become the measure of manly endurance in *Alone*.

There was, in a sense, a precedent for this focus on dwelling and interior existence in polar travel writing. Expeditions north and south would commonly overwinter deliberately, in a ship and/or a purpose-built hut. The way in which the expedition members dealt with this situation was a source of narrative interest. A planned overwintering often involved elaborate leisure activities, such as theatrical performances, concerts, and a house 'newspaper' (sometimes published on the expedition's return), to guard against the spectre of 'polar depression'. An unanticipated stay was far more difficult. Frederick Cook's *Through the First Antarctic Night* (1900), for instance, relates the increasing mental fragility of the men of the *Belgica*, which became trapped in the Antarctic sea ice over winter. Enforced isolation could also produce surprising insights. In 1912, Morton Moyes, a member of the Australasian Antarctic Expedition, was inadvertently left alone for almost three months in a hut on an ice shelf (and without the radio contact available to Byrd). Moyes's retrospective reflections give a keen sense of his disturbingly noisy and seemingly animate surrounds: 'I could at times think of all Antarctica as ... a slow-brained sentient being bent on making a man part of itself ... sprawled gigantically over nearly six million square miles, immovably gripping the southern cap of the earth – deceptively solid and lifeless but actually full of movement and change, with a low amoebic vitality.'²³

Where Frederick Cook considered entrapment over the Antarctic winter to be entirely 'destructive to human energy', the Arctic had 'more redeeming features': 'There the white invader has the Eskimo to assist, teach and amuse him.'²⁴ Authors of Arctic exploration texts readily exploited this perceived ability of the 'Eskimo' (or 'Esquimaux') to 'amuse' Western observers – in this case their readers. Nineteenth-century British polar explorers were 'generally positive, if patronising' in their attitudes,²⁵ their descriptions of exotic customs and attitudes of the people they encountered acting as an interesting anthropological diversion from (in Parry's words) 'the more important,

²³ Morton Moyes, as told to George Dovers and D'Arcy Niland, 'Season in Solitary', *Walkabout*, 30/10 (1964), 20–3 (at p. 22).

²⁴ Frederick Cook, *Through the First Antarctic Night, 1898–1899: A Narrative of the Voyage of the 'Belgica' among Newly Discovered Lands and over an Unknown Sea about the South Pole* (1900; London: C. Hurst; Canberra: ANU Press, 1980), p. 295.

²⁵ Peter J. Kitson, 'Introduction', in Kitson (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Travels*, pp. xvii–xxxiii (at p. xxx).

although less difficult task of relating the proceedings of the expedition'.²⁶ The Inuit were consistently othered in exploration accounts, considered at best quaint and fascinating, and at worst bestial, barbaric, and 'Stone Age'.²⁷ Such a condescending attitude was a necessary defence: the image of one's own heroic adventure was hard to sustain in the face of whole communities mundanely and successfully inhabiting the same hostile environment, especially when one's own survival could depend on their assistance.²⁸ Robert Peary allegedly reached the North Pole as part of a six-man team: himself, African American Matthew Henson (who wrote his own account of the journey, *A Negro Explorer at the North Pole*, 1912), and four Inuit men, Ooqueah, Ootah, Egingwah, and Seegloo.²⁹ Although Peary, in his account *The North Pole* (1910), acknowledges the central contribution of the Inuit to his journey, his language is consistently condescending: they are 'my Eskimo' or 'faithful Eskimo'.³⁰ Peary devotes several chapters to describing the Inuit groups he encountered, with titles such as 'The Odd Customs of an Odd People', in which he constantly describes them as 'childlike' or 'children of nature'.³¹ Their 'value' to the world, Peary confidently states, is their role in helping him discover the Pole.³²

With the North Pole 'conquered', however, popular travel narratives began to appear in which indigenous Arctic cultures were a primary subject, rather than an intriguing aside. In publications such as *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913) and *The Friendly Arctic* (1921), anthropologist and explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson urged low-latitude visitors to adopt the practices and technology of the Inuit (while still perpetuating the 'Stone Age' stereotype), and recast the far north as a welcoming and abundant rather than a hostile and desolate place. Also popular at this time was *Across Arctic America* (1927), by explorer-ethnologist Knud Rasmussen, himself born in Greenland and of Inuit descent. Rasmussen's book describes his epic dog-sledge journey, with two Inuit, Qavigarsuaq and Arnarulunguaq, from the far northeast of Canada to Nome, Alaska. Rasmussen (whose expedition generated a ten-volume report

²⁶ William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (London: John Murray, 1824), p. xviii.

²⁷ For more detail, see Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp. 130–3; Kitson, 'Introduction', pp. xxx–xxxiii; Spufford, *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), chap. 8.

²⁸ Kitson, 'Introduction', p. xxix.

²⁹ Peary's claim was questioned at the time, and has continued to be disputed since.

³⁰ See, e.g., Robert E. Peary, *The North Pole* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910), pp. 23, 24, 64, 98.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–75.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

as well as his popular book) was fascinated by the Inuit's stories, which he recorded or where possible had the Inuit themselves record in writing.³³ His work suggests that, for the nomadic peoples of the region, oral narratives encoded important geographical information as well as generating a 'powerful sense of belonging'.³⁴ *Across Arctic America*, with its 'combination of heroic Arctic exploration and intimate familiarity with Inuit culture',³⁵ looks back to the traditional expedition account and forward to more recent travel texts in which engagement with indigenous cultures is often an intrinsic part of the author's encounter with the region.

Gendering the Poles

Certain aspects of the interaction between exploration parties and Inuit communities were missing from expedition narratives. Relations between explorers and Inuit women were not uncommon, with Peary, Henson, and Stefansson fathering children during their expeditions. The erasure of these relations from their narratives is one component of a broader absence of women in polar travel texts, an absence that goes beyond the often observed male domination of the genre of travel writing as a whole. Anthologies are a useful indication. *The Mammoth Book of Polar Journeys* (2007) offers forty extracts, with just two of them written by women, Catherine Hartley and Lynne Cox; both are Antarctic travel tales, and both date from the twenty-first century. *The Ends of the Earth: An Anthology of the Finest Writing on the Arctic and Antarctic* (2007) offers thirty-nine extracts, seven of them by women, but the earliest is from the 1990s. While the North American, Indian, and Far Eastern volumes of *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires* (2003) all feature multiple contributions by women, the polar volume offers none.³⁶ Delineating and challenging the discursive construction of the polar regions as masculine spaces has been one of the most active areas of research on polar travel narratives.³⁷

³³ Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin, 'Narrative and Practice – an Introduction', in Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin (eds.), *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices* (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 2002), pp. 3–32 (at p. 22).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁵ Fredrik Chr. Brøgger, 'The Culture of Nature: The View of the Arctic Environment in Knud Rasmussen's Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition', in Anka Ryall, Johan Schimanski, and Henning Howlid Wærp (eds.), *Arctic Discourses* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), pp. 82–105 (at p. 83).

³⁶ See Kitson (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Travels*.

³⁷ See, e.g., Lisa Bloom, *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Victoria Rosner, 'Gender and Polar Studies: Mapping the Terrain', *Signs*, 34 (2009), 489–94; and Gretchen Legler, 'The End of the

Women have lived in the Arctic, of course, for as long as men, and like men often provided unacknowledged support for polar expeditions, sometimes joining exploratory teams (Amarulunguaq, mentioned above, is one example). Non-indigenous women published narratives of far northern journeys from at least the later nineteenth century, by which stage parts of the Arctic were amenable to leisure travel. Examples include Susannah Henrietta Kent's *Within the Arctic Circle* (1877), which focuses on northern Scandinavia; Josephine Diebitsch-Peary's *My Arctic Journal* (1893), which relates a year's stay in Greenland as part of one of her husband Robert's expeditions; Ella Wallace Manning's *Igloo for the Night* (1943), Mena Orford's *Journey North* (1957), and Myrtle Simpson's *Home is a Tent* (1964), all of which recount periods spent in the Canadian Arctic accompanying working husbands; and Agnes Cameron Dean's *The New North* (1909) and C. C. Vyvyan's *Arctic Adventure* (1961), again dealing with Canada, but focusing on journeys made at the authors' own instigation. Unsurprisingly, the authorial strategies these women used to write themselves into the male exploration tradition vary significantly. Kent, for example, 'feminizes' the far north as a safe and attractive place for women travellers by playing down dangers as well as her own hardiness.³⁸ Vyvyan, by contrast, strategically appropriates the role of the male adventurer, emphasising the wildness of the region she and her companion traverse, as well as their own intrepidity as travellers.³⁹

Published accounts of women's travels at the other end of the Earth are far sparser. Recreational travel to and within the Antarctic did not begin until the later twentieth century, so prior to this a visitor to the continent was inevitably part of a (male-only) work programme: whaling, exploration, science, diplomacy, military service. The only way for a woman to visit the Antarctic at this stage was via an attachment to a man, usually as a wife. Probably the earliest published observations of Antarctica by a woman appear under male authorship: Christensen's *Such is the Antarctic* includes extensive quotations from the diary of Lillemor Rachlew, who travelled with a whaling factory ship in the 1930s as a companion to Christensen's wife.⁴⁰ When women did publish their own narratives, such as Jennie Darlington's *My Antarctic Honeymoon*

Heroic Illusion: How Three Generations of Women Writers have Changed the Literature of Antarctica', *Polar Journal*, 1 (2011), 207–24.

³⁸ Heidi Hansson, 'Henrietta Kent and the Feminised North', *Nordlit*, 22 (2007), 71–96.

³⁹ Heather Smyth, "'Lords of the Word': Writing Gender and Imperialism on Northern Space in C. C. Vyvyan's *Arctic Adventure*", *SCL/ÉLC*, 23/1 (1998), 33–52.

⁴⁰ See Jesse Blackadder, *Chasing the Light* (Sydney: Fourth Estate, 2013), p. 418.

(1957) and Nan Brown's *Antarctic Housewife* (1971), their titles advertised their non-threatening, spousal roles.

My Antarctic Honeymoon is fascinating for its double-edged narrative, the author demurely deferring to then-conventional wisdom that the Antarctic should remain woman-free while simultaneously delivering a devastating account of male incompetence on the ice. Darlington stayed on Stonington Island (Antarctic Peninsula) in 1947–8 as part of the US Ronne Expedition, during which her new husband was in charge of the aviation programme. In *My Antarctic Honeymoon*, she constructs her journey as a quirky turn of events over which she had little control and her own presence as an amusing anomaly in a rightfully masculine space. Her narrative of self-transformation, from a citified, make-up-and-perfume-applying naïf to someone accepted as a member of the team, set a pattern which later women travellers would also adopt (for example, Hartley in *To the Poles Without a Beard*, 2002). Despite this achievement, Darlington is often apologetic for her presence, eventually declaring that women do not 'belong' in the Antarctic because 'Any weak link endangers the whole.'⁴¹ And yet her outsider's perspective on the expedition produces a tale of disorganisation, hurriedness, incompetence, lack of preparedness, 'bunk-house bitching', and squalor that makes Antarctic exploration look like so much masculine (and nationalist) posturing.⁴²

Contemporary Polar Travel Narratives

Another few decades would pass before a travel writer addressed the sexism endemic in Antarctic occupation head-on. It was left to Sara Wheeler, in her much-acclaimed *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (1996), to directly challenge the image of Antarctica as a continent for 'frozen beards',⁴³ although she pays homage to explorer/writers such as Scott and Cherry-Garrard. *Terra Incognita* adeptly weaves the narratives of Wheeler's own Antarctic journeys together with observations on the continent's human communities, cultural resonances, historical legacies, and unique environment. By this time, travel to the Antarctic had been opened up for both women and men, through the rise of cruise tourism (available since the 1960s but becoming popular only in the 1990s), 'writers' residencies' in various national programmes (Wheeler's

⁴¹ Jennie Darlington, *My Antarctic Honeymoon: A Year at the Bottom of the World* (London: Frederick Muller, 1957), p. 179.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴³ Sara Wheeler, *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 1.

route), and the expansion of scientific activities. A series of important travel narratives ensued, including Diane Ackerman's essay 'White Lanterns' in *The Moon by Whalelight* (1991), biologist David Campbell's *The Crystal Desert* (1992), Jenny Diski's *Skating to Antarctica* (1997), Peter Matthiessen's *End of the Earth* (2003), and Helen Garner's 'Regions of Thick-Ribbed Ice' (2001). New modes of travel produced new anxieties, such as those of the writer-tourist entering a supposedly 'pristine' environment. Diski, whose travel memoir is simultaneously a working through of childhood trauma, responds by reveling in her unheroic approach: interior spaces dominate her narrative, from the ice rink she loved as a child to the small cabin of her cruise ship, and she leaves readers wondering whether she actually stepped onto the continent. Garner expresses an ironic desire to erase both tourism and representation from the continent's history and return it to an imaginary blankness: 'I fiercely wish I had no prior inkling of this place, that everything I'm looking at were completely new to me . . . People with cameras are busybodies, writers are control-freaks spoiling things for everyone else, colonising, taming, matching their egos against the unshowable, the unsayable.'⁴⁴

Arguably the most influential polar travel writer of the late twentieth century, however, is Barry Lopez. *Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape* (1986) draws together his musings on the region's wildlife, landscape, history, and indigenous people, gathered over five years travelling in northern Canada. *Arctic Dreams* is widely acclaimed as a travel-writing classic; Robert Macfarlane considers Lopez 'the most important living writer about wilderness'.⁴⁵ Far less known than his Arctic experiences are Lopez's travels on the opposite side of the world. Sponsored by the US National Science Foundation as part of its writers-in-residence programme, Lopez travelled to Antarctica over several summers in the late 1980s and early 1990s. His experience of the far south, however, was very different from his Arctic travels. While he published a series of articles from his southern journeys, no equivalent of *Arctic Dreams* emerged. Lopez found the Antarctic 'a difficult landscape to enter, to develop a rapport with . . . my entreaties for conversation met almost always with a monumental indifference'.⁴⁶ In a later interview, he emphasised the contrast between

⁴⁴ Helen Garner, 'Regions of Thick-Ribbed Ice', in *The Feel of Steel* (Sydney: Picador, 2001), pp. 13–34 (at p. 31).

⁴⁵ Robert Macfarlane, 'Seeing the Light', *Guardian*, 2 April 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2005/apr/02/featuresreviews.guardianreview35>.

⁴⁶ Barry Lopez, 'Informed by Indifference: A Walk in Antarctica', *Harper's Magazine*, 276 (1988), 66–8.

the two polar regions: the Antarctic is 'white, just like the Arctic, but that's it. They are fundamentally different places.'⁴⁷

Despite these marked differences, new anxieties surrounding global warming reinforced the joint identity of the polar regions in the public imagination. Although the impact of temperature increases is far more visible in the Arctic, both regions act as visual manifestations of climate change as well as scientific evidence of its existence. Some contemporary polar travel accounts, such as Joanna Kavenna's *The Ice Museum* (2005) and Wheeler's *The Magnetic North* (2009), incorporate due acknowledgement of environmental issues while maintaining a focus on place, history, and community. Others, such as Meredith Hooper's *The Ferocious Summer* (2007) and Ed Struzik's *The Big Thaw* (2009), make the impact of the warming environment on the polar ice and ecosystem their main subject, or use polar travel as a springboard to discuss the politics and science of climate change more generally, as in Elizabeth Kolbert's *Field Notes from a Catastrophe* (2006). Once portrayed as hostile enemies that explorers fought to conquer, the poles now appear more often in travel narratives as victims of humanity's insatiable needs.

However, new representations produced by new materialities tend to adapt rather than replace previous visions. Where manly polar explorers once reported from the frontier of 'civilisation', now intrepid – and often female – scientists and journalists deliver 'frontline report[s] on climate change' (to use Kolbert's subtitle) or give 'eye-witness account[s]' of what happens when 'climate change [comes] thumping at the door'.⁴⁸ The polar regions have undergone many physical changes and accumulated many different layers of meaning over the centuries in which travellers have recounted their experiences there, yet the figure of the heroic traveller/writer endures, repurposed for new kinds of journey.

⁴⁷ Barry Lopez, quoted in 'Imagining the Arctic and Antarctic', *The Book Show*, ABC Radio National, Australia, 18 January 2008, www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bookshow/imagining-the-arctic-and-antarctic/3293530#transcript.

⁴⁸ Meredith Hooper, *The Ferocious Summer: Palmer's Penguins and the Warming of Antarctica* (London: Profile, 2007), p. xviii.

Travelling in Wilderness

DEBBIE LEE

The proliferation of academic work on travel writing, on the concept of wilderness, and on nature writing notwithstanding, few scholars have looked at wilderness *and* travel writing in a sustained way.¹ In order to survey the topic, it is helpful to distinguish between ‘wild’ and ‘wilderness’, and one good starting place is in the United States, where lands are set aside and managed by federal agencies to be ‘the last little places where intrinsic nature totally wails, blooms, nests, glints away’, in the words of ecopoet Gary Snyder.² Those lands are protected under the Wilderness Act of 1964, whose most oft-quoted passage reads:

A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.³

The Act gives the term ‘wilderness’ an important political history. But it also has a rich linguistic genealogy. Scholars trace the word to Old English *wilde*, meaning untamed, and *déor*, beast. In keeping with this etymology, historian Roderick Nash argues that wilderness originally meant a place for untamed beasts, and he locates the term in the Old English poem *Beowulf*, the tale of a young warrior who saves the Danes from the terror and destruction spread by the monster Grendel. Nash and others believe that the poem is a founding text for understanding wilderness spaces.⁴

¹ One notable exception is Kylie Crane’s work: *Myths of Wilderness in Contemporary Narratives: Environmental Postcolonialism in Australia and Canada* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) and ‘Wilderness Effects and Wild Affects in Contemporary UK Nature/Travel Writing’, in Ina Habermann and Daniela Keller (eds.), *English Topographies in Literature and Culture: Space, Place, and Identity* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2016), pp. 41–57.

² Gary Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild* (1990; Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2003), p. 175.

³ The Wilderness Act of 1964. ‘Wilderness Connect’, The Wilderness Institute, University of Montana, www.wilderness.net/nwps/legisact.

⁴ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 5th edn (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014). Robert Macfarlane also notices that *Beowulf* is filled with ‘wildéors’, in *The Wild Places* (2007; London: Penguin, 2008), p. 31.

'Wild' follows a different path, representing anything not deliberately controlled by human beings. Wild can exist almost anywhere, even a bird's nest lodged atop a streetlight in downtown Chicago. Snyder insists that 'wildness' is not a place but a process involving any phenomenon not concerning human agency: 'The involuntary quick turn of the head at a shout, the vertigo at looking off a precipice, the heart-in-the-throat in a moment of danger, the catch of the breath, the quiet moments relaxing, staring, reflecting.'⁵ William Cronon, picking up Snyder's idea, argues that 'wildness (as opposed to wilderness) can be found anywhere'.⁶ In other words, our minds, bodies, and imaginations are wild, containing too many thoughts and emotions for the intellect to track. Wildness, then, can be a part of any travel writing. Travel writing through wilderness spaces is a different story.

Early European and American Travel Writing and Wilderness

Wilderness travel writing came into its own during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Europeans who travelled to and wrote about the so-called New World laid the groundwork for the concept of wilderness that the USA later codified. Those same European writers later influenced Americans who travelled their own country, helping further to shape the concept of wilderness. In the wide-ranging travels of early Americans, some of the landscapes they traversed were wildernesses.

Yet whether in wilderness or not, much global travel during this period focused on ethnography and scientific collection. The British traveller and administrator Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society and friend of King George III, corresponded with thousands of people around the globe in search of specimens for science and commerce.⁷ Ironically, these expeditions supplied Banks with plants for London's Kew Gardens, a tightly managed, un-wild space. Many of these agents of empire kept journals, maintained

⁵ Snyder, *Practice of the Wild*, p. 17.

⁶ William Cronon, 'The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', in William Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), pp. 69–91 (at p. 89).

⁷ The most illuminating source on Banks's reach is Warren R. Dawson, *The Banks Letters: A Calendar of the Manuscript Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1958). Harold Carter notes that the global total of Banks's letters to and from various emissaries of science and commerce is over 20,000. See *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks: A Selection, 1768–1820*, ed. Neil Chambers (London: Imperial College Press, 2000), p. xvii.

correspondence, and wrote travel books punctuated by comments about wild lands.

In 1786, for example, Banks requested that Philadelphia resident Humphry Marshall send him a couple of hundred pounds of fresh ginseng roots. Marshall did not go himself, but dispatched his nephew and a guide on a 200-mile journey across the Allegheny mountains. They were 'obliged to encamp in the mountains, strike up a fire and lie by it all night, in the morning . . . climb up the sides of the mountain, and dig till towards evening, and then bring what they had dug to their camp, and cook their morsel and eat it'.⁸ The very wilderness that provided Banks with specimens helped create the knowledge system that would eventually threaten to destroy it.

Marshall's account reads as a challenging camping trip next to those of other travellers who used wilderness settings to stress true dangers. Andrew Kippis chronicled Captain James Cook's three voyages in 1768, 1772, and 1776.⁹ The first of these carried Banks, who collected over 1,000 new plant specimens. In the travel narrative, danger lurked everywhere, especially in wilderness. Kippis recounts the crew's approach to Trinity Bay in northeastern Australia in a leaking ship where they tried to get ashore: 'How horrible must be their fate, to be condemned to languish out the remainder of their lives in desolate wilderness.'¹⁰ But it is not just landscape that makes the wilderness unsettling. Kippis lists native 'rudeness' and nakedness, lack of English manners, lack of 'commerce' or English social life, and above all, lack of domestic comfort among the horrors of such a place.

Mungo Park's narratives likewise use wilderness to detail English suffering for the cause of empire. Park, a Scottish surgeon, was sent to West Africa by Joseph Banks in 1795 to locate the source of the Niger River. He encounters many hardships, but none worse than being ambushed by elephant hunters who rob him and take his clothes. 'After they were gone', he writes, 'I sat for some time looking around me with amazement and terror. Whichever way I turned . . . I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness . . . naked and alone; surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred

⁸ Quoted in William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1849), p. 561.

⁹ See also *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Cambridge University Press, 1955–74).

¹⁰ Andrew Kippis, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Dublin: Printed for Messrs. H. Chamberlain, W. Colles, R. Cross, et al., 1788), pp. 123–4.

miles from the nearest European settlement.¹¹ Like Kippis's account of Cook, Park views wilderness as a savage desert, frightening for its immensity and unfamiliarity. In Kippis's writing, the nakedness of native peoples signifies rudeness, but in Park's account, he is the one who is naked and vulnerable.

Alexander von Humboldt, on the other hand, found wonder in wilderness and its unfamiliarity. A Prussian traveller in South America from 1799–1804, Humboldt was one of the century's most important natural history writers, inspiring generations to come. Humboldt uses the term 'wild' to refer to horses, mules, mountains, plants, sea coasts, people, villages, panoramic views, and much more. In Humboldt's wilderness, humans vanish. In South America, he notices the great scale of wilderness.¹² Elsewhere, he writes that travellers from Europe who first arrive in South America find a world of wonderful strangeness: 'He perceives at every step, that he is not upon the verge, but in the center [of] a vast continent, where the mountains, the rivers, and the mass of vegetation, and everything else, are gigantic.'¹³ But in Humboldt's work modern readers notice something else: surprise. He writes of the 'freshness' of vegetation and encountering things that bear only 'a faint resemblance' to anything the traveller has experienced before. Thanks to Humboldt, celebrating the unfamiliar would become a staple of future wilderness travel writing.¹⁴

Even so, wilderness long intimidated early American travellers in their own country. William Bradford jumped off the *Mayflower* in 1620 onto the forested land of the eastern USA to find a 'hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men'.¹⁵ Early Judeo-Christians perceived wilderness as a cursed place, and this concept held powerful sway over early Americans.¹⁶ Their reading of the Bible would have made them think of Adam and Eve exiled from the garden into a wilderness of isolation; the

¹¹ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa, Performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (1799; Edinburgh, 1860), p. 225.

¹² Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America during the Years 1799–1804*, ed. and trans. Thomasina Ross, 3 vols. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1907), vol. 1.

¹³ Alexander von Humboldt and William MacGillivray, *Travels and Researches of Alexander von Humboldt* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1855), p. 78.

¹⁴ Peter Hulme (ed.), 'Alexander von Humboldt and America', Special Issue of *Studies in Travel Writing*, 15/1 (2011).

¹⁵ William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1952), p. 62.

¹⁶ John C. Hendee, George H. Stankey, and Robert C. Lucas, *Wilderness Management* (s.l.: Forest Service, US Department of Agriculture, 1978), p. 10.

Israelites wandering the wilderness for forty years as punishment; and Christ tempted by Satan in the wilderness before he is crucified.

Yet early travel writers also imbued American wilderness with beauty. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the work of William Bartram, a botanical collector from Pennsylvania, who wrote in the early 1790s. Bartram was hired by an English physician to travel the southeast finding new plants for medicine and commerce. Learning from Creek and Cherokee Indians, Bartram fulfilled the task, noting, for instance, that *Sassafras officinalis* (sassafras; dried root bark) could be used as a drink to 'purify blood and juices' as well as a cure for yaws.¹⁷ In so doing, he also idealised the landscape, establishing an important thread in wilderness travel writing. He speaks of the land's 'sylvan elegance', strikingly different from Bradford's perception of its 'hideous[ness]'. He pays tribute to the 'cheerful meadows, and high distant forests, which in grand order presented themselves to view', as if the land were rising up to shake hands with him.¹⁸ This view of wilderness – aesthetic enjoyment versus economic value – would seem to be a contradiction, but for Bartram the two were compatible.¹⁹

Similarly, Francis Parkman managed to combine danger and wonder in his 1849 *The Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life* about his travels in the American West. Here he writes from the Wyoming Territory: 'I looked round for some indications to show me where I was . . . I might as well have looked for landmarks in the midst of the ocean . . . Around me the prairie was rolling in steep swells and pitches, without a single distinctive feature to guide me.'²⁰ The relatively benign prairie becomes as psychologically distressing as Bradford's spiritual wilderness. But more importantly, Parkman characterises the landlocked prairie as fluid – a metaphoric ocean – revealing how mutable wilderness travel could be.

¹⁷ William Bartram, 'Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians', in *William Bartram on the Southeast Indians*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Brand (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. 139–86 (at p. 163). Also see Laura E. Ray, 'Podophyllum Peltatum and Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians: William Bartram's Preservation of Native American Pharmacology', *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 82/1 (2009), 25–36.

¹⁸ William Bartram, *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida*. . . (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1791), p. 49.

¹⁹ A point made in Philip G. Terrie, 'Tempests and Alligators: The Ambiguous Wilderness of William Bartram', *North Dakota Quarterly*, 59/2 (1991), 17–32.

²⁰ Francis Parkman, Jr, *The Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1892).

Wilderness Travel Writing of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

Humboldt called one of his books *Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*. Although his personal observations dominate his work, human interaction plays a small role. Mary Louise Pratt refers to this perspective as the travel narrative genre's tendency to fix wild landscapes in a timeless present with the traveller's eye registering sights and sounds.²¹

'Personal narrative' means something different to modern travellers, who observe wilderness through a highly subjective lens, weaving life story with travel, ethnography, and heightened historical awareness. For instance, the closing essay in Joni Tevis's 2015 *The World Is On Fire: Scrap, Treasure, and Songs of the Apocalypse*, set in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, blends personal insight, Native American lore, and small details against a bigger-than-life landscape:

I find a twist of soft underworld, *quiviut*, snagged on a bush and tuck it into my field guide to save. It would have been better, maybe, if I had left something in its place ... to acknowledge a certain reciprocity. The Dena'ina, a Native tribe who live in central Alaska, teach that 'when a person harvests a medicinal plant in the mountains, besides speaking correctly to it, he should also leave a small gift, such as a thread of match or bit of tobacco, in place of the plant'.²²

Rather than pluck specimens by the thousands as early travellers did, Tevis does so minimally and with conscience and self-doubt. She acknowledges the political-historical layers of the wilderness she crosses.

Tevis's mention of *quiviut* also highlights how modern travellers view wild landscapes through language. Robert Macfarlane uses extensive place-based terminology to discuss wild landscapes. In *The Wild Places*, he lists 'hill-forts, barrows and tumuli in the Welsh Marshes' and in the 'peaks and littorals' of England's North country.²³ He perfects the connection between language and wildness in *Landmarks*, which contains landscape glossaries. Part of being a traveller in wild places, he argues, is knowing what things are called and how they are ecologically connected. Still others use rich diction while purposefully rejecting the explorer's penetrating gaze. Richard Nelson in

²¹ Mary Louise Pratt, 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', *Critical Inquiry*, 12/1 (1985), 119–43.

²² Joni Tevis, *The World Is On Fire: Scrap, Treasure, and Songs of the Apocalypse* (Minneapolis, MI: Milkweed, 2015), p. 189.

²³ Macfarlane, *Wild Places*, p. 8.

The Island Within travels to a wilderness somewhere in the US Pacific Northwest, but he never lets readers know where it is 'to respect the island's right of privacy and to preserve its solitude'.²⁴

Other twentieth- and twenty-first-century travellers turn radically inward, merging travel writing, wilderness, and memoir. Inward and outward journeys coincide dramatically in Peter Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard*, one of the great wilderness travel texts in English. Matthiessen accompanied the naturalist George Schaller to the remote Crystal Mountain monastery, a Tibetan Buddhist sanctuary in Nepal's Dolpo region. Outwardly, he and Schaller, aided by Sherpa porters, search for a rare breed of Himalayan sheep, while Matthiessen also looks for the elusive snow leopard. All the while, Matthiessen experiences a difficult inner journey: grief over his ex-wife's death from cancer and his eight-year-old son's anger. He returns to the lowlands without glimpsing a snow leopard. But the point of Matthiessen's journey is Buddhist in nature, taking joy in the moment and accepting that life does not reveal everything. As he leaves the mountains, he writes: 'Butter tea and wind pictures, the Crystal Mountain, and blue sheep dancing on the snow – it's quite enough! Have you seen the snow leopard? No! Isn't that wonderful?'²⁵

Family is another rich theme in modern wilderness travel literature. Like Matthiessen, Terry Tempest Williams uses a wilderness journey to come to terms with her mother's battle with ovarian cancer, but in Williams's case, she travels the Great Salt Lake as its rising waters threaten birds of Bear River Migratory Bird Refuge. In *Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place*, Williams astutely observes relationships in the natural and human worlds. 'It is here in the marshes with the birds that I seal my relationship to the Great Salt Lake. I could never have anticipated its rise', she writes. And then: 'My mother was aware of a rise on the left side of her abdomen.'²⁶ Lake, refuge, and mother become interchangeable.

Cheryl Strayed's *Wild: From Lost to Found on the Pacific Crest Trail* is also motivated by her mother's death. Along her journey, Strayed combats self-doubt, writing not only about her mother, but also about her first marriage and her reckless past. Her route alternates through wilderness and national forests and sometimes along roads and through towns. In the end, she finds redemption. 'Fear, to a great extent, is born of a story we tell ourselves, and

²⁴ Richard Nelson, *The Island Within* (New York: Vintage, 1989), p. xii.

²⁵ Peter Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard* (1978; New York: Penguin, 2016), p. 242.

²⁶ Terry Tempest Williams, *Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place* (1991; New York: Vintage, 2001), p. 22.

so I chose to tell myself a different story from the one women are told', she writes.²⁷ Yet Strayed takes the inner journey deeper than most wilderness writers so that the outside landscape nearly disappears.²⁸ In these texts and others, wilderness is a place to heal from grief, seek spiritual awareness, and confront fears.

Confronting fears is more serious for African American travel writers, who grapple with the legacy of slavery and lynching in wild lands. Evelyn White's 1999 travel essay, 'Black Women and the Wilderness', concerns her unease in Oregon's Cascade Mountains as a black woman. 'My genetic memory of ancestors hunted down and preyed upon in rural settings counters my fervent hopes of finding peace in the wilderness', she writes.²⁹ The courage to confront one's fears runs also through Rahawa Haile's travel essay. Haile, who identifies herself as 'a queer black woman', hiked the Appalachian Trail in 2016. She writes bluntly about the difficulties that dog her and other black hikers, such as seeing the Confederate flag whipping in the wind at a campground in Georgia. At the same time, Haile celebrates the bonds she forges: 'The weight I carried as a black woman paled in comparison with the joy I felt daily among my peers in that wilderness.'³⁰ Scholar and wilderness traveller Carolyn Finney similarly observes that unacknowledged biases of race and class often discourage black Americans from wilderness travel.³¹

²⁷ Cheryl Strayed, *Wild: From Lost to Found on the Pacific Crest Trail* (New York: Knopf, 2012), p. 51.

²⁸ Some critics have argued that *Wild* is not a wilderness travel narrative because it is too internal. See, for example, Jim Hinch's 25 July 2013 article in the *Los Angeles Review of Books*: 'Wild is . . . an Eat, Pray, Love-style autobiographical quest that only happens to be set in the outdoors', <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/lost-on-the-pacific-crest-trail>.

²⁹ Evelyn White, 'Black Women and the Wilderness', in Robert Finch and John Elder (eds.), *The Norton Book of Nature Writing* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), pp. 1063–7 (at p. 1064).

³⁰ Rahawa Haile, 'Going It Alone', *Outside Magazine*, 11 April 2017, www.outsideonline.com/2170266/solo-hiking-appalachian-trail-queer-black-woman. As Cassandra Y. Johnson and J. M. Bowker point out, 'The slave stood as an antonym to the American myth of unrestricted wilderness exploration' and therefore blacks have felt torn about travelling in wilderness. 'African-American Wildland Memories', *Environmental Ethics*, 26/1 (2004), 57–75 (at p. 64).

³¹ Carolyn Finney, 'Landscapes of Exclusion', interview by Hope Wabuke, *Guernica: A Magazine of Art & Politics*, 15 September 2015, www.guernicamag.com/landscapes-of-exclusion. Also see Carolyn Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

The Myth of the Pristine in Wilderness Travel Writing

Ecocriticism, the method of reading literature through nature's lens, frowns on travel writers who look only inward without considering the historical price of wilderness.³² One ecocritic, Kylie Crane, claims 'a residue of the problems of wilderness – the displacement of peoples in particular – remains in discussions of the wild'.³³ Crane is referring to formally declared wilderness. She sees 'wilderness' as a problematic term because she defines it as a pristine place devoid of humans.³⁴ However, while wilderness travel writing has a dark history, it also has a subtler context.

For example, many early American writers did not think of wilderness as pristine and uninhabited and ready to be conquered. Bartram is in East Florida near Mountain Royal and Lake George when he comes upon 'a noble Indian highway',³⁵ which he describes as 'magnificent'.³⁶ Those like Bartram who ventured into country unsettled by whites often encountered Native peoples who travelled complex trail networks. Such writers acknowledged wilderness as Indian homeland. Gifford Pinchot, first chief of the Forest Service, visited the Bitterroot Mountains (later the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness) in 1896. He wrote in his travel journal of the Indians' systematic burning of forests, which perturbed him since he saw timber as a resource.³⁷ Still, Pinchot recognises that Native peoples not only dwelled in but also managed wilderness.

From Bartram to Pinchot, many wilderness travel writers understood that what might be wild to white people was home to First Peoples. This is not to say that many did not strip Native people of their homes or turn them into garish entertainment. In 1833, artist George Catlin crassly called for a 'national park' where tourists could see the Indian 'in his classic attire, galloping his

³² Ken Hiltner (ed.), *Ecocriticism: The Essential Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2015) charts the rise and growth of the field of ecocriticism, which has many subgenres. The journal *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment* features the field's cutting-edge trends.

³³ Crane, 'Wilderness Effects and Wild Affects', pp. 44–5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁵ Bartram, *Travels through North & South Carolina*, p. 99.

³⁶ Bartram may be picking up on William Gilpin's concept of the picturesque to describe natural landscapes. William Gilpin, *Observations on several parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772* (London: R. Blamire, 1786).

³⁷ Gifford Pinchot, 1896 Selway River Diary, University of Idaho Library, Wilderness Archive. Original Source: Library of Congress. Manuscript Division. Gifford Pinchot Papers. Box 3030, 20.

horse . . . amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffaloes'.³⁸ This attitude, combined with the subsequent Indian wars and removal, erased the Indians' legacy for some, though not all, writers, replacing it with natural history seemingly devoid of people.

Yet Native peoples had been narrating wilderness travel stories for thousands of years.³⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, a relative of Chief Joseph who recorded her oral histories in the 1970s, talks repeatedly of wilderness in the land that later became the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness. She tells dozens of animal stories, about a mountain goat who lived 'way way up in the wilderness', about salmon and birds who can speak, and about the famous trickster figure, Coyote. Wilson says: 'The way my aunt went and got her guidance spirit, contact with animal or whatever it is, the medicine man, they kept on dancing every winter. They got stronger and power came to them. It must have been those times when everything was different. Clear air and wilderness and they could get in touch with animals like that.'⁴⁰ Wilson's stories are even today an integral part of Bitterroot Wilderness history in US Forest Service publications.

The original framers of the Wilderness Act likewise did not see wilderness as untouched. They knew humans had travelled and told stories about these spaces for millennia. But preservationists feared the land would be destroyed through settlement and development. Passing the Act was a tough battle. Howard Zahniser, one of the Act's primary authors, wrote sixty-six drafts over eight years. Admittedly, since the Act was shaped in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it retains some language (like 'value' or 'primitive') now regarded more critically. But the Wilderness Act is a valiant attempt to set aside land from degradation, a place in the modern world where natural processes are managed thoughtfully but can mostly do their own thing, and where animals can live more or less undisturbed.⁴¹

³⁸ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 3.

³⁹ One of many writers to explore the long history of aboriginal and folk traditions, some dealing with adventures and quests, is David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in the More-than-Human World* (New York: Vintage, 1997).

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Wilson interviewed by Loran Olsen, Lapwai, Idaho, 1971. Washington State University, Nez Perce Music Archive, Loran Olsen Collection.

⁴¹ J. Baird Callicott, 'Contemporary Criticisms of the Received Wilderness Idea', *USDA Forest Service Proceedings RMRS-P-15*, 1 (2000), 24–31.

Travel Writing and the Wilderness Act

Travel writing shaped designated wilderness areas in two ways. First, as discussed, early European and American travel writers who ventured through wild areas laid the groundwork for the formal definition of wilderness. Second, those who knew that wild spaces had to be protected by an Act of Congress developed the idea of the Wilderness Act by writing about their wilderness travels. Such writing differed from early travel narratives. It took forms we do not think of as travel writing: field notes, policy statements, newsletters, narratives about small land parcels, and mental travels while sitting on a bench. Even the Act itself can be considered a kind of wilderness travel writing. Whereas previous writers travelled wilderness in the name of commerce or science, the authors of the Wilderness Act travelled in order to conserve the land for future generations, and thus their discourse had to take a different form.

Bob Marshall is a prime example. In 1926, Marshall made a backcountry trip through Montana's Bitterroot Mountains. Although known for his long hikes, that trip helped mould him into the visionary conservationist who pioneered the US Wilderness Preservation System, which currently consists of 110 million acres in forty-four states. He wrote about his 1926 trip, 'I had the chance of standing at its edge in mid-winter, before this wilderness is ruined forever by a highway.'⁴² Marshall correctly pegged the era as one of great technological change. In 1900, there were 8,000 registered cars in the US. By 1929, there were over 23 million. In response to car fever, Congress began a major road-building programme. Cars and roads were used primarily for consumerism.⁴³ Nature tourism grew out of consumer culture.

Not coincidentally, in 1916, when the Federal Aid Highway Act speeded up roadwork, the National Park Service was created to promote enjoyment of wild lands. People packed their cars and drove to new national parks, which often had roads through them, experiencing nature from behind windshields. Edward Abbey, however, later dismisses this practice in his famed *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness*. He argues that national parks should be like wilderness areas – off limits to roads and mechanised traffic:

How dare you imprison your little children in your goddamn upholstered horseless hearse? Yes sir, yes madam, I entreat you, get out of those

⁴² Bob Marshall, 'The Growth of a Forester', quoted in James M. Glover, *A Wilderness Original: The Life of Bob Marshall* (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 1986), pp. 82–3.

⁴³ Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

motorized wheelchairs, get off your foam rubber backsides, stand up straight like men! like women! . . . and walk-walk-WALK upon our sweet and blessed land!⁴⁴

In 1930, Marshall defined wilderness as ‘a region which contains no permanent inhabitants, possesses no possibility of conveyance by any mechanical means and is sufficiently spacious that a person in crossing it must have the experience of sleeping out’.⁴⁵ In writing wilderness travel, Marshall followed a tradition that began with Henry David Thoreau. ‘It is no exaggeration to say that today all thought of the wilderness flows in *Walden’s* wake’, writes historian Max Oelschlaeger.⁴⁶ Importantly, Thoreau linked wilderness to walking. He advocated walking in the wild as the best way to maintain a healthy mind and body and to extract oneself from tedious worldly engagements and walked himself for four hours a day. ‘Walking’, his widely anthologised 1862 essay, is often cited as a defence of wilderness, particularly the line: ‘In wildness is the preservation of the world’, since much of the land Thoreau walked was unsettled at the time.⁴⁷ Crucial to Thoreau’s theory of walking was the ‘saunter’, which merged walking, thinking, and writing while avoiding the world of commerce.⁴⁸

Like Thoreau and Marshall, wilderness travel writer John Muir was a celebrated walker. Muir trekked California’s Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada in the 1870s. He made other walks as well – in Canada, Alaska, and Arizona’s Grand Canyon, for instance – catalysing walking as a form of wilderness travel.⁴⁹ Yet Muir is best known for his activism, founding the Sierra Club in 1862. Hiking clubs already existed for pleasure and socialising outdoors. The Sierra Club was different: its purpose was to defend wilderness land. Historically, class status determined access to land. The wealthy had hoarded land, begrudgingly letting the landless gather wood or graze animals. By agitating for open access for all through freely available information

⁴⁴ Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire: A Season in the Wilderness* (New York: Ballantine, 1968), p. 262.

⁴⁵ Robert Marshall, ‘The Problem of Wilderness’, *Scientific Monthly*, 30/2 (1930), 141–8 (at p. 141).

⁴⁶ Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 171.

⁴⁷ Henry David Thoreau, ‘Walking’, in Richard Lenat (ed.), *The Thoreau Reader Online*, 2009, <https://thoreau.eserver.org>.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ James B. Hunt, *Restless Fires: Young John Muir’s Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf in 1867–68* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2012).

in the form of travel writing, Muir's Sierra Club insisted that wilderness be democratic.⁵⁰

Walking remains a primary mode of travel in the US wilderness, as well as in wild lands abroad. And because walking is also an act of imagination, as Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* repeatedly shows, it is well suited to wilderness travel writing.⁵¹ Macfarlane's *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* also links walking with imagination as he crisscrosses the English countryside. Like Thoreau, he praises sauntering. Walking natural landscapes gives him political and personal liberty. 'Footpaths are mundane in the best sense of that word: "worldly", open to all', he writes.⁵² In some cases, however, walking limits wilderness access. Writer Lucia Perillo, who had MS, recounts visiting Mount Rainier where she once worked for the US Fish and Wildlife Service. She laments how for her, 'accessing wilderness now requires collaboration' – friends who lift her out of her chair.⁵³ Her disability empowers her to question just what travelling through wilderness means against the able-bodied, masculine traditions of Thoreau, Marshall, Abbey, and Macfarlane.⁵⁴

Marshall's 1926 hike across the Bitterroot Mountains inspired his commitment to protecting large swaths of wilderness for foot travel. Earlier, Aldo Leopold had his own say on the matter. He advocated for tracts of land big enough to absorb a two weeks' pack trip, devoid of roads, artificial trails, cottages, and 'other works of man'.⁵⁵ Leopold's *Sand County Almanac*, a wilderness travel narrative inspired by walking his own property, laid out his famous 'land ethic', a manifesto on ecological interdependence, though of course indigenous people had their own land ethic long before Leopold.⁵⁶

In authoring the Wilderness Act, Zahniser defined wilderness as a walkable space: 'A wilderness . . . is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are *untrammelled* by man, where man himself is a visitor

⁵⁰ Muir had contradictory opinions about the Native Americans. He romanticised them for their ability to live off the land yet also called them dirty and estranged from nature.

⁵¹ Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Viking, 2000).

⁵² Robert Macfarlane, *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (New York: Viking, 2012), p. 16.

⁵³ Lucia Perillo, *I've Heard the Vultures Singing: Field Notes on Poetry, Illness, and Nature* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2007), p. 70.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Aldo Leopold, 'The Wilderness and its Place in Forest Recreation Policy', *Journal of Forestry*, 19 (1921), 718–21.

⁵⁶ Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There* (1949; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Here, Leopold declares: 'A land ethic changes the role of *Homo sapiens* from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it. It implies respect for his fellow-members, and also respect for the community as such' (p. 204).

who does not remain' (my emphasis).⁵⁷ No other word in the Act is more important than 'untrammelled', which Zahniser chose for its poetic subtlety. Trammel means to bind up or constrain, not simply to touch, influence, or walk through. Holmes Rolston III points out, 'Neither the Wilderness Act nor meaningful wilderness designation requires that no humans have ever been present, only that any such peoples have left the lands "untrammelled"'.⁵⁸ Read closely, the Wilderness Act is a reversal of the idea of 'pristine' nature.

Conclusion

As the world population multiplies and the planet suffers the effects of industry, technology, and atmospheric warming, the desire for wild spaces grows. In response, many countries have protected areas for travellers of all kinds. These include not just wildernesses, but also national parks, national monuments, game preserves, safari areas, and cultural lands. Among them are Lake Gairdner National Park in Australia, Kahuzi-Biega National Park in the Congo, Argentina's Nahuel Huapi National Park, Pechora-Ilych Nature Reserve in Russia, Vatnajökull National Park in Iceland, and Indonesia's Kerinci Seblat National Park. Worldwide, new reserves are added all the time. One of the most intriguing developments is 'rewilding', which 'emphasizes the restoration and protection of big wilderness and wide-ranging, large animals – particularly carnivores'.⁵⁹ Such spaces are the focus of George Monbiot in his *Feral: Rewilding the Land, the Sea, and Human Life*, which takes readers on a journey around the world to explore rewilded ecosystems.⁶⁰

Even with the possibility of rewilding, the International Union for Conservation of Nature has adopted a definition of wilderness that closely reflects the 1964 Wilderness Act: 'A large area of unmodified or slightly modified land, and/or sea, retaining its natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which is protected and managed

⁵⁷ The Wilderness Act of 1964, www.wilderness.net/nwps/legisact.

⁵⁸ Holmes Rolston III, 'Natural and Unnatural; Wild and Cultural', *Western North American Naturalist*, 61/3 (2001), 267–76.

⁵⁹ Michael Soulé and Reed Noss, 'Rewilding and Biodiversity: Complementary Goals for Continental Conservation', *Wild Earth*, 8/3 (1998), 1–11 (at p. 2). Also see Michael Soulé, 'Debating the Myths of Wilderness', *The Wilderness Society (Australia) 2002 Calendar*.

⁶⁰ George Monbiot, *Feral: Rewilding the Land, the Sea, and Human Life* (University of Chicago Press, 2014). Also see Elizabeth Kolbert, 'Recall of the Wild', *New Yorker*, 24 and 31 December 2012, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/12/24/recall-of-the-wild.

so as to preserve its natural condition.⁶¹ Still, some criticise this notion of wilderness. Macfarlane insists it is too narrow. He links his own journeys to those of the first travellers to England from 500–1000 CE who were searching for ‘what we might now call wildness’.⁶² These solitaries were known as *peregrini*, pilgrims.

Differences aside, ecologists argue that large spaces for wild animal habitat are integral to species’ and the planet’s survival. Particularly important are ‘keystone species’, animals that play a crucial role in an ecosystem as indicators of habitat health. David Henderson links keystone species to wild beasts of texts like *Beowulf*.⁶³ If a keystone species – a *wildéor* – disappears, the entire ecosystem is in danger of falling apart. J. Baird Callicott believes wilderness discussions should include animal travel. He proposes changing the term ‘wilderness’ to ‘wildlife sanctuaries’.⁶⁴ Though we may see a proliferation of animal pilgrims in wilderness, writing about such spaces will always be left to people.

⁶¹ International Union for Conservation of Nature, ‘Category Ib: Wilderness Area’, last modified 2016, www.iucn.org/theme/protected-areas/about/protected-area-categories/category-ib-wilderness-area. For further reading on international concepts of wilderness, see Phillip Vannini and April Vannini, *Wilderness* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁶² Macfarlane, *Wild Places*, p. 22.

⁶³ The term ‘keystone species’ was coined by zoologist Robert T. Paine. David Henderson, ‘American Wilderness Philosophy’, in *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, www.iep.utm.edu/am-wild.

⁶⁴ Callicott, ‘Contemporary Criticisms’, p. 30.

(II)

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Forms

Advice on the Art of Travel

DANIEL CAREY

The emergence of an extensive literature of advice on the art of travel (known as the *ars apodemica*) represents a striking development in the early modern period. These interventions, designed to make travel productive as an occasion for observation and refinement, as well as morally secure, developed in conjunction with an increasing importance attached to Continental tours to enhance civility, acquire political insight, attain fluency in languages, and perfect such skills as fencing and horsemanship. Young men of rank – the focus of much of this commentary – sought the lustre of Continental experience in growing numbers, prompted by largely secular motives. We can place this secular purpose within in a longer tradition associated with the journeys of nobles surveying dynastic lands and pursuing education in the late medieval period, but the scale of the activity and the attention to it by commentators constitutes something new in the sixteenth century and beyond.¹ Of course, travel for specifically religious reasons, in the form of pilgrimage to the Holy Land and other sites, continued in parallel during the period.² Indeed, some of the reservations about secular travel expressed in works of advice inherited long-standing concerns about the value of pilgrimage.³

¹ On late medieval secular travel by nobles, see Werner Paravicini, 'Von der Heidenfahrt zur Kavalierstour: über Motive und Formen adligen Reisens in spätem Mittelalter', in Horst Brunner and Richard Wolf (eds.), *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Bedingungen, Typen, Publikum, Sprache* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1993), pp. 91–130.

² F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du Grand Voyage: les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458–1612)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999).

³ Some advice works covered both secular and religious travel, e.g. Hilarius Pyrckmair, *Commentariolus de arte apodemica* (Ingolstadt, 1577); and Albert Hunger, *Orationes*, 3 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1615), vol. 111, pp. 264–77.

While my subject is the *ars apodemica* tradition, it is worth setting this material in a wider context. As Continental itineraries grew in significance, Europeans were also active in developing long-distance trade routes and colonial settlements. These expeditions likewise required formal directives, encompassing protocols for behaviour on board ship as well as specific practical guidelines. In some cases, the elaborate discussions framed around the needs of Continental travel influenced the ways in which authorities articulated the norms and potential of travel further afield.⁴ Finally, a much more practical dimension of travel, especially for overland journeys, likewise received attention – where to stay, exchange rates, medical advice, and dangers to avoid. Guidebooks providing advice on these topics arguably represent a distinct genre, but the fluid borders in the material I discuss mean that these considerations also received attention on occasion in ‘apodemical’ works.⁵

Scholars have done valuable work to establish how the *ars apodemica* tradition shaped expectations of early modern excursions.⁶ However, the European density and distribution of these contributions, which stretched from Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries to England, France, Italy, Northern and Eastern Europe, has not been fully appreciated. More than 500 items composed from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth fall within this tradition.⁷ They vary greatly in scope and generic form, including book-length treatises; prefaces and discourses within travel accounts; orations; university disputations; letters; essays; chapters in manuals of education and civility; ‘instructions’; and interpolations within larger texts taking occasion to address the topic. The themes

⁴ Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1991), pp. 93–108; Daniel Carey, *Continental Travel and Journeys beyond Europe in the Early Modern Period: An Overlooked Connection* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2009); Daniel Carey, ‘Hakluyt’s Instructions: The Principal Navigations and Sixteenth-Century Travel Advice’, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13/2 (2009), 167–85.

⁵ See Gilles Chabaud et al. (eds.), *Les guides imprimés du XVIe au XXe siècle: villes, paysages, voyages* (Paris: Belin, 2000).

⁶ See references below to work by Normand Doiron, Juliette Morice, Justin Stagl, Joan-Pau Rubiés, and Sara Warneke.

⁷ See <https://artoftravel.nuigalway.ie> for a database of works (compiled by Daniel Carey, Gábor Gelléri and Anders Ingram). This resource builds on and revises Uli Kutter, ‘Apodemiken und Reisehandbücher: Bemerkungen und ein bibliographischer Versuch zu einer vernachlässigten Literaturgattung’, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, 4/2 (1980), 116–31; Justin Stagl, *Apodemiken: eine räsionierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1983); and Luigi Monga, ‘A Taxonomy of Renaissance Hodoeporics: A Bibliography of Theoretical Texts on *Methodus Apodemica* (1500–1700)’, *Annali d’italianistica*, 14 (1996), 645–61.

broached in these writings coalesce in a manner that indicates awareness of convention, suggesting the establishment of what can be legitimately regarded as an overarching genre.

Contributions to reflection on travel in this vein grew gradually in the sixteenth century, gaining momentum in the 1540s to 1560s, before accelerating with a series of important texts in the 1570s. Thereafter, each decade through the eighteenth century witnessed the appearance of more than a dozen writings devoted to the issue in various languages and locations. By the nineteenth century, the emphasis falls more on formal instructions relating to observational practice, associated with the disciplines of natural history, geography, and anthropology. This strand arguably develops out of the *ars apodemica* while taking on its own character through the institutional and professional regulation of travel.

Various leading lights intervened to offer their thoughts on travel. In the sixteenth century, they include Justus Lipsius, Michel de Montaigne, Theodor Zwinger, Egnatio Danti, and Sir Philip Sidney; in the seventeenth century, Joseph Hall, Francis Bacon, Fynes Moryson, John Evelyn, François de la Mothe Le Vayer, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Margaret Cavendish, Robert Molesworth, and Johann Heinrich Alsted; in the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot, Bishop Hurd, Linnaeus, Johann David Michaelis, and August Ludwig von Schlözer. The earliest works came from Germany, Switzerland (especially Basel), Strassburg (a Free Imperial City), the Low Countries, and England. They were joined later by France, with fewer but nonetheless significant contributions from different parts of Italy.⁸ Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works appeared in Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Austria, and Hungary. The one major European exception is Spain, where little on this topic emerged in the form of public contributions, for reasons that require further analysis. Philip II's general discouragement of travel for education is clearly significant; the focus of Spanish efforts to direct the practice of travel and to realise its potential to yield useful information concentrated on the New World, with the production of elaborate questionnaires directed to colonial administrators.⁹

⁸ Possibly because Italian nobles seem to have travelled largely within the peninsula rather than making transalpine journeys. Gian Paolo Brizzi, 'La pratica del viaggio d'istruzione in Italia nel Sei-Settecento', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 2 (1976), 203–91 (at p. 204).

⁹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology*, 9 (1996), 139–90 (at pp. 155–6, 166), repr. in Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

In approaching the *ars apodemica* we can distinguish between two kinds of emphasis. The first falls on providing moral advice, with guidance on the benefits and dangers of venturing abroad, behavioural expectations, and protocols for making travel a socially reputable activity, accruing ‘civil’ and intellectual advantages. The second emphasis focuses on defining the observational field of travel, indicating categories and subcategories meriting travellers’ attention (including such issues as systems of government, natural resources, commerce, and ecclesiastical and military arrangements). Instructions for natural historical observation, which proliferate in the second half of the seventeenth century, most famously in Robert Boyle’s 1666 ‘General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, great or small’, branch out, in part, from this tradition.¹⁰ At times these methods of organising travel overlap and inform one another, for example in the work of Hieronymus Turler, whose *De peregrinatione et agro Neapolitano* (1574) articulated moral principles while providing exemplary indications of what to observe in Naples.

Taken together, the moral and the observational approaches generated a theory of travel which attempted to make it a productive, estimable undertaking. Although some waded in to discourage travel, commentators tended to balance the risks with the opportunities, issuing warnings while noting things to praise, often by setting out an ideal type of traveller and contrasting it, at times satirically, with those who abused the occasion. Particularly in academic settings, the mode of *argumentum in utramque partem* (on both sides) ensured discussion of advantages and disadvantages in the same discursive context.¹¹

We can now begin to look more closely at some of the distinctive orientations on travel that developed over time. For advocates of the practice, Continental travel led both to a refinement of manners and what Lipsius termed *prudencia civilis*, the capacity to distinguish what was worthy or otherwise in public and private mores.¹² True prudence, according to Hilarius Pyrcckmair in 1577, was gained not from books but from experience

¹⁰ *Philosophical Transactions*, 1 (1666), 186–9.

¹¹ For explicit recognition of this, see Christoph Besold, *Discursus politici singulares ...* (Strassburg, 1626), p. 30.

¹² Justus Lipsius, letter to Philippe de Lannoy, dated 3 April 1578, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae*, Pars 1: 1564–1583, ed. A. Gerlo, M. A. Nauwelaerts, and H. D. L. Vervliet (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1978), pp. 199, 201. See Jan Papy, ‘Lipsius’s Humanist and Neostoic Views on Travelling and Philip Rubens’s “Apobateria”’, in Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich and Walther Ludwig (eds.), *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsreisen im Spiegel lateinischer Texte* (Weimar and Jena: Hain Verlag, 2007), pp. 89–112 (at p. 93).

in the world.¹³ In 1607, Robert Johnson summarised the benefits expansively: travel 'bettereth behaviour, subtelizeth arts, awaketh & exerciseth wit, ripeneth judgement, confirmeth wisdome, and enricheth the mind with many worthy and profitable observations'.¹⁴ The aspiration was to identify what was superior in other countries and to adopt and imitate such practices, while shunning what was evil or unworthy.¹⁵ Bacon provided an elegant digest in his essay 'Of Travel' (1625), and used a decorative image to make the point, urging the traveller to 'prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country'.¹⁶ Advice of this kind often came in the form of precepts delivered by a figure offering insight gleaned from experience, as we see in Lipsius and Bacon.¹⁷ Others presented their work as *regulae* (rules) or *leges* (laws), framing their pronouncements as binding on those who departed from home.¹⁸

For advocates of travel, the activity provided an opportunity to widen one's perspective, shunning rusticity and prejudice. Lipsius, whose letter to the young nobleman Philippe de Lannoy, written in 1578 and published in his first collection of letters in 1586, proved the most influential contribution on the topic, began by reproving base and common souls confined to their own land.¹⁹ Whether among the ancients or those in his own age, great men had engaged in travel.²⁰ Nearly a century later, Sigmund von Birken, the German poet, pastor, and sometime tutor, urged the adoption of a cosmopolitan outlook, treating the whole world, as Seneca had instructed, as the 'Vatterland'.²¹ In England, travel-averse provincial gentlemen came under satirical attack in 1670 from the Catholic priest Richard Lassels for regarding

¹³ Pyrckmair, *Commentariolus de arte apodemica*, p. 2.

¹⁴ Robert Johnson, *Essaies or Rather Imperfect Offers* (London, 1607), E2^v.

¹⁵ See, e.g., *The Traveiler of Ierome Turler* (London, 1575), p. 37.

¹⁶ Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 58.

¹⁷ Polonius's advice to Laertes in *Hamlet*, 3.3, before Laertes's departure for France, falls within this tradition. As late as 1751, the German Benedictine Oliver Legipont used the designation 'praecepta' to characterise his advice in *Itinerarium, seu methodus apodemica* (Augusta Vindelicorum [Augsburg], 1751).

¹⁸ *Prudentia apodemica, die Klugheit wohl zu reizen* (Leipzig, 1712), pp. 40–4; Joost Depuydt, 'The List of *Leges Peregrinationis* by Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583–1649)', *Lias*, 19/1 (1992), 21–33.

¹⁹ For readings of Lipsius's letter, see Normand Doiron, *L'art de voyager: le déplacement à l'époque classique* (Sainte-Foy and Paris: Presses de l'Université Laval/Klincksieck, 1995), pp. 17–32; and Juliette Morice, *Le monde ou la bibliothèque: voyage et éducation à l'âge classique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016), pp. 65–100; on the influence of the letter, see Papy, 'Lipsius's Humanist and Neostoic Views', pp. 90–1.

²⁰ Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae*, p. 198.

²¹ Sigmund von Birken, *Hochfürstlicher brandenburgischer Ulysses* (Bayreuth, 1669), sig.)(2^r.

'solid greatness' as consisting of an enormous 'pasty and a roaring fire. Travel imposed a beneficial hardship, keeping a young man from 'surfeiting of his parents' and weaning him from 'the dangerous fondness of his mother'.²² The Pisan professor of history Paganino Gaudenzio likewise urged his male readers not to spend their years close by their mothers.²³ The target audience, as we can see, was typically young men in their teens and twenties – the exclusion of women from the category of travel will be considered more fully below. This youthful age was deemed appropriate for travel precisely because the experience was intended to be formative. Fynes Moryson regarded the moral risks of travel as great enough to suggest middle age as a more suitable time to venture abroad.²⁴

The impact of travel gave rise to two threats which commentators raised repeatedly: the risk of corruption on the one hand, and on the other, the transformation of identity (i.e. adopting foreign customs to an excessive degree or even becoming other in the process of extended travel). On the subject of degeneration, few could compete with the redoubtable cleric and satirist, Joseph Hall, who condemned abuses in *Quo Vadis? Or a Just Censure of Travel* (1617). His vituperation had lasting appeal – a handy one-page version of his advice appeared in broadside form later in the century. A French translation of the work as a whole appeared in Geneva in 1628 and a German version in 1665 in Basel.²⁵ The change of identity wrought by travel posed a potentially subtler problem, more difficult to counteract. In England, Roger Ascham had famously complained about the phenomenon in *The Scholemaster* (1570), quoting the proverb *Inglese italianato, e un diavolo incarnato* – an Italianate Englishman is a devil incarnate (a variant of the proverb also appeared in German and Swiss sources).²⁶ But his position was more complicated than his well-known diatribe would suggest. In a letter of 1551 to a Cambridge colleague, written during his travels but before arriving in Italy, he referred to his efforts to acquire the language and said, 'I am almost an Italian myself.'²⁷ And he was clearly no enemy of travel, publishing an

²² Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670), ã3^v, ã4^{r-v}.

²³ Paganino Gaudenzio, *Della peregrinazione filosofica* (Pisa, 1643), p. 1.

²⁴ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary ...* (London, 1617), pt. 3, book 1, chap. 1, p. 3 (Eeer^r).

²⁵ *Bishop Hall's Sayings concerning Travellers to prevent popish and debauch'd Principles* (London, 1674); *Quò vadis? ou censure des voyages*, trans. Théodore Jaquemot (Geneva, 1628); *Wo gehst du hin? oder Straff-urtheil über das Räisen*, trans. Johann Tonjola (Basel, 1665).

²⁶ Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), p. 26; *Traveiler of Ierome Turler*, p. 66; Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* (Basel, 1577), p. 96.

²⁷ *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Dr. [J. A.] Giles, 3 vols. in 4 (London: John Russell Smith, 1864–5), vol. 1, part 2, p. 266.

account of the fruits of his Continental journey in the same year as *The Scholemaster*.²⁸ In diagnosing the issue in 1606, Sir Thomas Palmer complained of the ‘fowle and irregular tricke of common Travailers, to innouate new fangles of fashions in their Countrey’.²⁹ In France we find a similar refrain about the exchange of French ways for Italian ones, ranging from the dismay of the great classical scholar Henri Estienne, writing in the 1560s, to Thomas Pelletier in his *Nourriture de la noblesse* (1604), and the Protestant commentator Alexandre de Pontaymery who, during his twenty-two months in Italy, said he had witnessed the loss of fifteen or sixteen ‘gentilshommes de tres bonne maison’.³⁰

Although commentators recommended the adoption of good customs for use at home, they insisted that the replication of ‘foreign’ practices should not obscure one’s original identity, in moral, religious, or more broadly national terms. The goal was to shape the self in travel, and yet one must return somehow the same. Jean Gailhard, a French Protestant who led extended Continental tours by two English knights in the 1670s, insisted in *The Compleat Gentleman* that the traveller must remain an Englishman, and not become a Frenchman, Italian, or German. ‘Why’, he asked ‘should he transform himself into, and, as it were, become a Foreigner, who is to live in *England* all the rest of his days?’³¹ The return offered the occasion on which to demonstrate that the advantages of travel had been gleaned and none of its defects, by making a report of one’s observations and attending church services to show renewed religious conviction.³²

The greatest threat, particularly for those travelling from Protestant Europe to attractive Catholic countries, was a transformation of religious identity, a problem that combined metamorphosis with perceived degeneracy. Thus, despite secular goals defining the function of travel, advisors did not fail to attend to the spiritual predicament of their charges, indicating the inheritance of a number of concerns that had emerged in earlier writings on

²⁸ *A Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court, duryng certaine yeares while the sayd Roger was there* (London, 1570).

²⁹ Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how Make our Travailes, into Forraine Countries, the More Profitable and Honourable* (London, 1606), p. 107.

³⁰ Henri Estienne, *L’introduction au traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes: ou, traité preparatif à l’Apologie pour Herodote* (1566), ed. Bénédicte Boudou, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 252–61 (chap. 11); Thomas Pelletier, *La nourriture de la noblesse* (Paris, 1604), fol. 96; Alexandre de Pontaymery, *L’académie ou institution de la noblesse françoise* (1595), in *Les Œuvres* (Paris, 1599), fol. 3 (A3^r).

³¹ Jean Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1678), second part, separately paginated, 4.

³² For extensive advice on the topic, see Palmer, *Essay*, pp. 129–31.

pilgrimage, going back at least to Gregory of Nyssa's fourth-century observations on the pitfalls of that practice.³³ The early modern remedy – easier no doubt to enunciate than to implement – was for travellers to form their identity, not only in national but religious terms, before departure and to maintain it. Fulke Greville urged his charge to 'hold' his 'foundation', and noted the 'vulgar Scandall' that few travellers returned 'more religious than they went out'.³⁴ In France, the Protestant grocer-apothecary, Sylvestre Dufour – best known for a text on the use of coffee, tea, and chocolate – wrote a work of travel instruction in 1678 for his son departing for the Levant. Although fear of conversion was not among his concerns, he nonetheless began with 'devoirs spirituelles', including a lengthy discussion of the importance and manner of prayer.³⁵

Advice of this kind indicated a certain wariness about travel but it was written in the light of an increasing expectation that men of rank required the prestige and finesse that only travel could provide. Numerous works addressing travel were prefaced by letters of dedication composed to young noblemen soon to embark on extended Continental journeys or already in the midst of them. Lipsius's 1578 letter to Lannoy, the lord of Tourcoing, is the most famous example. John Stradling made a translation of it with his own additions in 1592, which he addressed to the third Earl of Bedford. Turler dedicated his 1574 work to three lords of the house of Schönberg with extensive lands in Saxony, Bohemia, and Thuringia. Not all of this writing was unanimously celebratory. Joseph Hall, best known in this context for his attack in *Quo Vadis?* (prudently targeting a less elevated rank, the gentry), had earlier published a letter of advice to the son of the Earl of Essex, who, after his father's execution, had been restored to his privileges in 1604 and proposed a European tour in late 1607, although the tenor of Hall's remarks was rather dispiriting.³⁶

From the outset, the humanist voice in formulating a defence of travel and its usefulness was immensely significant. The traces of this tradition appear conspicuously in the citation of classical figures whose example lent authority to the activity.³⁷ Odysseus – praised by Homer (and, following him, by Horace),

³³ In 1615, Hunger reinvoked Gregory's discussion (*Orationes*, vol. 111, p. 271). See Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, chap. 3, for a valuable discussion of the early modern response to Gregory of Nyssa's second letter on pilgrimage, especially in France.

³⁴ Fulke Greville, *Certaine Elegant and Learned Workes of the Right Honorable Fulke Lord Brooke* (London, 1633), p. 294.

³⁵ Sylvestre Dufour, *Instruction morale d'un père à son fils qui part pour un long voyage* (Lyons, 1678). On prayer, see pp. 21–30.

³⁶ Joseph Hall, *Epistles. The First Volume: Containing II. Decads* (London, 1608), pp. 79–89.

³⁷ For a work devoted specifically to this topic, see Jacob Cramer, *Exercitatio academica de peregrinatione veterum sapientum* (Leipzig, 1679).

as having seen many cities and men – usually topped the list.³⁸ The promise of travel combined the *vita activa* with enhancement of knowledge. Humanists endorsed the educational value of travel, not merely for an elite, but also for less exalted though aspiring individuals seeking to meet Europe's leading scholars and to attend the great universities and academies. By doing so they would acquire transnational networks of their own and advance their professional prospects. The cosmopolitan outlook required an ability to negotiate religious difference in a multivalent republic of letters, in which the goods of travel could be obtained without compromising religious identity.

According to humanist authorities, travel was also intrinsic to gaining knowledge, provided that a systematic approach to observation took place. In this context (as in so many others), Petrus Ramus, the French humanist with remarkable influence in the period, provided considerable inspiration. The Ramist reform of Aristotelianism led to a system of classification by topic, in which certain 'places' of discourse could be shown as interconnected. This approach lent itself to the form of the synoptic table or structured series of brackets, the pinnacle of which, in the context of travel, came in Theodor Zwinger's *Methodus apodemica* (1577).³⁹ Such brackets defined types of traveller as well as categories of observation.⁴⁰ Others left out the brackets but retained the heads or 'topics'. Egnatio Danti, the distinguished Italian mathematician and cosmographer, chose the latter method in his twenty-eight headings for travel observation in 1577.⁴¹ Ten years later, an instructive text appeared under the title *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces*, composed by Albert Meier on commission from the German humanist nobleman Heinrich Rantzau. Emulating Ramus's use of loci, Meier set out twelve headings: cosmography, astronomy, geography, chorography, topography, husbandry, navigation, the political and ecclesiastical state, and literature, histories, and chronicles.⁴² These areas were broken down into further subheadings, with the text consisting solely of this schema. Thus the *methodus*, although concise, was nonetheless quite comprehensive in its

³⁸ See Doiron, *L'art de voyager*, pp. 21–5.

³⁹ On the influence of Ramus on the apodemic tradition, see Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550–1800* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic, 1995), pp. 66–70, 107–9.

⁴⁰ For English examples, see Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (London, 1591), A4^r; Robert Dallington, *A Method for Travell* (London, [1605?]), A2^v.

⁴¹ Egnatio Danti, 'Delle osseruatione de Viaggi', in *Le scienze matematiche ridotte in tavola* (Bologna, 1577), p. 50. The rest of the text largely uses synoptic tables.

⁴² Albert Meier, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* (Helmstedt, 1587). An English translation (by Philip Jones) appeared in 1589.

objects of attention.⁴³ In this sense it complemented the encyclopedism of Zwinger (see Figure 25.1), author of the massive *Theatrum vitae humanae* (1565), and his successor Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638), who also supported the mobilisation of travel as a means of extending knowledge and making it comprehensive and systematic.⁴⁴

Within this tradition of systematising information gathering, we can identify a further strand focusing on political intelligence that sometimes blends into espionage.⁴⁵ The proximity with spying appears in networks developed by the Earl of Essex, for example.⁴⁶ Apodemic works certainly recognised the political utility of travel and the opportunity it presented to observe the strength, fortifications, government structure, wealth, and resources of allies and enemies in Europe. The one-time secretary of state William Davison (deposed and imprisoned following the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots) produced a schematic table for making such observations, printed after his death, in 1633.⁴⁷ On the topic of government, a distinctly Machiavellian flavour can be detected in the request for attention not only to the laws, customs, and political sovereignty in the state, but also to the question of whether the prince – in office by heredity, election, or usurpation – was ‘beloved or feared’ by his own people and neighbours. Furthermore, the judicious traveller should note his ‘designements’ and ‘enterprizes’, the confidence or distrust he inspired in the people, the country’s military strength, alliances, and the existence of any factions in the state with their grounds and causes.⁴⁸ Closely related in content, though it was not set out in tabular form, is William Cecil’s set of instructions in 1571 for the third Earl of Rutland, composed when Cecil was himself secretary of state.⁴⁹ Palmer expressed some discomfort in associating travel with the base activities of

⁴³ The durability of this schematic approach appears in [Maximilien Misson], *A New Voyage to Italy*, 2 vols. (London, 1695), vol. II, p. 320.

⁴⁴ Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopedia*, 7 vols. (Herborn, 1630), vol. VII, pp. 2209–13.

⁴⁵ See Elizabeth Williamson, ‘“Fishing after News” and the *ars apodemica*: The Intelligencing Role of the Educational Traveller in the Late Sixteenth Century’, in Joad Raymond and Noah Moxam (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 542–62.

⁴⁶ See Paul E. J. Hammer, ‘Essex and Europe: Evidence from Confidential Instructions by the Earl of Essex, 1595–6’, *English Historical Review*, III (1996), 357–81 (at p. 360).

⁴⁷ William Davison, ‘Most Notable and Excellent Instructions for Travellers’, in *Profitable Instructions; Describing what speciall Observations are to be taken by Travellers in all Nations, States and Countries* (London, 1633), pp. 1–24. On the manuscript sources, see András Kiséry, *Hamlet’s Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 120 n. 103.

⁴⁸ Davison, ‘Most Notable and Excellent Instructions’, pp. 14–15, II.

⁴⁹ Reprinted in Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 295–8.

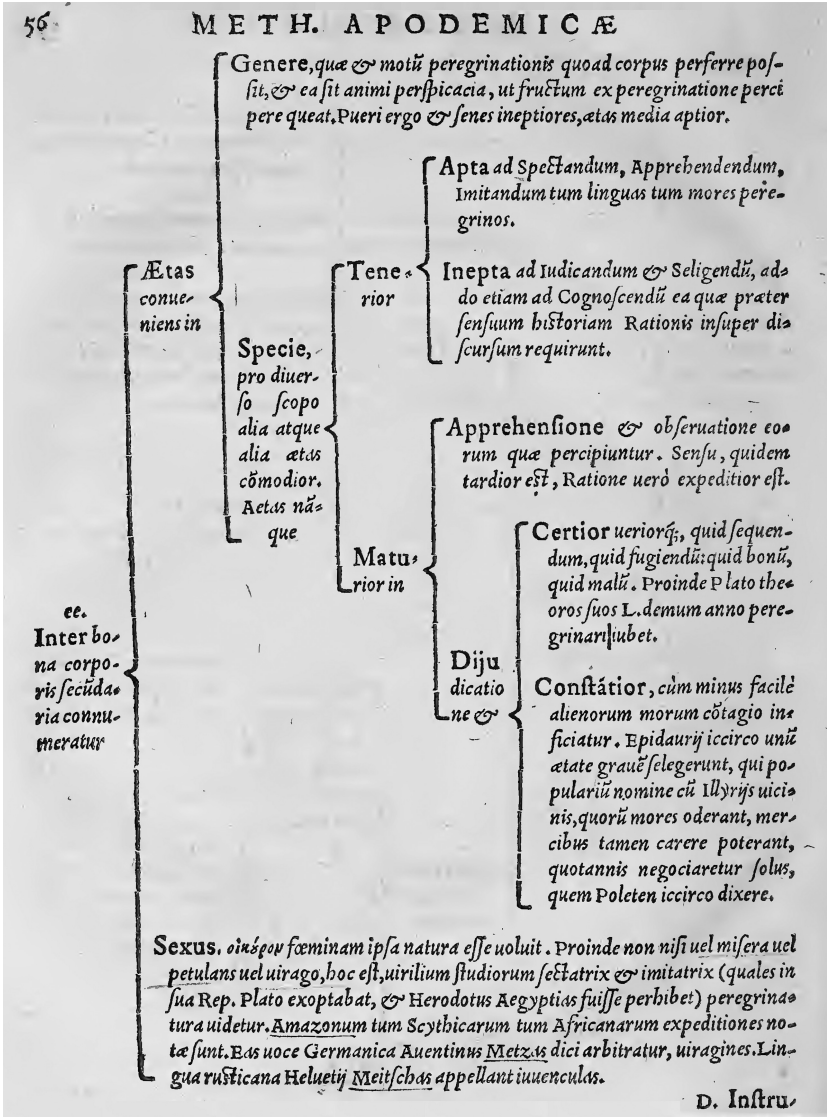


Figure 25.1 Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica* (Basel, 1577), p. 56. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

mere intelligencers, but the distinction between what he regarded as a low form of observation and the information gathered by more estimable travelers was not always easy to discern. The connection was made in Ben

Jonson's satirical portrait of Sir Politic Would-Be in *Volpone* (1607), who fancies himself as something of an agent in the political intrigues of Venice.

Arguably, one of the functions of the advice literature on travel, usually implicit but occasionally spelled out, was to exclude women from participation. In the context of pilgrimage, by contrast, it was not clear that women could be legitimately deprived of the spiritual benefit conferred by expeditions to sacred places, even if worries were expressed over their safety and welfare.⁵⁰ Whatever religious grounds existed for women's pilgrimage, the early modern redefinition of travel as a secular activity meant that the justification available to them to travel essentially disappeared. When Turler reviewed the situation in 1574, he noted (in the English translation of 1575) that 'wéemen are forbidden, as it were of honestie and womanhoode' to take longer or frequent journeys (unless accompanying their husbands), although he did observe that customs varied from country to country on this point. Yet on balance the practice attracted suspicion that women who travelled were promiscuous (*impudicae*).⁵¹ In *Pervigilium mercurii* (1598), Georgius Loysius followed Zwinger in affirming that nature herself expected women to remain at home, adding that in Germany this was clearly true unless the women were poor, or lascivious and impudent (*petulans*).⁵² Richard Mulcaster's deliberation over this question is especially interesting since he supported women's education and dedicated his treatise *Positions* (1581) to Elizabeth I. Her example of attending to 'domesticall discipline' showed that women could attain the fruits of travel at home through study, and in fact demonstrated that young men need not embark on such problematic journeys themselves.⁵³ Whether this argument would have persuaded male readers is another matter. The rather confused perspective on what travel meant for men and women in terms of gender appears strikingly in the reflections of Samuel Purchas in *Microcosmus* (1619):

A Man emasculate, effeminate, is a Monster ... A Woman sits *at home* ... But the man trauels abroad, and comming to his Lands, before his wits, must see stra[n]ge Coasts, and brings home Cringes, Crouches, Complements,

⁵⁰ On women's place in the literature of commentary on pilgrimage, see Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, pp. 95–7, 101, 109, 120–4. Gomez-Géraud records a range of women engaged in pilgrimage in the sixteenth century, significant in terms of the period in which the *ars apodemica* literature emerges (*Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, pp. 269–71).

⁵¹ *Traveiler of Ierome Turler*, pp. 8–9, 96–7.

⁵² Georg Loysius, *Pervigilium mercurii* (Curiae Variscorum [Hof], 1598), p. 58; Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, p. 56.

⁵³ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*, ed. William Barker (University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 212.

Lookes, Words, Clothes, all new and strange; that is, [he] hath beene at cost and gone farre to make himselfe a Woman.⁵⁴

Purchas, intent on confining women to the domestic sphere, nonetheless worries over male travellers who adopt foreign customs and emasculate themselves in the process with their adoption of effeminate language, comportment, and clothing. The consensus in *ars apodemica* sources about women's access to travel continued a century later, to judge by a Leipzig academic dissertation of 1712, *Prudentia apodemica, die Klugheit wohl zu reizen*, which listed as its concluding corollary 'Foeminae regulariter a peregrinatione excluduntur' ('women as a general rule are excluded from travel').⁵⁵

Both Justin Stagl and Joan-Pau Rubiés argue that *ars apodemica* writings tailed off in significance after 1630.⁵⁶ This might be true, up to a point, of what could be called the Ramist tradition, narrowly conceived. But travel observation remained a preoccupation, while moralists continued to add their voices to discussion of the merits and failings of travellers. In England, for example, a new phase in the reception of travel occurred during the Interregnum and Restoration.⁵⁷ In the Civil War period, a considerable number of Royalists and others spent periods of time engaged in travel, in addition to those who led a more settled life in exile. This cataclysm occasioned a new set of contributions to the debate over travel, which increased at the Restoration when an array of French influences arrived at Court. Reflection on travel tended to sharpen the criticism and satire of returned travellers even as it accepted the continued necessity of communing with European society. The appearance of James Howell's *Instructions* in 1642 was timely in that sense, and it was reprinted in 1650. Thomas Neale, who wrote his lengthy directions in 1638, eventually published them in 1643, for the benefit of his brother 'at Tours in France, or elsewhere'.⁵⁸ At the Restoration the tide of contributions continued, including offerings from the widely travelled Richard Lassels,

⁵⁴ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrim: Microcosmus, or the Historie of Man* (London, 1619), pp. 488–90.

⁵⁵ *Prudentia apodemica*, p. 48.

⁵⁶ Stagl, *History*, pp. 84, 86; Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers*, p. 164.

⁵⁷ Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and the 'Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985); Michael G. Brennan, *English Civil War Travellers and the Origins of the Western European Grand Tour* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2002).

⁵⁸ Thomas Neale, *A Treatise of Direction How to travel safely and profitably into Forreigne Countries* (London, 1643), A4^r.

and Margaret Cavendish, who spent much of the Civil War period in exile in France and the Netherlands.⁵⁹

I have remarked on various continuities between the early period of the *ars apodemica* and contributions in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Looking at the latter timeframe in more detail, some significant patterns emerge. The first is the harnessing of travel to the project of natural history, of which Robert Boyle's 'General Heads' (1666) is the most influential example. This short work of four pages appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* and was energetically distributed by the secretary of the Royal Society, Henry Oldenburg. Boyle adopted the structured systematising of observation followed by *ars apodemica* commentators. Indeed, the work could readily have been set out in tabular form. One of Boyle's unacknowledged sources was synoptic advice on observation in Bernard Varenius's *Geographia generalis* (1650), which Varenius set out as a series of heads as well as brackets.⁶⁰

The Royal Society used its institutional resources to distribute inquiries for travellers, a practice that became widespread in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This approach recognised collective effort and repetition as methodologically important.⁶¹ The pattern also appears in Napoleon's expedition to Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century, with its huge cadre of scientific observers, armed with questionnaires, and the programme of the Royal Geographical Society in the nineteenth century, among other examples.⁶²

At the same time, we can see a vast opening out of the geographical field of observation, in which the privileging of Europe, in a civic humanist moment, gives way to a wider compass of activity associated with trade, exploration, and colonial settlement. In this respect we can make a link with parallel traditions in the early modern period of Spanish questionnaires; instructions produced by trading companies; and proposals advertised by figures like Richard Hakluyt and others for exotic destinations.⁶³ In 1686, the French

⁵⁹ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Orations of Divers Sorts Accommodated to Divers Places* (London, 1662), pp. 73–5.

⁶⁰ Bernhard Varenius, *Geographia generalis* (Amsterdam, 1650), table at p. 9.

⁶¹ See Daniel Carey, 'Arts and Sciences of Travel, 1574–1762: *The Arabian Journey* and Michaelis's *Fragen in Context*', in Ib Friis, Michael Harbsmeier, and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (eds.), *Early Scientific Expeditions and Local Encounters: New Perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and 'The Arabian Journey'* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2013), pp. 27–50.

⁶² Inga Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), p. 294; Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

⁶³ Carey, 'Hakluyt's Instructions'.

antiquarian Charles César Baudelot de Dairval, although concerned above all in his *De l'utilité des voyages* with medals and inscriptions, nonetheless concluded with a 'Mémoire' that fits comfortably into the apodemic tradition. There he was clearly interested in instructing a global form of curiosity.⁶⁴ In this respect we can identify one of the culminating works in this tradition as the volume by J. R. Jackson, published in 1841, *What to Observe; or The Traveller's Remembrancer*, covering more than 570 pages. The categories spanned every area of attention, 'physical and moral'. He intended it for general use, including those who 'travel luxuriously over civilized Europe' but also those 'who wander undaunted among hostile tribes', with a goal of turning their 'peregrinations' to 'better account than they have hitherto been'. Jackson concluded with a set of tables 'designed to awaken the attention of the observer to the advantage of throwing many details into a tabular form', complete with Ramist brackets.⁶⁵

The moral strand of travel discussion also continued in the eighteenth century. The Swiss writer Bêat Louis de Muralt, known for his letters published in 1725 on France and England based on his own journey, composed a lengthy epistle on the art of travel that concludes the volume. In this context Muralt strikes a perhaps unexpected note to the extent that he questions the character-forming potential of travel and its intellectual impact. In fact, travel either remains a superficial exercise or it exposes people, sadly, to a view of corruption in the world. Muralt concluded with a paeon to Swiss simplicity and the virtues of the nation, free from luxury and effeminacy, which suggested the wisdom of remaining at home.⁶⁶

The survival of long-standing concerns in the eighteenth century is by no means surprising, although we see changes in some of the stylistic approaches. For example, the *argumentum in utramque partem* – arguing on both sides – was transformed in Bishop Hurd's *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel* (1764) as a dialogue of the dead between John Locke and the third Earl of Shaftesbury over the merit of educational forays. Rousseau's treatment of travel in *Émile* (1762) is conventional enough; what makes it distinctive is its place in a larger narrative of novelised reflection on education surrounding

⁶⁴ Charles César Baudelot de Dairval, 'Mémoire de quelques observations générales, qu'on peut faire pour ne pas voyager inutilement', in *De l'utilité des voyages, et de l'avantage que la recherche des antiquitez procure aux sçavans*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1686), vol. 11, pp. 695–732.

⁶⁵ J. R. Jackson, *What to Observe; or The Traveller's Remembrancer* (London: James Madden, 1841), pp. iii, iv, 577.

⁶⁶ [Bêat Louis de Muralt], *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François. Et sur les viages* (s.l., 1725), pp. 457–543. On Muralt's travels, see Gábor Gelléri, *Philosophies du voyage: visiter l'Angleterre aux 17^e–18^e siècles* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2016), pp. 83–95.

the central 'character'. In his formal discussion of travel, near the end of the work, Rousseau adopts an aphoristic style and speaks as a preceptor, arguing that the activity must have its rules and advising that travel is not for everyone: 'it is only good for those who are strong enough in themselves to listen to the voice of error without being deceived, strong enough to see the example of vice without being led away by it'. Émile should return after two years with a 'full knowledge' of government and public morality. But Rousseau does make a notable point in suggesting that the traveller take to remote places, not capitals, to find the true character of a nation, not least because these areas are closer to nature and remove the traveller from corruptions of vice.⁶⁷ The recommendation to undertake this excursion occurs, interestingly, *after* Émile has fallen in love with Sophy; Rousseau justifies the narrative order without alluding to the fact, taken for granted, that Sophy will stay behind.

The era of mass travel and tourism in the nineteenth century (inaugurated in part by the railway and steamship) made the travel *guide* the pre-eminent form for offering advice.⁶⁸ But in the early modern period, the weight of advice on the art of travel was dedicated to shaping moral conduct and making travel a productive activity in terms of information gathering. For commentators in this tradition, the risks posed to a stable religious and personal identity remained ever-present, but they offset these worries by noting the cosmopolitan potential of travel and its capacity to furnish insight into near and distant states and territories, as well as the natural world. To redeem travel from the accusation of mere wandering, discipline was needed, and the assistance of those prepared to articulate rules and categories of observation with long-lasting significance.

⁶⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), pp. 501, 505, 518–20.

⁶⁸ Susanne Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker: eine Medienkulturgeschichte des Reiseführers 1830–1945* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2012).

Travelogues, Diaries, Letters

ZOË KINSLEY

The travelogue has a long and complex historical relationship to other textual traditions. It is closely connected to the development of the novel, and is influenced by changes in attitudes towards life writing. From the late seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century, through and after the years of the Grand Tour, the epistolary and journal modes of travel narration emerged as particularly popular and enduring forms, building upon the pre-existing practices through which travellers recounted their experiences via letters and journals.¹ Both the epistolary and journal modes of narration reflect the traveller's desire to order the experiences of travel in relation to the rhythms and structures of personal and diurnal or calendar time. However, those formats are used in very different ways by different travellers. Both raise questions about the extent to which any traveller's account can be considered to be authentic or truthful. They both also demonstrate the ways in which travel writers' formal choices can be dictated by readers' expectations of their texts, rather than being in any clear or direct way shaped by the experience of place.

The Epistolary Form

The early modern period produced a number of travel accounts in the journal and epistolary formats. For example, *Coryat's Crudities, Hastily gobled up in five Moneths travells* (1611), a complex text 'hard to place' in any 'previously established generic form', is framed by Thomas Coryat as 'my Journall'.² The travelling experiences of Sir Thomas Roe, first English ambassador to the Mughal court for the East India Company, were recorded in

¹ For detailed discussion of the popularity of travel literature in the eighteenth century, see Chapter 6 above.

² Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 59; and Coryat in Hadfield, p. 62.

letters and journal entries first published in excerpted form in 1625.³ Usage of the formats then burgeoned in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in travel writing and in other literary forms. The epistolary format was appropriated by a number of literary genres: it was ‘not an uncommon medium for published disquisitions on philosophy, science, religion, history, and politics’, and also became an increasingly popular choice for the authors of travel accounts.⁴ Citing Janet Gurkin Altman’s argument that ‘To write a letter is to map one’s coordinates’ and trace the distance travelled since the previous act of writing, Donna Landry proposes that all letter writers might therefore ‘in some sense [be] travel writers’.⁵ Travel letters, like diaries, are often assumed to constitute more ‘personal’ and intimate forms of expression than other forms. The travel letter has also been associated with domesticity, and therefore femininity, and has been seen as a form that constructs meaning through dialogue with others. However, consideration of the diverse body of travel correspondence challenges these assumptions (not least because it was a mode of authorship employed by men as well as by women).

Epistolary travel writing is surprisingly difficult to define beyond its basic structural and typographical elements. Some travel writers employ an epistolary structure merely as an organising methodology which gestures obliquely towards a real-world practice of letter writing. Even supposedly authentic epistolary travel narratives are complicated by their transition from manuscript into print. In his *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, first published in three volumes between 1724 and 1726, Daniel Defoe employs the epistolary format to give shape and structure to a work which narrates multiple circuits – which he differentiates from ‘tours’ – as well as integrating the accounts of other travellers (without acknowledgement).⁶ Each ‘Letter’ therefore describes travels made within a particular region of Britain, conflating into one continuous account what might be temporally distinct journeys made across many years. However, Defoe only partially adheres to the expectations of the epistolary form. There

³ The excerpts were published in Samuel Purchas’s *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes* . . . (London, 1625), a large four-volume collection of travel accounts.

⁴ Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O’Quinn, ‘Introduction’, in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Heffernan and O’Quinn (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2012), pp. 11–34 (at p. 15).

⁵ Donna Landry, ‘Love Me, Love My Turkey Book: Letters and Turkish Travelogues in Early Modern England’, in A. Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven (eds.), *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 51–73 (at p. 56).

⁶ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–6), ed. Pat Rogers (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 45.

are no named recipients for the letters; instead, they are addressed to a generic 'Sir' who serves for the collected community of readers to which the printed text is directed. The method by which the letters are signed off pays lip service to the conventions of epistolary literature but does no more. The title-page of the work cites the author as 'a Gentleman' and the letter format, for all its associations with personal and private acts of communication, only serves to maintain the traveller's anonymity. Defoe expresses 'earnest concerns' for the work's usefulness, repeatedly emphasises his status as an 'eye witness' and authoritative observer, and declares the literary undertaking to be an exhibition of ardent patriotism (pp. 45–6). However, he is casual when it comes to defining the text's narrative framework, describing the format he has chosen for this serious and weighty undertaking variously as 'essay', 'memoirs', and 'familiar letters' (p. 239). Defoe's fluid approach to form suggests that he saw letters as a literary relation of the essay and memoir, and indeed that he considered them all as appropriate for the narration of travel. It also implies something about readers' expectations, or at least Defoe's assumptions about them. The cursory reference to the format of the volumes suggests that he did not feel any obligation to persuade the reader that his letters or their recipients were 'real'. In fact it might be the case that the thinly veiled 'fictionality of the narrative serves to make the book more pleasing'.⁷

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's status as a female, aristocratic traveller meant that very different pressures and expectations shape her epistolary narrative. Montagu's text has a complex history, at the heart of which lies her desire to manage her public image, which all the existing evidence suggests she considered would be jeopardised by publishing her travel letters in her lifetime. Montagu journeyed to Constantinople, where her husband Edward was ambassador to the Turkish court, between 1716 and 1718. Her account was published posthumously, although it was probably circulated in manuscript, and was carefully revised and prepared for print publication over the decades following her journey. *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e* (1763), usually known as *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, has become one of the most important accounts of Continental travel by an Englishwoman in the early eighteenth century.⁸

⁷ Charles L. Batten, Jr, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 26.

⁸ See Billie Melman, "The Middle East/Arabia: "the cradle of Islam"" in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 105–21 (at p. 111).

Montagu writes in the wake of accounts produced by seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century European travellers to the Levant such as George Sandys, Ottaviano Bon, Paul Rycaut, and Aaron Hill, and she presents her work as a corrective to those earlier commentators.⁹ She remarks that the accounts of her predecessors are ‘full of absurdities’, and she highlights the fact that her status as a female traveller gives her unique access to areas of Turkish life and culture which male travellers were excluded from, and which ‘no [other] book of travels could inform you of.’¹⁰ The text’s ‘complicated history of production, circulation, and reception’ means that the travel narrative has its origins in, yet should not be confused with, actual letters that Montagu sent her friends and relatives during her time abroad.¹¹ The traveller composed a contents list for the first volume of her letter book (which she failed to continue in the second volume), in which she identified each letter by place and topic rather than date and addressee. This suggests that she was at least in part eschewing the conventions of the epistolary tradition in favour of the supposedly more objective organisational strategies of scientific and ‘manners and customs’ description.¹² Montagu stresses her ‘regard to truth’ in her writing, particularly in contrast to the male travel writers who had written of Turkey before her.¹³ Yet, that strenuous assertion of authenticity, and concomitant denial of fictionality, is complicated by the multiple self-representations Montagu performs as she narrates the places and societies encountered in her travels via the dialogic personal relationships she has with her large and diverse network of correspondents. Unlike Defoe’s work, in which the artifice of epistolarity offers a unifying motif and the suggestion of a consistent authorial voice, Montagu’s travel letters are tonally diverse and playfully inconsistent. In a letter to her friend Lady Rich she sends gossip and criticises the ‘barbarous customs of our country’ which she negatively contrasts with the refreshingly different gender dynamics of upper-class Vienna. When writing to the Princess of Wales her tone is

⁹ See George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615); Robert Withers’s translation of Ottaviano Bon, *A Description of the Grand Signor’s Seraglio or Turkish Emperour’s Court* (1650); Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668); and Aaron Hill, *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in All its Branches* (1709).

¹⁰ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, pp. 148, 103.

¹¹ Heffernan and O’Quinn, ‘Introduction’, p. 16.

¹² For a detailed discussion of these textual issues, see *ibid.*; also Cynthia Lowenthal, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

¹³ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, p. 83.

necessarily more formal and she patriotically praises the ‘easy government’ of King George I.¹⁴ Multiple correspondents produce a diversification of the narrating voice.

As the eighteenth century progressed, the epistolary form gained prominence in the literary marketplace via another form of authorship – the novel. The close interrelationship between novel writing and travel writing in this period means that innovations and adaptations in the tradition of the literary letter emerged as a consequence. As Jean Viviès has argued, ‘the fictional travel narrative and the travel narrative are not clearly demarcated categories but poles which reveal a continuum’.¹⁵ The publication of Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), *Clarissa* (1747–8), and *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–4) popularised the epistolary novel and prompted large numbers of imitations from the mid-century. However, Richardson was not the originator of the form. The novel of letters was a ‘broad-based European . . . tradition’ in which tales of travel were prominent.¹⁶ Ira Grushow also suggests that a ‘looser conception of story’ meant that the ‘spurious letters’ of novelistic travel texts lent themselves to the scrutiny and illumination of the author’s own society.¹⁷ Giovanni Paolo Marana’s *Letters writ by a Turkish Spy* (1684; English translation 1687) narrated the experiences of, and information collected by, the eponymous Turk Mahmut in a series of letters sent from Paris to Constantinople, supposedly transcribed and edited from a set of found manuscripts.¹⁸ It was followed by other notable examples including Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters* (1721), the fictional correspondence of two Persian travellers to France, which seems to owe a debt to Marana’s earlier epistolary text. In the English tradition, Oliver Goldsmith’s *Citizen of the World* (1762) offered amusing accounts of England in letters from a Chinese traveller writing home; and Tobias Smollett’s *Expedition of*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 100.

¹⁵ Jean Viviès, *English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Exploring Genres* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 27. For more generally on the relationship between travel and fiction, see Chapter 30 in the present volume.

¹⁶ Thomas Keymer, ‘Samuel Richardson (1689–1761): The epistolary novel’, in Michael Bell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to European Novelists* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 54–71 (at p. 56).

¹⁷ Ira Grushow, ‘Epistolary Travel Fiction’, in Jennifer Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 2014), vol. 1, pp. 402–3.

¹⁸ The work was published in Italian and French in 1684, and translated into English in 1687. It was subsequently repeatedly expanded, and went through numerous editions during the next century, although critics still debate the authorship of the later volumes. See Srinivas Aravamudan, ‘Fiction/Translation/Transnation: The Secret History of the Eighteenth-Century Novel’, in Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (eds.), *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 48–74.

Humphry Clinker (1771) is significant for its adoption of a polyphonic epistolary narrative style, which disrupts the conventions of the travel writing genre by denying a single authoritative commentary. Smollett's novel consists of letters written by the various members of the Bramble family party, who journey from their home in South Wales to make a tour of England and Scotland. Whilst the narrative perspective is dominated by the men in that party – the grumbling hypochondriac Matthew Bramble and his nephew Jerry – they are supplemented by the voices of three women, who importantly include Win the waiting maid. By narrating the action via this group, unified by familial circumstance yet differentiated by gender, age, and class, Smollett brings into sharp relief the ways in which travel discourse is fundamentally shaped and influenced by the subject position of the traveller. To Matthew, Vauxhall gardens in London abound with 'paltry ornaments' 'seemingly contrived to dazzle the eyes and divert the imagination of the vulgar'. To his young niece Lydia, the site is so beautiful that it 'dazzled and confounded' her, and she judges it a 'wonderful assemblage of the most picturesque and striking objects'.¹⁹ The epistolary nature of the text means that these travellers' very different impressions are conveyed with power and immediacy, directed as they are to friends and intimates who sympathise with their own world view. What is harder to establish is where, among these diverse and often contradictory perspectives on the same journey, the reader might find the 'plain truth' of the touristic experience which Montagu had so assuredly offered the reader of her travel letters.

Smollett wrote *Humphry Clinker* in the final years of his life, and the novel was in fact partly composed while he was in Italy. The boundaries between actual and imagined travel, non-fictional and fictional travel narration, are particularly porous ones in the literary corpus of Smollett. His life and work raise wider questions about the definition of 'authenticity' as applied to travel writing. Matthew Bramble is at least in part the author's own self-projection, and Smollett had also appeared in the travel novella of his contemporary Laurence Sterne, who cast him as 'the learned Smelfungus' in *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768). This caricature was in turn a response to another, supposedly non-fiction, epistolary travel book produced by Smollett earlier in his career, *Travels through France and Italy* (1766). *Travels* narrates a tour to the Mediterranean that Smollett had made earlier in the decade, and is often punctuated by highly personalised expressions of

¹⁹ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. Angus Ross (London: Penguin, 1967), pp. 120, 124.

individual opinion and interest. The work is perhaps chiefly remembered for the traveller's continued concerns over his own ill health and for his comic ill humour, with the locations of travel frequently described as battle grounds on which Smollett tussles with locals. On the road to Florence, for example, he 'collared' his 'impertinent' driver with one hand and 'shook my cane over his head with the other', while shortly afterwards threatening to 'blow' his 'ragamuffin' guide's 'brains out' (pp. 288–9). However, despite these violent assertions of self, critics have questioned the extent to which the *Travels* can be read as the account of 'real' travelling experience, asking whether the narrator is Smollett 'or a mask, an objectification of the subject'.²⁰ As is the case with Montagu, Smollett did write letters during his travels on the continent, yet those actual letters and the ones 'artfully constructed' into the published collection of correspondence are not necessarily the same. Like Defoe's, the letters are directed to a 'complex collective entity' rather than being addressed to individual correspondents.²¹ It is only later in his career, in *Humphry Clinker*, that we see Smollett using the epistolary form to fully acknowledge that the subject position of both the traveller and the reader for whom he or she writes shapes travel discourse.

The Travel Journal

The popularity and complexity of the letter book format in the history of European travel writing pay testimony to the enduring relationship between travel narratives and novelistic prose. It is also, however, an important example of the way in which the form of travel writing can be shaped by the reading habits of the culture in which it is produced, and by authors' attempts to utilise formal conventions to familiarise the unfamiliar. Framing the experiences of travel within the daily routines of correspondence and epistolary exchange embeds its structures within the realm of the quotidian, and arguably domesticates discourses that are otherwise public and professional. The same can be said of the journal or diary. In his essay 'Of Travel' (1625), Francis Bacon urged travellers to record their experiences in a diary, and that advice became a staple of the guidance given to travellers thereafter, for example by the Royal Society and trading companies. It persisted as a popular format for travel writers throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, although its usage widened far beyond the realm of

²⁰ Viviès, *English Travel Narratives*, p. 54.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 54.

serious, scientific travel as envisaged by Bacon. Early advice insisted on the importance of ‘exactness’ in the keeping of a travel journal and assumed the simultaneity of the acts of travelling and writing. The journal served as an aide memoire, assisting in the organisation of otherwise disparate and unwieldy data: ‘writing is considered a mnemonic tool and the paperwork a means to store information and to relieve memory’.²² This encouragement towards journal keeping had implications for both the style and the substance matter of the travel accounts produced, as Carl Thompson has demonstrated in his discussion of William Dampier’s important *New Voyage Round the World* (1697). Plain and direct writing was preferred, and discussion of self was to be avoided wherever possible, in favour of objective delineation of ‘measurable, material phenomena in the external world’.²³ This approach to travel writing assumed that authentic and true representation of place was possible provided that the traveller was meticulous and objective in their record keeping. In practice, of course, such verisimilitude was hard to achieve.

The journal format foregrounds the relationship between the physical progress of a traveller’s journey and the passing of time. Observing that travel journals were the only kind of journal literature to be published and establish themselves in the print marketplace until the late eighteenth century, Stuart Sherman argues that they ‘focused the wider debate about the viability of diurnal form for representing phenomena in space and experience over time’.²⁴ Once again our understanding of these formal concerns in the travel writing tradition is enriched by attention to the novelistic structures of travel fictions: Robinson Crusoe was a careful journal keeper (until he ran out of ink). One of his early concerns on the island was that he should ‘lose my Reckoning of Time’. The recording of experience in journal format is narrated as a continuation, and literary elaboration, of the diurnal practice he first enacts with a knife upon the cross he has constructed on the shore: ‘I cut every Day a Notch with my Knife, and every seventh Notch was as long again as the rest, and every first Day of the Month as long again as that long one, and thus I kept my Kalendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning

²² Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, ‘A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)’, in Tim Youngs and Charles Forsdick (eds.), *Travel Writing: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 143–74 (at p. 146). See also Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682–1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), chap. 1.

²³ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 76.

²⁴ See Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660–1785* (University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 169, 161.

of Time.' Only when the initial dizzying responses to his new castaway existence have subsided does he allow himself to put pen to paper.²⁵

The travel journal became commercially popular before other kinds of diurnal literature such as the diaries of lives centred in and around the home. However, it should still be remembered that for every journal that did make the transition into print, there are huge numbers that remained in manuscript.²⁶ As was the case with epistolary travel writing, for those authors who did print their work, the process of preparation for publication was often complex, involving revision and reinterpretation of the initial journal text. J. C. Beaglehole, for example, has written of the challenges of editing Captain James Cook's journals recounting his three voyages in the late 1760s and 1770s, and the way in which that work led to the realisation that Cook was by no means a plain or simple scientific journal writer. The processes of 'drafting and redrafting' revealed in surviving manuscripts display the 'widening of the interests of a very able man', 'a process of moral struggle', and 'an enlarged appreciation of the possibilities of description'.²⁷ Beaglehole also had to consider the relationship between Cook's logbooks and journals and the way that the records produced by other members of the voyage might inform the understanding of Cook's accounts.

The travel journals published in the years following the major voyages by Cook raise questions about the relationship between the journal or diary format and other forms of authorship, particularly in the realms of biography and life writing. The advances being made in overseas travel, enabled by factors including innovations in navigation and time-keeping (which had in their turn fed the popularity of the journal as a literary form), were being matched at a local and regional level as the 'home tour' gained popularity within Europe, facilitated by developments in local touristic infrastructures. Consequently, travel for non-professional reasons gained in popularity, and an increasingly mobile population led to more diverse travellers and travel journals. As travel for leisure became increasingly popular, the travel journal or diary began to be employed for new kinds of discourse. The journey into Scotland made by Samuel Johnson and James Boswell in 1773, and the two very different travel narratives they produced, serve to illustrate some of the

²⁵ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Michael Shinagel, 2nd edn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), pp. 48, 51.

²⁶ For example, see the list of journals compiled in Robert Gard (ed.), *The Observant Traveller: Diaries of Travel in England, Wales and Scotland in the County Record Offices of England and Wales* (London: HMSO, 1989).

²⁷ J. C. Beaglehole, 'Some Problems of Editing Cook's Journals', in Youngs and Forsdick (eds.), *Travel Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 123–36 (at p. 125).

tensions which emerge during this period of increased home tourism, which in turn can be seen as a precursor to the mass touristic practices of the next century. Johnson's account of the tour, the *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775), divided the narrative into sections titled by place name ('St. Andrews', 'Aberbrothick', and so on). His friend and subsequent biographer Boswell, publishing his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* in 1785 after Johnson's death, structured his account chronologically. The differences between the narratives, embodied in their slightly, yet significantly, different titles – one a 'Journey', the other a 'Journal' – encode fundamentally different attitudes towards, and agendas for, the journey which they undertook together. Johnson works hard, not always successfully, to maintain the persona of objective, empirical traveller. He quickly moves into the language of 'experiment[ation]' and his diction is heavy in the terminology of measurement and comparison. By contrast, any personal motivation for the journey is carefully excised from the travel text: he can 'scarcely remember how the wish' to travel into Scotland 'was originally excited'.²⁸ Boswell, famously, delights in exposing the disingenuousness of Johnson on that point, and it has become a critical commonplace that his travel journal is as much an account of Samuel Johnson as it is a description of Scotland. Boswell pushes the journal form in a number of different directions, proving the malleability of both the format and of travel writing itself. *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* is in some ways a biographical exploration of Johnson as traveller, a test run for Boswell's magnum opus, the *Life of Johnson* (1791). It also serves as an exhibition of the young Boswell's intellectual and literary credentials: in his hands the journal format becomes interwoven with the letter book, and travel writing strains under the weight of scholarly footnotes and supporting materials, wielded as evidence of his meticulous research.

Women's Narratives of Travel and the Question of Autobiography

From Boswell's use of the travel journal format for the purposes of semi-biographical narration, we move to the questions about the relationship between travel writing and autobiography prompted by the 'inward turn' in travel writing which is now commonly attributed to the last years of the

²⁸ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, in Johnson and James Boswell, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. Peter Levi (London: Penguin, 1984), p. 35.

eighteenth century. Thompson and others have made a strong case for the identification of a shift towards a fundamentally different kind of travel prose around the turn of the nineteenth century, with the ‘foregrounding of narratorial self’ and articulation of an ‘inner world of thought and feeling’ becoming more pronounced.²⁹ There have also been persuasive calls for caution regarding any straightforward conflation of autobiographical and travel narration, however. Discussing the early twentieth-century travel accounts of Estella Canziani, Loredana Polezzi, for example, acknowledges the ‘historical and formal links between travel writing and autobiography’ yet also reminds us that ‘drawing links . . . is a risky business’: ‘both autobiography and travel writing are notoriously fuzzy, hybrid, complex genres, which tend to resist simple definition – and drawing them together may create further difficulties of interpretation’.³⁰ Paul Fussell claimed travel writing as a ‘sub-species of memoir’, yet we are reminded elsewhere that travel writing’s reliance on a narrative self constructed through dislocation and distance from home and from ‘normal life’ makes it difficult to reconcile in any straightforward way with the conventions of life writing.³¹ This is perhaps particularly true of travel writing produced prior to the nineteenth century, during the years in which the principles for autobiographical literature, and indeed the language used to describe it, were still being worked out. It is not until the 1790s that the term ‘self-biography’ becomes hesitantly replaced by ‘autobiography’.³² How then can we reconcile these two ambiguous kinds of authorship and understand the relationship between them?³³

It is often suggested that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century female travel writers opt to organise their observations and experiences via the epistolary or journal format because they are perceived as feminine, and therefore less

²⁹ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp. 110–11.

³⁰ Loredana Polezzi, ‘Between Gender and Genre: The Travels of Estella Canziani’, in Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 121–37 (at p. 121).

³¹ Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 203; and Simon Cooke, ‘Inner Journeys: Travel Writing as Life Writing’, in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 15–24 (at p. 19).

³² James Treadwell, *Autobiographical Writing and British Literature, 1783–1834* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 3; also see Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

³³ For detailed discussion of this question, see Cooke, ‘Inner Journeys’; also Zoë Kinsley, ‘Narrating Travel, Narrating the Self: Considering Women’s Travel Writing as Life-Writing’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 90/2 (Autumn 2014), 67–84.

likely to evoke criticism from those with strong views about the potential impropriety of women seeking print publication:

This preference for letters and diaries among female travellers is partly strategic: the epistolary genre is strongly linked to the feminine, the domestic and the affective. The choice of this form sends a strong signal to the reading public: though the travel writer may wander into the public sphere, her moral compass is firmly pointed towards home.³⁴

Anne Grant's anonymously published *Letters from the Mountains* (1807) nicely illustrates these points. The advertisement to the first edition describes the travel letters as 'simple and careless'.³⁵ Grant repeatedly emphasises the unaffected and authentic nature of the text by situating its production firmly within the casual and familiar spaces of domestic and amateur scribal practice. 'The last hasty lines you had from me were so rapidly scrawled' she writes to her friend and regular correspondent Miss Ewing, 'that you would hardly make out the little meaning they contained. The sage bearer was on the fidget at my elbow the whole time I was writing it.'³⁶ The endearing, intimate tone here is matched by an informality and individualisation of address, particularly when writing to female correspondents, which contrasts markedly with the stiffly generic 'Sir' of Defoe's epistolary tour. There is also a sense of participation in a larger network of authorship and exchange, and an emphasis on dialogue, which is strikingly different from the artificial epistolary frameworks of some of Grant's predecessors. Grant had spent her childhood in America; she was, therefore, an unusually well-travelled woman, with the opportunity to situate her journey from the Lowlands into the Highlands of Scotland within a much wider context of cultural mobility and exchange. What comes across instead in these travel letters, however, is the seclusion and privacy of the author's position, and a horizon of influence and experience limited to the local and domestic. Grant seems to illustrate the point made by Shirley Foster that throughout the nineteenth century 'women travel writers have to substitute self-effacement or self-mockery for more aggressive or positive assertiveness in order to demonstrate a true femininity'.³⁷

³⁴ Dúnlaith Bird, 'Travel Writing and Gender', in Thompson (ed.), *Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 35–45 (at p. 41). See also Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, 'Introduction', in Goldsmith (ed.), *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), pp. vii–xiii (at p. vii).

³⁵ [Anne Grant], *Letters from the Mountains; Being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, between the years 1773 and 1807*, 4th edn, 3 vols. (London, 1809), vol. 1, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 9.

³⁷ Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and their Writings* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 19.

Women's utilisation of epistolary and diurnal formats in their travel writing, however, should not necessarily be read as evidence of acquiescence to patriarchal expectations of submission and domesticity. The self-awareness in the employment of supposedly feminine motifs, by Grant and other women writers, indicates a sophisticated attention to the expectations for travel texts in this era, and an understanding of how to exploit the common standards by which female authors were judged. Mary Morgan's *Tour to Milford Haven* (1795), the title-page of which notably conceals its epistolary structure, performs a generic, formulaic prefatory apology for the amateur and possibly inaccurate nature of a work that was not originally projected for print publication. She therefore asserts the travel text's status as originating in an appropriately feminine network of scribal authorship and correspondence, and suggests that print publication was a secondary, unintended outcome of that activity. However, those claims are quickly followed by a forceful defence of female authors: 'As a female, I have certainly no occasion to excuse my temerity; so many of my sex have shewn they are capable of the most admirable compositions on the most important subjects.'³⁸ As Morgan finds an independent voice during the course of her travel preface, she shifts from prescribed and formulaic protestations of authorial timidity and modesty, to a powerful assertion of the right to claim a voice within the public sphere of print, and furthermore argues that in doing so she will be joining an already significant tradition of female authorship.

Morgan's example illustrates a common trajectory from manuscript to print, through which letters to friends and relatives composed during the course of a journey are later collected, usually, it is claimed, at the request of those correspondents, who become subscribers to the text in order to facilitate its entrance into print. This story is further complicated by a large body of manuscript accounts by women, some of which demonstrate practices of travel authorship that span decades and meticulously record multiple journeys. Striking examples within the context of the British home tour, from the mid eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, include the journals of Caroline Lybbe Powys, Dorothy Richardson, Katherine Plymley, and Elizabeth Giffard.³⁹ In some of those journals we

³⁸ Mary Morgan, *A Tour to Milford Haven, in the Year 1791. By Mrs Morgan* (London, 1795), p. ix.

³⁹ See the eight tour journals by Caroline Lybbe Powys held by the British Library, spanning the years 1756–1792, Add. MSS 42163–70; Dorothy Richardson's travel journals, 1761–1801, 5 vols., John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, Eng. MSS 1122–26;

find travelling experiences fastidiously ordered and organised through the literary and typographical structures of printed travel books – contents pages, indexes, lists of mileage, and appendices – which in turn suggests a ‘public’ life for these texts, and close attention to the needs of a reading audience.⁴⁰ Such examples have contributed to a re-evaluation of the status of manuscript literature by women, which in turn has led to an improved understanding of the prominence of travel authorship in local and regional networks of women’s writing and reading. Rather than signifying marginalisation from the dominant print culture, women’s manuscript travel journals, like other forms of female-authored scribal literature, can in some instances be seen to represent choice and agency, rather than passivity and censorship, particularly for middle- and upper-class writers for whom there was no financial imperative to print.⁴¹

The letter book, diary, or journal was never a straightforwardly personal or immediate form of travel narration. Nor can it be easily defined by reference to particular structural or typographical conventions. What is clear in surveying travel letters and diaries is that these narrative formats were utilised by both men and women, and need to be understood in relation to other important and burgeoning literary traditions, including the novel, biography, and autobiographical memoir. Defoe’s lack of concern with the authenticity of his supposed ‘letters’ suggests that the epistolary structure could serve as an early method of chapterisation, and enables the presentation of a deliberately singular and consistent narrative voice. Montagu’s travel letters to numerous correspondents, on the other hand, remind us that when travel narration is shaped for particular readers, and functions in a dialogic relationship with other textual voices, diversity and subjectivity are necessarily revealed. Similarly, the journal-keeping practices of travellers can facilitate scientific and regularised recording of data, while alternatively or indeed simultaneously offering the potential for highly personalised autobiographical reflection. Having borrowed Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s letter book,

Katherine Plymley, *Travel Journals*, 33 vols., Shropshire Archives, MSS 567/5/5/1/1–32; and Elizabeth Giffard, *travel journals*, 4 vols., 1766–1773, Flintshire Record Office, MSS D/NH/1074–77.

⁴⁰ Dorothy Richardson’s journals offer a particularly significant example of the meticulous way in which some female travellers organised their manuscript journals; see Zoë Kinsley, ‘Considering the Manuscript Travelogue: The Journals of Dorothy Richardson (1761–1801)’, *Prose Studies*, 26/3 (December 2003), 414–31.

⁴¹ See, for example, Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

Mary Astell inscribed her thoughts on the epistolary travelogue in its final, blank pages. She wrote that once 'I had it in my hands, how was it possible to part with it!', reminding us how powerful the intimacy and immediacy of individualised communication can be as a form of travel authorship.⁴²

⁴² Mary Astell, 'The Travels of an English Lady in Europe, Asia and Africa', in Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, pp. 218–20 (at p. 218).

Travel Writing and Cartography

JORDANA DYM

Maps, travel, and travel writing have been partners for centuries.* Since the fifteenth century, maps and the discussion of geography, mapmaking, and navigation have been integral to a wide range of travel accounts as well as to the guidebooks that emerged from the genre in the nineteenth century. After the printing press revolutionised communication in the fifteenth century, the first travel book to invite readers to trace the journey using word, image, and map was Bernhard von Breydenbach's 1486 pilgrimage account. Erhard Reuwich's multi-panel foldout city views of Mediterranean ports from Venice to Jerusalem propelled von Breydenbach's narrative to international acclaim and wide readership.¹ Ever since, travellers and publishers have striven to acquire, prepare, and personalise maps, charts, and views to bring geography and culture to life, and to accompany long- and short-form travel writing. Book titles have long signalled the cartographic presence: fourteen Englishmen returned from the Holy Land offered in 1669 'an exact account ... together with a map', a mid-nineteenth-century Jewish-Moldavian traveller told of eight years in Asia and Africa 'with a map and corresponding notes', and a United States diplomat reflected on his *Persian Days* 'with 51 illustrations and an endpaper map' in 1928.²

From the 1980s, a 'visual turn' in the academy drew attention to travellers' illustration and photography, while humanistic analysis of maps as cultural

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¹ Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio From Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

² [T. Burrell], *A Journey to Jerusalem: or, a Relation of the travels of fourteen Englishmen, in the year 1669* . . . (London: N. Crouch, 1672); Israel Joseph Benjamin, *Acht jahre in Asien und Afrika von 1846 bis 1855* (Hanover: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1858); and Copley Amory, Jr, *Persian Days* (London: Methuen, 1928; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929).

and graphic, as well as scientific, documents was spurred by the work of J. B. Harley, David Woodward, Christian Jacob, and others.³ In the 2000s, digitised book and map collections have increased access to the folding and other maps in rare volumes, and interest in visual geographies, including maps, as integral parts of travel narratives. Yet travellers' reliance on and contributions to cartography to show, personalise, and define the places travelled to and through have only recently drawn scholarly attention.⁴

Maps and Travel in the Age of Hoof and Sail

Since the Renaissance, European travellers both produced and consumed maps. They drew on existing cartographies to fire the imagination or make plans before a journey and to report on what they had found along the way, whether in distant and partially unknown lands in the Americas, Asia, or Africa, a Grand Tour in Europe, or pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem.⁵ Accounts from experiences touching European imperial global expansion and exploration benefited from and showcased advances in printing and illustration techniques, including copperplate engraving, part of an increasingly visual European culture that depicted

³ For travellers as eyewitnesses and producers of visual materials, see influential works by Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 1983); and Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984). Students of map history emphasise that maps are more than wayfinding or scientific documents. See J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 'Preface', in J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. xv–xxi (at p. xvi). Available at www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V1/Volumer.html. Christian Jacob presented a compelling, influential argument for maps as cultural constructs in *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, trans. Tom Conley, ed. Edward H. Dahl (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁴ While scholars have looked at individual cases of travellers' cartography, studies of travel literature have traditionally failed to address systematically maps as elements of the text while map historians have not considered travellers' making and use of maps as a discrete area to study distinct from studies of exploration. See Jordana Dym, "'More Likely to Mislead than Inform': Travel Writers and the Mapping of Central America, 1821–1945", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30/2 (2004), 341–3; and *The World Displayed: Maps and Travel from Marco Polo to Amelia Earhart* (University of Chicago Press, forthcoming), for development of the arguments and approaches synthesised in this chapter.

⁵ Jordana Dym, 'The Familiar and the Strange: Western Travelers' Maps of Europe and Asia, ca. 1600–1800', *Philosophy & Geography*, 7/2 (2004), 155–91.

as well as described geographic spaces.⁶ In travel, this visual revolution led to the adaptation of oral and written itinerary wayfinding tools to spatial formats, including maps and maplike objects.⁷ With the rise of the travel writing genre came some conventions in mapping for it.

Maps were not common household items in the fifteenth century, but by the seventeenth century were increasingly available as separately sold sheets and bound into illustrated volumes, including books of maps such as atlases and navigation manuals.⁸ To ensure readers had access to relevant maps, travel accounts offered detailed cartographic and geographic information so that they could follow along with the text whether or not they had access to other cartographic materials. Maps were one way publishing travellers communicated their geographic and route information. In addition, non-graphic descriptions, in chronologically presented journal entries, letters, narratives, and itinerary tables indicating distances or times on stages of a journey, costs, and even lodging details, have been staples of travel writing since this period.

Generally, the first duty of maps accompanying travel texts, as publisher Jean-Frédéric Bernard wrote in 1727, was ‘to make known the situation and bearing of the country a voyager describes’.⁹ An ‘orientation map’ opposite the title-page or early in the text set the stage, as authors and publishers previewed the travellers’ route and itinerary. Like the map from a 1712 edition showing one of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier’s routes to Persia, such maps might be outlines (Figure 27.1); alternatively, they might incorporate

⁶ See, for example, Alpers, *Art of Describing*; and Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe’s Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

⁷ For itineraries, see Catherine Delano Smith, ‘Milieus of Mobility: Itineraries, Route Maps, and Road Maps’, in James Akerman (ed.), *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation* (University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 34–41. On wayfinding, see James R. Akerman, ‘Finding Our Way’, in James R. Akerman and Robert W. Karrow, Jr (eds.), *Maps: Finding our Place in the World* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), 19–63. For medieval itineraries, mapping, and travel, works by Angelo Cataneo, Matthew Connolly, Evelyn Edson, and Elizabeth Ross offer insightful starting points.

⁸ Robert Karrow, ‘Centers of Map Publishing in Europe, 1472–1600’, pp. 611–21, and David Woodward, ‘Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing and Coloring in the European Renaissance’, pp. 591–610, both in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 11: *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁹ Jean Frédéric Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au nord . . .*, 8 vols. (Amsterdam: Jean Frédéric Bernard, 1715–27), vol. v111, p. 2.

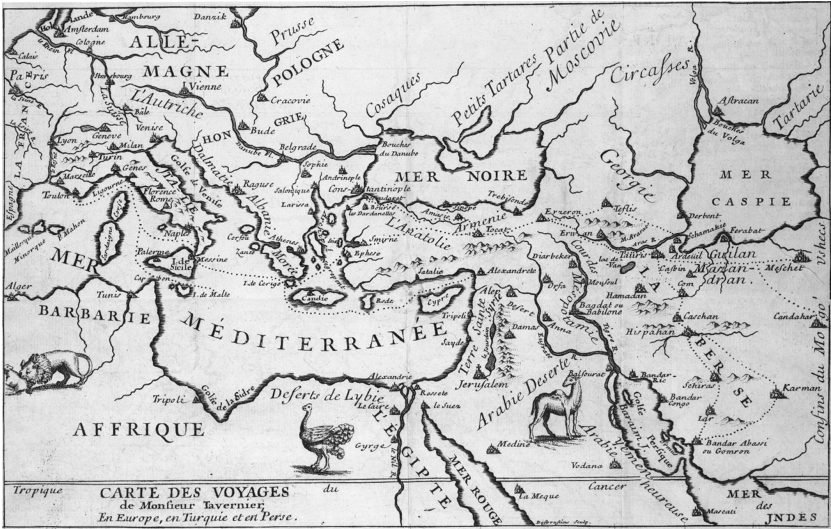


Figure 27.1 This itinerary map gives readers a sense of the route Jean-Baptiste Tavernier took by land and sea from Europe to the Middle East. Illustrations draw the eye on a spartan outline map. ‘Carte des voyages de Monsieur Tavernier en Europe, en Turquie et en Perse’, in Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1712), vol. 1, opp. p. 1. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

information from previous accounts, interviews with residents, sketches made, and sometimes maps acquired on the journey. Many texts and maps emphasised filling in gaps in knowledge – correcting locations or adding new routes, topographical features, settlements, and points of interest – based on and identifying eyewitness data collection. Generally, only early modern Grand Tour accounts of travel within Europe – whose authors were more interested in their destination than the journey, and whose itineraries and territories might be familiar and easily researched by readers – lacked geographic and cartographic content and illustrations.¹⁰

From the sixteenth century, maps for travel narratives drew on cartographic traditions for land and sea. Road, geographic, and strip maps showed post roads, marking stops where a traveller could take a regular mail carriage or change horses on a private trip and providing

¹⁰ Dym, ‘The Familiar and the Strange’.

models for route maps for those who journeyed by land.¹¹ Cartographic evidence of sea journeys drew on marine sailing directions and nautical cartography, including charts, drawings of islands, profiles, and coastal views.¹² Non-experts learned these traditions by watching pilots and navigators at work plotting a course or verifying latitude.

Sometimes maps made for travel texts showed the journey, whether out and back or within the destination. Generally, the inclusion or exclusion of the outward or home voyage on the 'itinerary map' reflected the attention to that segment within the narrative or travellers' or readers' presumed familiarity with it. Following road map conventions, land routes were often shown as dashed or solid lines broken for stops (stages) on the journey, indicating, when necessary, direction or multiple circuits. Water routes might be marked, as they were on sea charts, with pricked lines and, in some cases, circles for navigators' daily noontime reading of latitude. When traveller or publisher did not worry about such niceties, as in Figure 27.1, a simple dotted line might suffice to offer a general sense of the route.

Within a travel account, more specialised maps, often identified and listed in a table of plates, could draw attention to a particular destination. While geographic maps were plentiful, views, plans, and other representations of space could outnumber them. The city views in von Breydenbach's fifteenth-century pilgrimage provided an urban focus initiated in Europe and spread worldwide in works including, in the seventeenth century, Engelbert Kaempfer's 'ground plots' of Miyako and Edo; Jacob Spon's view of Lepantho and ruins of Athens, and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's 'platforms' of Erevan and Baghdad.¹³ Spatialised events might include land and sea battles, as found in Hans Staden's

¹¹ See Delano Smith, 'Milieus of Mobility.' Erhard Etzlaub's map showing European roads to Rome for the 1500 Holy Year is one sixteenth-century example. A popular seventeenth-century portable travel volume was John Ogilby's *Itinerarium Angliae* (1676).

¹² Books of islands, *isolarii*, and navigational books such as Pierre Garcie's *Le grand routier* . . . (Rouen, 1483), focused on textual instruction. Lucas Janszoon Waghenauer's *Spiegel der Zeevaerd* (1584) joined charts to text. The former's title and the latter's name became the basis of the English 'rutter' and 'waggoner', terms for a book of nautical guidance.

¹³ Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, trans. Johann G. Scheuchzer, 2 vols. (London: Scheuchzer, 1729), vol. 11, Tab. xxv 11 and xxx; Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant: fait [aux] années 1675 & 1676* (Lyons: Antoine Cellier, 1678), vol. 11, opp. p. 32 and end of volume; and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier . . . through Turkey into Persia and the East-Indies* (London: printed for R. L. and M. P., 1678), between pp. 14 and 15, and pp. 86 and 87.

captivity narrative (1557) and Samuel de Champlain's voyages (1613), or diplomatic and religious receptions or processions set in geographies as a royal funerary march observed by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1679) in Tonquin (Vietnam).¹⁴

Two harbour views offer a sense of distinct spatial storytelling. In 1613, French voyager extraordinaire Samuel Champlain produced a view of the Port des Mines (Bay of Fundy, Canada) from exploratory voyages along North American coasts; it labels key land settlements, draws attention to rivers and other waterways, and suggests a channel for a ship to follow to reach safe harbour, with soundings (Figure 27.2). The French visual tradition contrasts with Dutchman Jacob L'Hermite's more realistic depiction in 1626 of the bay of Acapulco, Mexico. L'Hermite's drawing seems more landscape than map, despite a compass rose hovering over waves that smooth into calm waters in a bay large enough for a fleet, and a perspective of mountains around the harbour that evokes profile views from navigation guides.¹⁵

Explorers like Champlain and L'Hermite, scientific travellers on the move with notebooks, mapping paper, and instruments, were perhaps cabinet map-makers' closest collaborators, painstakingly plotting routes, encounters, and topographies. Instruments to facilitate observation (often mentioned in accounts) included a magnetic compass, quadrant, astrolabe, and cross staff in the sixteenth century, adding the telescope in the seventeenth.¹⁶ Preparation to contribute geographically meant more than packing a kit; travellers drew on instructions from governments, learned societies, and their predecessors regarding how and what to note and report. They returned home with detailed observations and experience that contributed to the 'newest and best' and 'most accurate' maps that were among their books' selling points, lamenting lost or incomplete data.¹⁷ What they learned changed Europeans' understanding of the world.¹⁸

¹⁴ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Recueil de plusieurs relations*, 2 parts (Paris: G. Glouzier, 1679), part 11, three engravings between pp. 78 and 79.

¹⁵ See 'Vertoning van de Haven van Acapulco', Jacques L'Hermite, Joannes van Walbeek, and Adolf Decker, *Journael vande Nassausche vloot . . .* (Amsterdam: H. Gerritsz & J. P. Wachter, 1626), following p. 82, <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCB~1~1~3904~6160001>.

¹⁶ Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Explorations* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), pp. 248–52, 278–83, 292–4.

¹⁷ Government by questionnaire, with heavy emphasis on geography, emerged in Spain's American empire by 1579. Instructions for travellers often included tips on collecting geographical data and mapmaking. Dym, 'The Familiar and the Strange'; Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 155–93; Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, Christian Licoppe, and Heinz Otto Sibum (eds.), *Instruments, Travel, and Science: The Itineraries of Precision from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁸ See Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*.

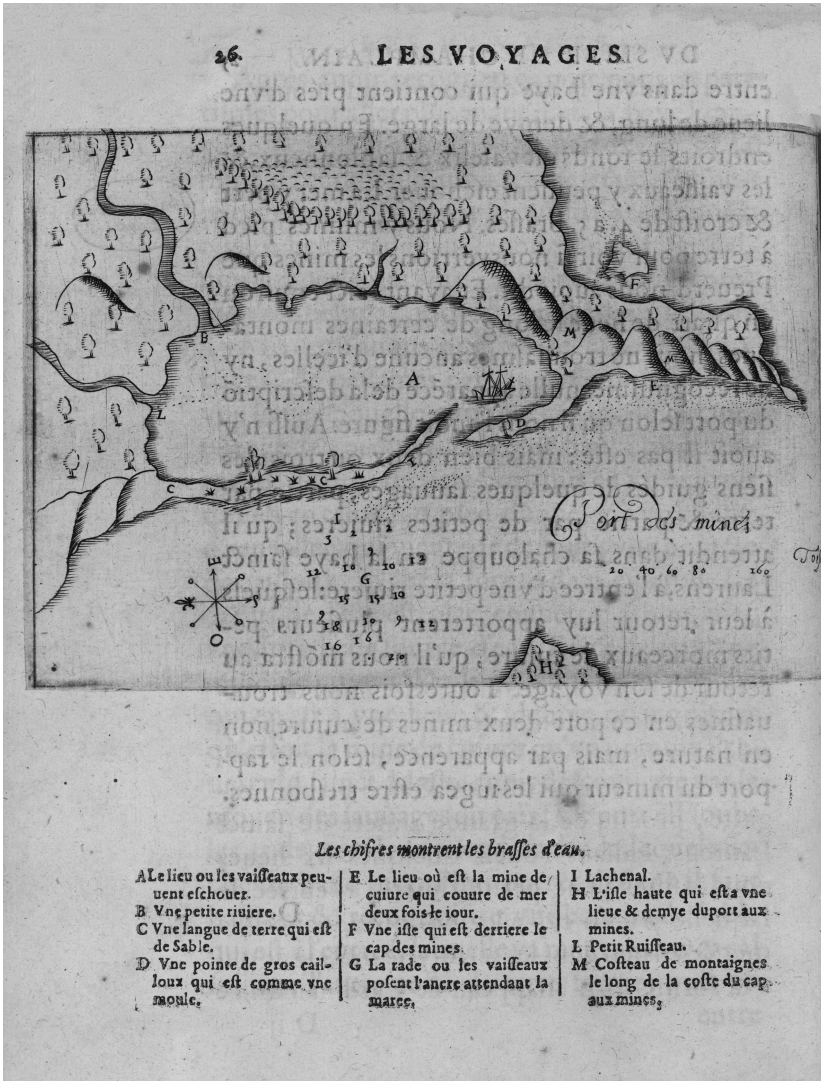


Figure 27.2 Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635), ‘Le Port des Mines’, in *Les voyages du sieur de Champlain . . .* (Paris: Jean Berjon, 1613), opp. p. 19. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

Scientific, humanist, and less erudite travellers collected maps from fellow European sojourners or local authorities for study and for publication. A German physician employed by the Dutch East India Company, Engelbert Kaempfer, in 1692 brought from Japan 'several roadbooks for the use of travellers, giving an account of the distances of places, the price of victuals, and carriage, and the like with many figures of the buildings, and other remarkable things to be seen on the road' and ten maps: four of Japan, city maps of Osaka, Kyoto, Nagasaki, and Edo, and a pictorial map of land and sea routes between Edo and Nagasaki. Several of these maps, as well as his own sketch maps of the Meinam (Chao Phraya) River in Siam, were a highlight for his post-humous publication, *The History of Japan* (1727).

From such observations and collected materials, as well as any notes taken, mapmakers in publishing capitals created maps for travel accounts that often became international sensations, translated into as many as five languages for scholars, merchants, and policy-makers with limited access to rivals' official correspondence. The maps' importance was such that they sometimes travelled between editions or, more commonly, were redrawn or supplemented. Roman noble Pietro della Valle journeyed to the Ottoman empire and India from 1614–26; his manuscript sketches of building plans were faithfully reproduced in print in best-selling Italian, English, and French editions.¹⁹ The first English edition (1665) nationalistically appended Sir Thomas Roe's report on England's first embassy to India with its accompanying map drawn by William Baffin.²⁰ Occasionally, map copperplates also travelled, as for the English translation of French royal engineer Amédée Frézier's *A Voyage to the South-Sea* (1717).²¹ Maps were so central that even fictional travellers' maps might be copied, notably in pirated editions of Lemuel Gulliver's

¹⁹ The sketches were first published in Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il pellegrino* (Rome: Biagio Deversin, 1662).

²⁰ Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle into East-India and Arabia Deserta*, trans. George Havers (London: Herringman, 1665), p. 357. The map, adapted for the della Valle edition, first accompanied Roe's relation in Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, after p. 578. For more on Purchas and della Valle, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 349–87.

²¹ Amédée Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-sea . . . printed from the author's original plates inserted in the Paris Edition* (London: Jonah Bowyer, 1717).

Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World (1726), more familiarly known as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.²²

Not all travellers were capable of or interested in making new maps. A three-volume relation of Francisco Coreal's purported travels to and through Spanish America from 1666–97 seems likely to have plagiarised text and images. The view of Mexico City and plan of its regions bear more than a family resemblance to well-known images familiar from (among other places) Arnoldus Montanus's 1671 *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld* and Antonio de Solis's 1691 *Historia de la conquista de México*. Coreal (or his publisher) was not unique in deciding to adapt an existing map; a familiar or plagiarised map was often considered better than none. More often than not, however, travellers did have a hand in map production for their work.

Early modern travellers' maps or the information used in them served international intellectual networks whose members synthesised their geographical contributions into more comprehensive cartography. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola drew on 'accounts of the itineraries and navigations of Roman Pietro della Valle, German Adam Olearius, Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Englishman Anthony Jenkinson, and 'other illustrious travellers and pilots of our century' for his *Regno di Persia* (1679).²³ A century later, the 1794 'New Map of Arabia' included in royal geographer Thomas Kitchin's *A New Universal Atlas* (1804) was adapted from a map by France's royal geographer Jean-Baptiste Bourignon d'Anville, a noted compiler, with 'additions and improvements' from German-born Danish traveller Carsten Niebuhr.

The eighteenth century introduced new data collection techniques and standards, including the marine chronometer, which permitted more accurate travel and identification of longitude while at sea.²⁴ By mid-century, cabinet mapmakers indicated their compilations derived not just from oral testimony but from 'authentic Journals, Surveys, and most approved Modern Maps, and regulated by Astronomical Observation'.²⁵ Travellers adopted the

²² Frederick Bracher, 'The Maps in *Gulliver's Travels*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 8/1 (1944), 59–74 (at p. 61). On maps and fiction, see Ricardo Padrón, 'Mapping Imaginary Worlds', in Akerman and Karrow, Jr (eds.), *Maps*, pp. 255–88.

²³ Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola, 'Regno di Persia con le notizie delle provincie Antiche . . .', engraved by Georgio Widman (Rome, 1679).

²⁴ Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, pp. 292–4.

²⁵ Emanuel Bowen, 'A New & Accurate Map of the Whole Russian Empire . . .', in John Harris, *Navigantium atque itinerarium bibliotheca*, 2 vols. (London: T. Woodward, 1744), located in sect. 1, before p. 918. Inscribed 'Vol. 2. page 918'. www.nla.gov.au/digicoll/books/findaids/nla.gen-an6520463/index.html.

new tools without necessarily abandoning anecdotal evidence. In the 1740s, Charles-Marie de la Condamine's account and map of a scientific expedition to the Amazon mixed measurements with reliance on travelogues and conjectures, an example of the 'myth and measurement' product of even a most respected travelling mapmaker.²⁶ That said, within decades meticulous note-taker and measurer Prussian scientist Alexander von Humboldt's narrative and maps not only refined and detailed spatial encounters and experiences with increasing precision, but created new ways of understanding the natural world, including isotherm maps and a cross-sectional diagram of Ecuador's Mount Chimborazo, a 'pioneering ... scientific geovisualization of mountain environments'.²⁷

Enlightenment-era travellers, including a few elite women joining male peers in publishing, also (re)discovered majesty, romance, and mappable territory closer to home as their travel texts and sketches attest.²⁸ Within Europe journeying researchers saw nature and space with new eyes and with notebook and instruments in hand, from geologist Horace-Bénédict de Saussure's Alpine explorations to gentleman farmer Arthur Young's agricultural and climate maps layered on basic outline maps of France, adding to geographical knowledge of the home continent.²⁹ Henry Swinburne's *Travels in the Two Sicilies* (1783–5) treated Mediterranean islands as more distant destinations, 'discovering errors in the best maps'. Swinburne remedied the situation with both a new map and itinerary for those who might follow.³⁰ By the late eighteenth century, Grand Tour destinations, when experienced through research, science, and romance, proved just as worthy of maps as more distant locales. Conversely, some travel accounts of 'familiar' destinations further afield no longer required maps.³¹

²⁶ Neil Safier, 'Myths and Measurements', in Jordana Dym and Karl Offen (eds.), *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader* (University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 107–9.

²⁷ Karl Zimmerer, 'Mapping Mountains', in Dym and Offen (eds.), *Mapping Latin America*, pp. 125–30 (at p. 128).

²⁸ Julia S. Carlson, 'Topographical Measures: Wordsworth's and Crosthwaite's Lines on the Lake District', *Romanticism*, 16/1 (2010), 72–93.

²⁹ Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes, précédés d'un essai sur l'Histoire Naturelle des environs de Genève*, 4 vols. (Neuchâtel: Samuel Fauche, 1779–96); Arthur Young, *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789* (London: W. Richardson, 1792).

³⁰ Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, 2 vols. (London: P. Elmsley, 1783–5), vol. 1, pp. xix–xx (itinerary), 152.

³¹ Dym, 'The Familiar and the Strange'.

Maps and Travel in the Machine Age

Early nineteenth-century technological change affected both the journey and accounts of it, reshaping the role of maps in travel accounts. The speed of the journey, shorter stays, and the activities that opened up in the machine age ushered in touristic mass travel. Adapting to rail, steamship, and eventually commercial air travel, most voyagers no longer experienced space like their predecessors. Instead of moving slowly and sometimes in boredom across the waves or through seemingly unchanging, challenging, or dangerous landscapes – with plenty of time to observe places – technology moved them increasingly swiftly through or over hundreds and thousands of miles from point to point. In terms of experience, space collapsed and in-between points literally vanished, separating travellers from both their surroundings and chance engagement with local cultures. Scholars often decry these changes as the rise of the tourist and decline of the traveller.³² Yet even as family outings, leisure trips, and business, health-related, or educational tourism thrived, an account like John Barrow's *A Family Tour through South Holland* (1831) by carriage could boast a bespoke map showing the route based on 'the track . . . drawn up from notes taken on the spot by one of the party'.³³ Tourism, as such, was not the primary cause behind changes to travellers' mapmaking or map use.

Map-reading and consultation continued to be staples for travellers. Preparing a journey became increasingly specific, as steamships and railway timetables imposed stricter scheduling. Tourists, too, consumed multiple kinds of map as literacy spread, and banks and travel agents enabled middle and working classes to conduct pleasure travel previously reserved for the few with family and business connections.³⁴ By the mid nineteenth century, site-specific guidebooks series pioneered by John Murray (UK), Karl Baedeker (Germany), and Adolphe-Laurent Joanne (France) set the stage for guidebooks as map-centric publications facilitating autonomous middle-class tourism in Europe; Thomas Cook's itineraries helped structure more popular group excursions.³⁵ From the beginning, each Murray, Baedeker, and Joanne

³² Daniel J. Boorstin, 'From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel', in *The Image, or, What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), pp. 77–117.

³³ John Barrow, *A Family Tour through South Holland* (London: John Murray, 1831), p. vi.

³⁴ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750–1915* (New York: Morrow, 1997).

³⁵ Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (Stroud: Sutton, 2007), chaps. 8 and 9. This otherwise excellent resource devotes little attention to guidebook maps.

volume included a small-scale map of the whole territory. By the 1860s, foldout maps with attractions as well as routes, inset plans of cities and neighbourhoods, itinerary strip maps, and gallery plans of museums and monuments were added. In other words, guidebooks adopted the map genres pioneered by travellers for their accounts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, removing the personal component.

By the early twentieth century these ‘omnium gatherum’ guidebooks expanded from Europe to mass tourism’s favoured destinations, including the Holy Land, North America, and Asia, continuing to create, update, and add to maps and plans for specialised activities. Terry’s *Japanese Empire* (1914) was not unusual in its commission of eight maps and twenty-one plans. By this time, independent and group travellers could acquire a dizzying array of specialised transportation maps from railway and steamer companies, bicycling, automobile, and yacht clubs, hotels, and (increasingly) oil companies. Commercial maps for tourists located local businesses and attractions, from historical, cultural, and archaeological heritage to architecture to entertainment venues. Many travellers and tourists, particularly women, saved, sometimes annotated, and then pasted these maps into their scrapbooks, emulating the travel texts of their predecessors.

With portable, detailed maps available, travellers described relying more on their own map-reading to navigate on land and sea. One early nineteenth-century American in Paris offers insight into leisure travellers’ interactions with maps from journey to publication. Educator and geography textbook author Emma Willard was attentive to maps in her *Journal and Letters* (1833), published after her first trip to France. Her travelling party of adults and children navigated Paris independently, first by ‘studying plans, and looking over guide books . . . to understand the city pretty well’. On the street, ‘[with] our maps of the city, [we] have been riding and walking about to get an idea of the exterior of things and to feel ourselves a little at home’.³⁶ George-Augustus Sala found *Paris Herself Again in 1878–1879* (1880) following the Franco-Prussian war, sharing illustrations of what was becoming a cliché: visitors wandering the city with a male or female, adult or child ‘guide’ nose-deep in a giant folding map.

At sea, the independent traveller took over plotting the course, as when Jack London (*The Cruise of the Snark*, 1911) and Charmian London (*Log of the Snark*, 1915) detailed the former’s efforts to pilot their yacht from mainland

³⁶ Emma Willard, *Journal and Letters, from France and Great Britain* (Troy, NY: N. Tuttle, 1833), pp. 31, 52.

United States to Polynesia. On land, bicyclists and then automobile drivers and their navigators planned and marked detailed routes on road maps which worked their way into many accounts of self-directed travel. Early cyclists described annotating and cutting road maps into strips, advising those who wished to pedal after them to do likewise.³⁷ Emily Post created illustrated strip maps to accompany the tale of her 1916 drive, *By Motor to the Golden Gate*, rating lodgings, marking distances and monuments, warning of risks, and sketching in skylines.

By the 1910s, maps of air travel took their place alongside land maps, city plans, and sea charts in travellers' books. After balloonists' attempts to show lateral movements in Thomas Baldwin's *Airopaidia* (1796) and verticality in Camille Flammarion's *De Paris à Vaucouleurs à vol d'oiseau* (1873), air charts adopted the traditions and format of two-dimensional marine cartography since both sea and air ships traversed not a narrow route with a predefined path but open expanses, with only landmarks and the sky as reliable (or semi-reliable) visible signposts. Travel accounts followed suit. The tracks of flight in Anne Morrow Lindbergh's *North to the Orient* (1935), for example, plot the stages of a journey in lines so straight and flat they could have been on nineteenth-century railroad timetables.

With new perspectives and so many maps on hand, travellers also increasingly described the world before them as maplike. In fiction, Samuel Langhorne Clemens (Mark Twain) had Tom Sawyer pioneer this kind of description by mocking Huckleberry Finn for expecting to see the United States in the pastel colours used to depict them in geography books when flying in a hot air balloon in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894). Real travellers, from the vantage point of mountaintops, hotel roofs, and eventually airplanes, followed suit. With such perspectives, the fiction in maps also became apparent. American vagabond and travel writer Harry Franck, in his first flight over Germany in 1919, described the land as an 'animated relief map' in which 'the performance was continuous rather than stationary, as a cinema film is different from a "still" picture'. For Franck, the colourful aerial view was more like a Persian carpet or crazy quilt than a map; as they flew over the new towns, the pathfinder identified them, indicating the correlation as he 'thrust a thumb downward at it and pointed the place out on the more articulate paper map in his hands'.³⁸

³⁷ Jean Bertot, *La France en bicyclette: étapes d'un touriste de Paris à Grenoble et à Marseille* (Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1894), p. 9.

³⁸ Harry A. Franck, *Vagabonding through Changing Germany* (New York: Century, 1920), pp. 344–5.

By this time, fewer travel publishers revealed authors' geographical expertise. Nonetheless, independent travellers still collected data or created faithful but imaginative representations as artists. Philip Hamerton's matter-of-fact sketch maps, based on French ordnance survey maps to illustrate *A Summer Voyage on the River Saône* (1897), reflected the exception. Isabella Bird Bishop, a professional writer recounting a single Englishwoman's journey, insisted on extensive edits to the map accompanying her Korea account, as correspondence with her publisher and the Bartholomew map firm, but not the book itself, makes clear. She twice annotated and revised the country map by choosing the spelling of place names and expanding the map's scope to include her final stopping point.³⁹

Overall, standardised maps offered straightforward topographic and political representations of countries visited without necessarily showing the traveller's route. Some maps came (as in the past) from reputed mapmaking firms like Rand McNally (USA), Bartholomew and Stanford (UK), and Petermann (Germany); others had no attribution or, like the coloured fold-out itinerary map 'Mexico' in Harry Franck's *Tramping through Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras* (1916), named an engraver (the L. L. Poates company) as the source (Figure 27.3). New engraving techniques such as lithography introduced standardised and solid colours on many maps, which soon selected regular palettes: blue seas, red route lines, and brown or green topographical shadings to enhance the viewers' pleasure. Rand McNally's pastel country colours, Bartholomew's solid blue oceans, and Stanford's earth tones are easily recognisable.

Travel account map genres – an orientation map of a journey's focus accompanied by more specialised detail maps and views – were refined but not abandoned in the new era. Those travelling for professional reasons, whether exploration and empire, commerce, or war, continued to map, with emphasis increasingly on thematic interests rather than 'filling in the blanks'.⁴⁰ While many trekking into African, Asian, and American interiors – including David Livingstone, René Caillié, Sven Hedin, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark – added geographic detail, diplomats, entrepreneurs, and scientists focused on themes such as agriculture, mining, politics, ethnography, and archaeology.⁴¹

³⁹ Dym, *World Displayed*.

⁴⁰ For the Central American case, see Dym, 'More Likely to Mislead than Inform'.

⁴¹ Michael T. Bravo, 'Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel: James Rennell and the Orientalist Geography of the New Imperial Age (1760–1830)', in Jás Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds.), *Voyages and Vision: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion, 1999), pp. 162–83.



Figure 27.3 'Mexico', in Harry A. Franck, *Tramping through Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras* (New York: Century, 1916), opp. p. 36. By adding the author's route through three countries in red but failing to highlight any country but Mexico or even fully show Honduras, this map seems to be a standard one minimally adapted.

Some, confident that the geography was either well known or accessible to readers in atlases, school geographies, or newspaper accounts, treated space selectively and even playfully by emptying out the geography to better highlight the traveller's accomplishment. An archaeological expedition through Mesoamerica convinced United States diplomat John Lloyd Stephens and artist Frederick Catherwood that indigenous peoples built the ancient monuments found from Yucatan to Honduras. In *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1844), Catherwood's map accordingly used dotted red lines and place names to show 'situations of the ruined cities & monuments visible' to the pair. Erasing the dense jungle and undulating landforms seen in stunning coloured engravings, the map highlights the travellers' movements and sites' spatial relationships. Similarly, the route map in the 1918 publication of Swedish explorer Sven Hedin's travels in Iran, presented as an illustration on the

book cover and in a more formal internal index map, was equally silent on the challenges of mountainous terrain between Tehran and the Afghan border.⁴²

When creativity was called for, artistic travellers like the American artist Joseph Pennell dreamed up imaginative map drawings based on cartographic tropes.⁴³ For writers without drawing skills, graphic designers illustrated endpaper maps. Charles E. Pont's maps for travel writer Harry Franck's *Sky Roaming Above Two Continents* (1938) and *Lure of Alaska* (1943) and Don Dickerman's pirate's route map for the teenage author of *David Goes to Greenland* (1926) are two engaging examples. With automobiles, ships and, airplanes to indicate transportation taken and vignettes to draw the eye, travel books' illustrated maps evoked the romance of the age of sail by using a hand-drawn style with sprinklings of rhumb lines, compass roses, sea monsters, and figures that updated the elaborate illustrated cartouches of a bygone era.

Illustrated maps also opened the door to women cartographic artists, frequently identifiable as an author's family member. Sydney Clark, a mid-century North American travel writer, commissioned several endpaper maps from his daughter, Jacqueline C. Jacobsen. For *All the Best in Cuba* (1946), Clark's 'Map Foreword' highlighted the geographical accuracy of an endpaper map drawn to scale to avoid others' tendency to 'amputate or contort' the island's tips. It also recommended rear endpaper maps that separated Havana's centre and suburbs to avoid illegibility and to include ancient and modern street names to serve the traveller.⁴⁴

Maps and Travel Narrative in the Digital Age

In the age of Google Earth and TripAdvisor, maps and travel writing have entered a new era. Academic and popular writers alike lament the loss of navigational map-reading skills, as the current generation is less likely to sit down with atlases or Automobile Association folding or strip maps to dream of and mark out routes with red, black, or dotted lines.⁴⁵ Increasingly

⁴² Sven Anders Hedin, *Eine Routenaufnahme durch Ostpersien . . .*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt, 1918), cover and 'Index Map of Dr. Sven Hedin's Route-Survey t[h]rough Eastern Persia, 1906', opp. p. 1.

⁴³ Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *Our Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893).

⁴⁴ Sydney Clark, *All the Best in Cuba with Illustrations and Maps* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1946), 'Map Foreword'.

⁴⁵ Kim Tingley, 'The Secrets of the Wave Pilots', *New York Times Magazine*, 17 March 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/03/20/magazine/the-secrets-of-the-wave-pilots.html.

prevalent digital maps and guidance programs based on the Global Positioning System (GPS), with their 'pointillist logic of coordinates', place many would-be explorers back in the sequential decision-making process of the itinerary; a list of instructions which direct travellers from waypoint to waypoint parallels the narrow scope familiar to mapless medieval travellers, closing them off from surroundings.⁴⁶

Certainly, modes of travel map acquisition, use, and creation are changing. For the twenty-first-century traveller preparing a journey, no longer is it de rigueur to start with a trip for information, maps, and books to a specialised bookstore. Crowdsourced blogs like TripAdvisor are up to date and superseding guidebooks, published travel relations, and travel agents, and incorporate many map features. Individuals can compare potential journeys via Google Maps, with routes selected for speed, cost, and modes of transportation.

Picking up maps en route is becoming an antiquarian act. When Tinna Gígja in 2009 asked for a tourist map of Swanley, England, the librarian-cum-tourist representative at first asked, 'Whatever would you want that for?' before offering 'a free map of cycling routes in Kent' which 'came in handy later'.⁴⁷ Gígja's act echoes Steven Kurutz's argument that paper maps put the traveller in the driver's seat, both figuratively and literally. He describes the ability of an 'active traveller' to choose a route and accept serendipity; driver and navigator work as a team on the road and recall the journey on the map at home.⁴⁸

Yet old and new map forms and uses can coexist. Gígja had been inspired by a travel account picked up in a Polish used book store to follow, on foot, the route taken in 1933 by eighteen-year-old Paddy Leigh Fermor from Rotterdam to Budapest, plotting the itinerary on Google Earth for others to dream with as well. By marking Fermor's route on a digital map and sharing her enthusiasm by blog, the rucksack traveller updated a tradition of centuries of travel writers who took old accounts as guides, followed in one another's paths, wrote about their own experiences on the move, and traced them on maps.

⁴⁶ William Rankin, *After the Map: Cartography, Navigation, and the Transformation of Territory in the Twentieth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 2016).

⁴⁷ Tinna Gígja, 'Reykjavík!', 15 May 2009, www.travelblog.org/Europe/United-Kingdom/England/Kent/Dover/blog-435205.html, and 'A Time of Gifts', 26 January 2009, www.travelblog.org/Europe/Iceland/Southwest/Reykjavik/blog-367392.html.

⁴⁸ Steven Kurutz, 'Real Adventurers Read Maps: Using Maps vs. GPS', *New York Times*, 19 July 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/07/20/opinion/sunday/using-maps-vs-gps.html.

While travel narratives with maps remain popular in book form, digital modes of travel writing and mapping are increasingly accessible and invite readers to interact with maps and text in new ways. Crowdsourcing and open source platforms like Openstreet maps have former Peace Corps volunteers mapping areas formerly out of reach to traveller or survey.⁴⁹ Travel sites, such as Travelblog.org, allow readers and potential travellers to select blogs they wish to read by clicking on geographical maps; in other words, readers start with the map to get to the text rather than vice versa. Individual travellers can become travel writers as bloggers share notes, journal entries, recommendations, and, often, digital maps tailored to their journey. It is not unusual for bloggers to insert tourist maps picked up along the way or to create their own route maps to show destination cities or a hiked trail.

Film travels also use maps to orient the armchair traveller. The video journeys of *Royal Peru* (2006), narrated by Travel Channel chief correspondent Peter Greenberg and led by former Peruvian president Alejandro Toledo (2001–6) and his wife, and *Parts Unknown* (2013–), the food and increasingly ‘off the beaten path’ experiences of American chef Anthony Bourdain, rely on maps first to orient and then to draw viewers along their routes by land, sea, and air to cities, jungles, and restaurants.

On the big screen, maps for dramatic journeys may emulate the maps in written accounts or stand in for the hero’s journey. An outline map of Africa serves as stage-setting backdrop to the titles of *Stanley and Livingstone* (1939), an editor points to ‘unexplored regions’ on a wall map of Africa to persuade the journalist to travel, and Stanleyville and Stanley Pool are added to the map at the end. The itinerary map of Indiana Jones’s flight from the United States to Tibet in *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) literally marks the archaeologist’s route with a red line, and young Viking Hiccup annotates a manuscript map of explorations flown with his dragon Toothless in the animated film *How to Train Your Dragon 2* (2014).

Coda

For the armchair traveller, whether reader or moviegoer, a map sets the stage and brings a real or fictional traveller’s world into focus. Whether the map in a book is the handiwork of the one who left home, the expert to whom she brought back her knowledge, or the creation of a publisher’s graphic design

⁴⁹ Drishtie Patel, ‘2015 was a Good Year for Creating the World’s “Missing Maps” with OpenStreetMap’, 23 December 2015, <https://opensource.com/life/15/12/creating-worlds-missing-maps-openstreetmap>.

team, it is more often than not a custom-made object that works next to and with the text it accompanies. While maps made for and as part of travel narratives may not be the most innovative of cartographic objects, it is difficult to imagine books, articles, or even video or interactive internet stories without them. Showing more than the physical territory visited, or even the traveller's route, maps in travel accounts both showcase and offer graphic evidence of motives, context, and technologies.

Travel and Poetry

CHRISTOPHER M. KEIRSTEAD

Reaching the end of Sara Wheeler's *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (1998), readers encounter something that may come as a surprise – a poem – Alfred Tennyson's dramatic monologue 'Ulysses' (1842), which she includes in an appendix. While it is rare enough today to see poetry dwelling side-by-side with prose in a travelogue, or for many even to associate poetry at all with the form, for the generation Wheeler pays tribute to in her book, poetry in many ways was inseparable from the experience and discursive fabric of travel. Scott and other members of his crew carried poetry with them and debated the relative merits of Tennyson versus Robert Browning as poets. The iconic last line of 'Ulysses' – 'To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield!' – would also come to adorn a memorial cross to the five men who died on the expedition.¹ Not to be outdone, Scott's Antarctic follower, Ernest Shackleton, also included volumes of poetry in his travelling library and posted a framed copy of Rudyard Kipling's 'If' (1910) on the wall of his hut.²

These revelations testify to the more visible place poetry held in the public sphere a century ago. But they also underscore an enduring creative, motivational, even organic, connection between poetry and the experience of mobility and travel, today. On a basic level, a travel poem, as with any prose travelogue, narrates a journey, or the means of travel, to some kind of distinctive natural or cultural space. Poetry's intellectual and affective purchase on readers, however, stems as well from the complex role of the imagination in the creation of poetry's travelling spaces. As 'Ulysses' and many of the other poems I examine here reveal, poetry also holds distinct formal properties that enable it to move differently – and more strategically – across the page: poets can manipulate the rhythm, metre, and structure of lines in ways that mirror the flows and disruptions of travel itself.

¹ Sara Wheeler, *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 22.

² See Paul Kerley, 'What Books were Taken to the Antarctic 100 Years Ago?', *BBC Magazine*, 24 February 2016, www.bbc.com/news/magazine-3563374.

Taking up the question of how all poems *move*, not just travel poems, Marc Shell suggests that walking, talking, and poetry, form part of the same mobile, organic continuum: 'Breathing and the timing of breathing come to define the rhythm and prosody of poetry.'³ Shell stresses the importance of the 'walking poem' as a distinctive genre, best typified by William Wordsworth, who made walking not just a subject of poetry but part of the creative process itself, often composing lines as he walked.⁴ In another sense, Wordsworth was only amplifying what might be a more intrinsic relationship between walking, creativity, and the public face or body of the poet that could be traced back to at least as far as the medieval troubadour poets and beyond Western sources as well.⁵ Matsuo Bashō, for instance, Japan's master of the haiku, was a poet regularly on the move, writing at the close of his travelogue *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (1689), 'As firmly cemented clam-shells / Fall apart in autumn, / So I must take to the road again.'⁶ Wallace Stevens famously claimed to have written most of his poetry while walking to and from work.⁷ One thinks also of the more counter-cultural travels and public readings of Beat poets such as Allen Ginsberg.

Poetry's relationship with travel, however, could be said to reach much deeper, down to the very phrases, words, and sound units that give it form and meaning. To break the poetic line into its basic structure, the foot, as Ruth Padel reminds us, is to acknowledge how a 'poem moves ... one step after another'.⁸ T. S. Eliot, underscoring the small-scale cognitive or interpretive journey the reader undertakes with each line, writes in 'Little Gidding' (1943), 'Every phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning.'⁹ Expounding on Eliot's insight, Derek Attridge describes how 'Any utterance produces a continually shifting sense of semantic weight and directionality, and reading always entails a continuous process of prediction, continuously

³ Marc Shell, *Talking the Walk & Walking the Talk: A Rhetoric of Rhythm* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), pp. 11–12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–8. Robin Jarvis also devotes extensive attention to Wordsworth in *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

⁵ Concentrated in the south of France and neighbouring countries, troubadour poets would often travel from court to court performing their own original lyric poetry. See Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, 'Introduction', in *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 1–7.

⁶ Matsuo Bashō, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, trans. Nobuyuki Yuasa (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 142.

⁷ See Eleanor Cook, *A Reader's Guide to Wallace Stevens* (Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 325.

⁸ Ruth Padel, *The Poem and the Journey: And Sixty Poems to Read Along the Way* (London: Vintage, 2008), p. 29.

⁹ T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets* (New York: Harcourt, 1943), p. 58, line 225.

modified as expectations are met, intensified, or disappointed.¹⁰ In metrical verse, the ordering of stressed and unstressed syllables, set in further order by the poem's rhyme scheme, forms one set of these expectations. In this respect, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1850) becomes a series of journeys within journeys, or a regular stepping back and forth as the poet attempts to come to terms with the death of his friend Arthur Hallam and the larger Victorian 'Crisis of Faith'. The poem's four-line iambic tetrameter verse paragraphs rhyming a-b-b-a continuously rehearse the poem's larger journey of a confrontation with 'honest doubt' before it can circle back to the faith that opens and ultimately closes the poem: 'one far off divine event, / To which the whole creation moves'.¹¹

The seascape or beach poem may be the genre par excellence for illustrating the dynamics of poetic rhythm, where the repetition of tides and waves provides a natural semblance of order guiding the reader. 'The Tide Rises, the Tide Falls' (1879), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow neatly observed in the title and refrains of this eponymous poem, where the assonated long vowel sounds lead us up before the line deposits us again at low tide. In Matthew Arnold's 'Dover Beach' (1867), the ebbing 'Sea of Faith' echoes the unique sound of the waves receding from its pebbled shore, which the poem slowly exhales in a 'melancholy, long, withdrawing roar' that also underscores the relentless process of natural erosion.¹² Overall, the recycling sounds of the beach seem to afford equal parts reassurance and resignation to poets. In 'The Idea of Order at Key West' (1936), Stevens would also pay tribute to how the repetitive, rhythmic sounds of the seashore offer poetry an enchanting if illusory sense of form: 'However clear, it would have been deep air, / The heaving speech of air, a summer sound / Repeated in a summer without end / And sound alone.'¹³

In poetry and prosody, as in travel, it is often the unexpected, the accidental and unsettling, that produces the most lasting impact on the reader/traveller. Poetic enjambment affords one example of how the upending of reader expectations at the micro level can serve to shape a poem's larger cognitive or intellectual journey. In 'To the Harbormaster' (1957), Frank O'Hara writes, 'I wanted to be sure to reach you; / though my ship was on

¹⁰ Derek Attridge, *Moving Words: Forms of English Prosody* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 31.

¹¹ *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), vol. 11, p. 415, line 11, and p. 459, line 144.

¹² Matthew Arnold, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Kenneth Allott (London: Longman, 1979), p. 256, lines 21, 25.

¹³ *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens* (New York: Vintage, 2015), p. 136, lines 25–8.

the way it got caught / in some moorings. I am always tying up / and then deciding to depart. In storms and / at sunset ...' The poem continues in this way, without end stops, until the next to last line, driving home the poet's inability to settle on a satisfying course over 'the waves which have kept me from reaching you'.¹⁴ Whether enjambed or not, line breaks – discursive tools, in some sense, available only to the poet – can thus regulate the pace of reading by forcing sudden stops or disruptions to set patterns. Tennyson underscores the more decisive Ulysses's aversion to rest by compelling him at one point to pause reluctantly over his words, with pronounced middle-breaks or caesurae for added effect: 'How dull it is to pause, to make an end, / To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!'¹⁵

Some of the earliest examples of travel writing in ancient and classical literature were in effect travel poems – poems of imagined quests, journeys, and encounters with unfamiliar places and cultures. These include the *Gilgamesh* epic and of course the source for Tennyson's prototypical traveller, Homer's *Odyssey*. In overcoming such obstacles as the Lotos-eaters (Book 9) and the Sirens (Book 12), Odysseus's prime objective is to resist the (false) promise of escape and the exotic, and put duty to home (*oikos*) at the centre of individual and cultural identity. Interestingly, as an inspiration for subsequent travel poems, the *Odyssey* has proven less appealing as an affirmation of the homeward journey (*nostos*) than as a broader embodiment of the restlessness of travel itself. What drives Tennyson's Ulysses is the insistence that he 'cannot rest from travel'.¹⁶ Constantine Cavafy's 'Ithaka' (1911) is all about extending the journey: 'do not hurry the journey at all. / Better if it lasts many years.'¹⁷ Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (1990), the most ambitious modern attempt to rework Homer's template, pays tribute more to the confusing and sometimes contradictory cross-migrations of our own globalised moment, locating identity in mobility itself, which, as Cavafy had suggested, is the true point of Odysseus's journey all along.

Accounts of pilgrimage could be said to form the earliest examples of autobiographical travel poetry defined by the day-to-day concerns and realities of travel. That great achievement of medieval pilgrimage poetry, Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1320), presents a more fantastical journey through the afterlife,

¹⁴ *The Collected Poems of Frank O'Hara*, ed. Donald Allen (New York: Knopf, 1971), p. 217, lines 1–5, 17.

¹⁵ *Poems of Tennyson*, vol. 1, p. 617, lines 22–3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 615, line 6.

¹⁷ C. P. Cavafy, *Collected Poems*, trans. Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard (Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 37.

but we should recall that the opening of the first book, *The Inferno*, attributes its exiled author's quest to a more realistic crisis of identity and purpose echoed in many future travel narratives: 'Midway on our life's journey, I found myself / In dark woods, the right road lost.'¹⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer's late fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales* clearly derives strongly from the poet's own varied experiences on the road, expressed in the voice of the poem's narrator. The poem's other pilgrims and story tellers, 'Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye / Of sondry folk, by aventure yfalle / In felawship', feature many of the more mobile members of medieval society, including their 'Hooste' and guide, who makes his living in this early manifestation of the hospitality industry.¹⁹ As if in turn, an early fifteenth-century pilgrimage poem, 'The Way to Jerusalem' (1425), cautions travellers in Spain that the wine in Leon is 'thecke as any blode, / and that wull make men wode', while further advising, 'Bedding ther is nothing faire.' It would be later included by Samuel Purchas in his monumental early modern collection of travel accounts, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).²⁰ In the same period of voyage and discovery that Purchas records, European global expansion would also bring new life to classical epic with Luis de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* (1572), based on the travels of Vasco da Gama.

Turning to the eighteenth century, we find some of the most emblematic travel poetry of the period, somewhat ironically, in forms long associated with close dwelling in rooted, local spaces. Pastoral, prospect, and topographical poems, however, were all highly portable. In 1667, the same year that John Milton published his great spiritual epic *Paradise Lost*, Andrew Marvell's pastoral 'Bermudas' paints for Puritan migrants to the West Indies a tropical Eden of continual, almost magical replenishment of natural resources: 'He gave us this eternal spring / Which here enamels everything, / And sends the fowls to us in care / On daily visits through the air.'²¹ The very excess of this language, however, has led some critics to see the poem less as an early example of 'booster' literature sanctioning British colonial expansion than as an ironic commentary on the Puritan pilgrims' eagerness to read their

¹⁸ Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno of Dante*, trans. Robert Pinsky (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), p. 3, lines 1–2.

¹⁹ *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. John H. Fisher, 2nd edn (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1989), p. 10, lines 24–6.

²⁰ *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes ...*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1905–7), vol. v, p. 530.

²¹ Andrew Marvell, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 116, lines 13–16.

spiritual and economic desires onto the landscape.²² In another admonishment, perhaps, to British misappropriations of nature, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Verses Written in the Chiosk at Pera, Overlooking Constantinople' (1717) critically reassesses the English estate poem, with its manufactured brooks 'artfully by leaden pipes conveyed', against the new prospect of a 'rising city in confusion fair, / Magnificently formed, irregular, / Where woods and palaces at once surprise, / Gardens on gardens, domes on domes arise'.²³

The eighteenth-century 'Grand Tour' poem marks a shift towards travel poetry being driven mostly by the desire for intellectual, cultural, or sometimes critical stimulation from foreign places and peoples. A good many of the literary elite of the eighteenth century in Britain travelled to the Continent and wrote poetry about their experience, a list that includes Montagu again, Joseph Addison, John Gay, Oliver Goldsmith, and James Boswell. Many of these poems, such as Addison's 'A Letter from Italy' (1721), took the form of verse epistles, one suited especially well to the dynamics of travel.²⁴ Straddling the realms of public and private, the tone of the verse letter was typically conversational and impressionistic but tempered by a strong awareness of audience that served to check over-indulgence in personal impressions or prejudices. Goldsmith's *The Traveller, or A Prospect of Society* (1764) models an Enlightenment cosmopolitanism that aims objectively to weigh the virtues and failings of the countries and regions it visits, touching on how climate and other natural elements work with or against social structures and practices. Goldsmith's watchwords are balance and moderation, although even these virtues can be stretched too far, as in the case of the otherwise highly admirable Swiss, whose contentment and skilful management of limited natural resources leaves in them 'a smouldering fire, / Unquenched by want, unfanned by strong desire'.²⁵ As illustrated here, Goldsmith takes full advantage of the unique formal properties poetry affords him as a travel discourse. With their strong rhymes and clear, 'closed' stops,

²² The poem's piety, as Terry Gifford suggests, seems weak in comparison to its 'rapacious intent toward what God has provided'. *Pastoral* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 69.

²³ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Essays and Poems*, ed. Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 206, 208.

²⁴ Exploring verse epistles with respect to different modes and means of travel, including foot, horseback, carriage, and boat, Bill Overton links the prominence of the form in the eighteenth century in part to advances in postal delivery and 'the emerging ideology of mobility early in the period'. 'Journeying in the Eighteenth-Century British Verse Epistle', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13/1 (2009), 3–25 (at p. 20).

²⁵ Roger Lonsdale (ed.), *The Poems of Gray, Collins, and Goldsmith* (London: Longmans, 1969), p. 644, lines 221–2.

the poem's heroic couplets of iambic pentameter verse, familiar from such neoclassical contemporaries as Alexander Pope, convey the impression of a balanced, reasoned traveller who endeavours not to allow personal prejudices to sway his conclusions.

For Romantic poets, travel seems to have informed nearly every facet of the form – in part a reflection of their avid reading of prose travel writing, as Robin Jarvis has studied.²⁶ Dwelling in exotic or natural extremes, some of the most iconic poems of the era incorporate elements of travel in efforts to probe the depths of imagination and the sublime: Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' (1798) and 'Kubla Khan' (1816), for instance, and Percy Bysshe Shelley's 'Mont Blanc' (1817) and 'Ozymandias' (1818). John Keats's 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer' (1817) weaves poetry, travel, and translation together into one joint enterprise of the imagination: 'Yet did I never breathe its pure serene / Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold. / Then felt I like some watcher of the skies / When a new planet swims into his ken.'²⁷ Keats's especially 'loud and bold' use of the sonnet 'turn' or volta here also effectively dramatises the compact, evocative potential of the sonnet as a form that itself 'travels'.

No Romantic poet was more closely associated with the poetry of travel and exile than Byron, whose *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, published in four parts between 1809 and 1817, took the already well-established form of Grand Tour poetry to new heights of popularity. Rather than sedately absorbing the cultural heritage of Europe, Byron, as Carl Thompson argues, refashioned the ideal, post-Napoleonic British traveller as someone who, like himself, 'ran risks, and who courted dangers and discomforts'.²⁸ Byron's poetry also figured prominently in the popular series of European guidebooks issued by John Murray, beginning with his *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* in 1836. Murray helped to solidify the importance of poetry and travel as codependent cultural forms, with extracts from Byron joining a range of other poets contemporary and historical. As European destinations became increasingly accessible to middle-class travellers, later Grand Tour poetry takes on a more satirical air, contributing in many ways to the larger rhetoric of anti-tourism that James Buzard examines in *The Beaten Track: European*

²⁶ See his chapter "'Of such books we cannot have too many": Romantic Poets as Travel Readers', in *Romantic Poetry and Transatlantic Travel: Expeditions and Tours in North America, 1760–1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 137–77.

²⁷ *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. Miriam Allott (London: Longman, 1970), pp. 61–2, lines 7–10.

²⁸ Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 233.

Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918 (1993). Thomas Hood's 'Ye Tourists and Travellers' (1839) cautions readers with the refrain 'Take care of your pocket! – Take care of your Pocket!' as it catalogues the various ways they will find themselves disappointed and overcharged for services. The supreme achievement of Grand Tour satire, however, must be Arthur Hugh Clough's *Amours de Voyage* (1858), whose epistolary form also harkens back to the genre's eighteenth-century origins. Clough sets the tone in the opening letter by declaring Rome 'rubbishy' and wishing that 'the old Goths had made a cleaner sweep of it'.²⁹ Despite such irreverence, Clough's purpose was intensely serious: the poem takes place during the French siege of Rome during its short-lived bid for independence in 1849 and wades deeply into the political and spiritual crises of the period as it examines what poetry as a form, post Byron, can contribute as a critical discourse of travel in his highly mobile age.

Victorian poetry likewise came quickly on board with new forms and technologies of travel, train travel in particular, a mutual fascination or symbiosis that continues well into the present, as evidenced by the anthology *Train Songs* (2013).³⁰ Nineteenth-century poets were drawn mostly to the radically changed perspectives on time and space that train travel afforded – and, for women poets, such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, to the new ease of mobility within the public sphere. *Aurora Leigh* (1856) marks the return of its poet heroine to Italy, and poetry's transition into a new, modern age of epic, with an evocative (and unchaperoned) journey by train: 'So we passed / The liberal open country and the close, / And shot through tunnels, like a lightning-wedge / By great Thor-hammers driven through the rock.'³¹ After rail lines had connected the east and west coasts of the United States, Walt Whitman would proclaim the train the very 'Type of the modern – emblem of motion and power – pulse of the continent'.³²

²⁹ Arthur Hugh Clough, *Selected Poems*, ed. J. P. Phelan (London: Longman, 1995), p. 79, lines 1.20 and 1.24.

³⁰ See Sean O'Brien and Don Paterson (eds.), *Train Songs: Poetry of the Railway* (London: Faber and Faber, 2013).

³¹ Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh*, ed. Margaret Reynolds (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), p. 227, 7.429–32. In urban spaces as well, rail travel on the Underground or omnibus often signalled new independence for women, as Ana Parejo Vadillo observes of the late Victorian women poets Amy Levy and Alice Meynell, in *Women Poets and Urban Aestheticism: Passengers of Modernity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

³² Walt Whitman, 'To a Locomotive in Winter', in *Leaves of Grass: A Textual Variorum of the Printed Poems*, ed. Sculley Bradley et al., 3 vols. (New York University Press, 1980), vol. 111, p. 667, line 13.

In addition to being prolific experimenters with the mobile dynamics of poetic form and rhythm, like Whitman, nineteenth-century poets were regular travellers themselves, whether as tourists, exiles, or emigrants, as later in the century with Kipling. Beginning with his *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1890), Kipling set the tone for a whole generation of British engagement with the wider world, albeit somewhat notoriously in the case of 'The White Man's Burden' (1899). Other poems, however, such as 'The Widow at Windsor' (1892), a soldier's sardonic tribute to Queen Victoria, endeavour to convey the perspective of those confronting the real dilemmas and challenges of travel in the imperial contact zone. Only in children's poetry, perhaps, like Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Travel' from *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885), could one fully dwell in the sorts of fantasies that had earlier sustained British global travel: 'I should like to rise and go / Where the golden apples grow;— / Where below another sky / Parrot islands anchored lie.'³³ As if adding the capstone to the previous century, the most famous travel poem of the early twentieth, John Masefield's 'Sea-Fever' from *Salt Water Ballads* (1902), betrays the very impracticality of its nostalgic, sail-powered dreams even as it celebrates their hold over the poet: 'I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and the sky / And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by.'³⁴

As the twentieth century progresses, poetry still travels widely, but often on more disrupted, fragmented journeys that experiment with new notions of space, time, and poetic form. W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice's *Letters from Iceland* (1937), a mix of poetry, prose, photographs, and even charts and tables, offers, as Stacy Burton describes, 'a diffuse heteroglossia to the authoritative voice on which the travel narrative usually depends'.³⁵ In a series of satirical epistles written to Byron, Auden acknowledges the poem's aesthetic debts even as he proclaims the impossibility of the kind of grand cultural sweep or authority embodied in *Childe Harold* or *Don Juan*: 'And since she's on a holiday, my Muse / Is out to please, find everything delightful / And only now and then be mildly spiteful.'³⁶ Like *Amours de Voyage*, Auden

³³ *The Collected Poems of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. Roger C. Lewis (Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 27, lines 1–4.

³⁴ John Masefield, *Selected Poems* (London: Heinemann, 1978), p. 281, lines 1–2.

³⁵ Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 65. On Auden and MacNeice's blending of forms, see also Tim Youngs, 'Auden's Travel Writings', in Stan Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 68–81 (at pp. 71–6). Simon Armitage and Glyn Maxwell's footsteps tribute to Auden and MacNeice, *Moon Country: Further Reports from Iceland* (1996), offers the same mix of genres, texts, illustrations, and photographs.

³⁶ W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland* (New York: Paragon, 1990), p. 21.

and MacNeice's free-wheeling, unstable production turns to satire in a moment of aesthetic and political crisis.

If modernist aesthetics, as Stephen Kerns suggests, foregrounds 'distinctive new modes of thinking about and experiencing time and space', then T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* (1943) represents one of the most ambitious efforts to reimagine the ways poetry can register what it means to move through space and time.³⁷ Grounded in four distinct locations, the poem offers movement and stasis as one of a series of co-sustaining binaries, the repeated image of the 'still point of the turning world' embodying a synthesis that is 'Neither from nor towards; at the still point, there the dance is, / But neither arrest nor movement'.³⁸ In an especially apt travelling metaphor for this kind of pregnant pause, Eliot recalls the moment 'when an underground train, in the tube, stops too long between stations / And the conversation rises and slowly fades into silence'.³⁹ Eliot, in some sense, was trying to find (or invent) the musical order that underlay the apparently random or chaotic nature of modern time and movement. In this respect, one could draw a direct line to Seamus Heaney's sonnet sequence 'District and Circle' (2006), which shares Eliot's close attention to form and affinity for the Underground, including that moment just before the door closes on the car: Heaney 'wished it could have lasted, / That long between-times pause before the budge'.⁴⁰ This symbiosis between poetry and the Underground, it should be noted, has not been lost on London Transport, which has included poems in the advertising panels of carriages in a programme dating back to 1986.

Elizabeth Bishop's *Questions of Travel* (1952) forms an intriguing border text in poetic travel history, gesturing back to some of the same formal concerns raised in Eliot, but also pointing the way forward to more dislocated post-modern and even postcolonial travel poetics. In 'Brazil, January 1, 1502', Bishop juxtaposes her own arrival in South America with that of the first European colonisers, in the process unpacking the sorts of predispositions and fantasies all travellers bring with them, the 'old dream of wealth and luxury'.⁴¹ Travel indeed mostly begets 'questions' and uncertainties that the volume never really resolves. But so too does 'home', as in the volume's title poem: 'the choice is never wide and never free. / And here, or there... No.

³⁷ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 1.

³⁸ Eliot, *Four Quartets*, p. 15, lines 62-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28, lines 118-19.

⁴⁰ Seamus Heaney, *District and Circle: Poems* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), p. 20.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Bishop, *Questions of Travel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1952), p. 6.

Should we have stayed at home / wherever that may be?⁴² Bishop ultimately affirms travel if only as a process of recovery of moments of meaning and connection from within the larger, more anonymous infrastructure of the modern globalising world. Hence one travels to a filling station less to get fuel than to hear ‘the sad, two-noted, wooden tune / of disparate wooden clogs / carelessly clacking over a grease-stained filling-station floor’.⁴³

As a profile of a travelling identity unable to locate itself on an increasingly complex global stage, *Questions of Travel* presages the dilemma facing post-colonial travel poetics, perhaps best exemplified in the work of Derek Walcott. In ‘A Far Cry from Africa’ (1962), the Caribbean-born poet asks: ‘Where shall I turn, divided to the vein? / I who cursed / The drunken officer of British rule, how choose / Between this Africa and the English tongue I love?’⁴⁴ The answer to this dilemma that Walcott’s later poetry provides is to dwell in multiple locations simultaneously, with a creative responsiveness always open to connection across vast distances of time and place. In ‘The Bright Field’ (1976), Walcott writes:

These slow belfry-strokes –
cast in the pool of London, from which swallows
rise in wide rings, and from their bright field, rooks –
mark the same beat by which a pelican goes
across Salybia as the tide lowers.⁴⁵

These interlocking images convey the capacity of Walcott’s verses to be intensely local and global at the same time – peculiarly rooted but always reaching for a wider perspective. Dedicated to another poet emigrant to the United States, Joseph Brodsky, ‘Forest of Europe’ (1979) underscores what poetry may best have to offer as a contemporary form of travel discourse: an imaginative cosmopolitanism characterised by quick, sudden transitions across history, culture, place, and identity: ‘Under your exile’s tongue, crisp under heel, / the gutturals crackle like decaying leaves, / the phrase from Mandelstam circles with light / in a brown room, in barren Oklahoma.’⁴⁶ Here multiple places, journeys, and forms of exile come together in a way that only poetry, perhaps, can evoke with such precision: ‘There is a Gulag

⁴² Ibid., p. 10. The ellipsis is Bishop’s.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁴ Derek Walcott, *Selected Poems*, ed. Edward Baugh (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), p. 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 142.

Archipelago / under this ice, where the salt, mineral spring / of the long Trail of Tears runnels these plains.⁴⁷

Another way of mapping twentieth-century and contemporary travel poetics is by means rather than destination, and in particular the two transportation technologies that have served most to define the past century: the automobile and airplane. The most positive car poems evoke themes of independence, escape, and the promise of (and nostalgia for) youth, as in Stephen Dunn's 'The Sacred' (1989) where he reflects on 'the bright altar of the dashboard / and how far away / a car could take him from the need / to speak, or to answer, the key / in having a key / and putting it in, and going'.⁴⁸ Poetry's relationship overall with automobile travel is more dubious, as seen in the cars and filling stations that dot the landscape of Bishop's *Questions of Travel*. Perhaps no poem better evokes this sense of cars and nature being at odds than William E. Stafford's 'Traveling through the Dark' (1962), which recounts an incident when the author pulled over to remove what turns out to be a pregnant deer that had been killed from the road: 'The car aimed ahead its lowered parking lights; / under the hood purred the steady engine. / I stood in the glare of the warm exhaust turning red; / around our group I could hear the wilderness listen.'⁴⁹ Only in this moment has the full extent of the damage inflicted on the natural world by humankind been illuminated – by the very vehicle of much of that destruction. In a painfully ironic manner, Stafford's poem underscores the only way one typically 'sees' nature when travelling by car: by accidents or interruptions that stand out all the more for the ways they take readers 'off the grid'. As Seamus Heaney remarks in 'Postscript' (1996) of a memorable coastal view from a car, 'Useless to think you'll park and capture it / More thoroughly. You are neither here nor there, / A hurry through which known and strange things pass / As big soft buffetings come at the car sideways / And catch the heart off guard and blow it open.'⁵⁰

In a way that cannot be said of trains, poetry seems to have quickly exhausted whatever it was that was inspirational or sublime about air travel and airborne perspectives. It also did not help the plane's cause, in some sense, that it was not a form of transport open to the public (and poets) in appreciable numbers until the mid twentieth century, and even by then Louis

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁸ Stephen Dunn, *Between Angels* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), p. 55.

⁴⁹ William E. Stafford, *The Way It Is: New and Selected Poems* (St Paul: Graywolf Press, 1998), p. 77.

⁵⁰ Seamus Heaney, *The Spirit Level* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1996), p. 82.

MacNeice was already complaining about the 'indistinguishable airports' of the modern traveller's itinerary.⁵¹ Airports and jet travel nonetheless figure prominently in recent poetry, if only because they are inescapable components of global travel. Jeffrey Gray, for instance, notes the ubiquity of planes in Walcott, in particular "The Fortunate Traveler" (1981), where 'the jet provides a metaphor for power, privilege, and invisibility'.⁵² Indeed, poetry as a form may be especially well attuned critically to some of the more subtle ways jet travel has altered the traveller's landscape and, via jet lag, the very cognitive experience of travel – that disrupted, displaced feeling of dwelling in multiple places at once. In Peter Campion's 'Or Wherever Your Final Destination May Be...' (2005), 'tunnel / follows tunnel' as travellers find themselves impelled through airports, planes, and hotels.⁵³ The role of the poet as traveller becomes, in essence, to work against becoming lost in these networks of travel and instead to take note of how these same disruptions can heighten the senses and allow for a more intense connection to one's surroundings, even a fleeting 'transient community' with one's fellow passengers, as in 'Over Greenland: Flight 107': 'Waking up / to ice cubes cracking in a plastic cup / and voices / ("awesome for the Hong Kong branch" / "well, most of all we miss our daughter...")'.⁵⁴

Freer, in some sense, to move between past, present, and future, and to traverse multiple locations at once in the imagination, travel poetry can weave a cognitive palimpsest just as true to the experience of travel, perhaps even more so in our own accelerated and highly networked times, than the most exacting and 'realistic' prose narrative. Colleen J. McElroy's *Travelling Music* (1998) affords one final example of poetry's ample range in this respect. Covering some of the poet's travels in Eastern Europe, Asia, and the United States, McElroy also attunes herself to how black American culture, especially its music, travels alongside her. The effort to map the unfamiliar geography of a new country in turn invites journeys through one's own past and identity. In 'Way Out Wardell Plays Belgrade', she writes of how 'when we step through the door / my black face brings all talk / to a halt until the only sound / left in the shuffle / of feet is the bass / and some rhubarb player / trying to imitate a Harlem scat'.⁵⁵ The volume is just as notable for

⁵¹ Louis MacNeice, *Collected Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 500, line 9.

⁵² Jeffrey Gray, *Mastery's End: Travel and Postwar American Poetry* (Athens: Georgia University Press, 2005), p. 182.

⁵³ Peter Campion, *Other People* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 35.

⁵⁴ Peter Campion, *El Dorado* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 42.

⁵⁵ Colleen J. McElroy, *Travelling Music* (Ashland, OR: Story Line Press, 1998), pp. 71–2.

Visual Images in Travel Writing

STEPHANIE LEITCH

As important elements of the visual apparatus of books, images in travel literature embellish stories and entice buyers. Depictions of peoples and prospects in these accounts inflect readers' sense of place, establish authors' reputation for truth-telling, and create fervour for travel, both real and imagined. In the early modern period, establishing otherness was an important function of travel illustration, but such strategies evolved as the European marketplace for print took shape. Accounts of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville populated remote areas with images of monstrous peoples whose marginal humanity reinforced their distance from a moral and theological centre.¹ As reports of human populations supplanted those of monsters in the text, images of marvellous beings soon gave way to stock images of peoples that also survived repeated retellings through recycling. Once anchored as features of travel accounts, depictions of peoples were shaped by increasing specificity. These newly descriptive images enhanced the author's credibility; the authoritative nature of these images, in turn, reshaped narrative strategies. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts, images became central to certifying the author's eyewitness claims. Illustrations accompanying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelogues served as visual warrants that underwrote scientific missions. As travel images increasingly posited the traveller as a first-hand observer, they helped establish empirical inquiry as a method and even stabilised subjects for investigation.

¹ Rudolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters', ed. E. H. Gombrich, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 159–97 (esp. pp. 166–71). For the monstrous races in America, see Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 97–117. For the shifting fortunes of monsters in early modern discourses on humanity, see Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 1–46, 148–82.

This chapter explores the look and function of images in travel literature from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. While its emphasis will be on published travel reports during the initial period of European contact with Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and the dawn of the great travel anthologies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it will also gesture to subsequent periods, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in particular. Its focus is on the sources of the images, the important dialogue those images constructed with other genres, and the relationship of word and image in travel publications, as well as on the epistemological function of the copied image.

Early Printing and the Other

In the early years of printing, images in travel accounts were produced in workshops where artisans simply repurposed woodblocks of wild men and women or Adam and Eve to illustrate accounts of faraway peoples and places. One of the earliest travel volumes to reject such stereotypes was Bernard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz, 1486), a large and lavishly illustrated account of pilgrims' progress to the Holy Land. Breydenbach took along Erhard Reuwich (active 1483–6), an artist from Utrecht, to record specific sights gathered along the way. Breydenbach's preface marketed the book as an eyewitness account, a claim he staked on images generated from the artist's first-hand observation. Even though the *Peregrinatio* aimed to galvanise support for crusade, images in this travel volume enlivened the landscape of Jerusalem with depictions of multi-ethnic peoples, displaying their dress and customs.² While proto-ethnographic elements can be traced in many early modern travel genres, as Joan-Pau Rubiés cautions, a full consideration of the type of ethnographic writing must consider the traveller's agenda and audience.³ Images appearing in the texts require similar analyses and we must also consider the context and conventions of printing.

Travel reports of merchants of the early sixteenth century were expediently printed and therefore sparsely illustrated. Reports from the early decades of the sixteenth century, especially those of Columbus and Vespucci, circulated as small pamphlet editions whose images relied on visual

² Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), pp. 55–99.

³ See Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 242–61.

shorthand to render encountered peoples. The title-pages of several of these pamphlets placed Spanish or Portuguese regents on shorelines opposite groups of naked people, separated by a body of water to suggest distance. The reductive pictorial formulae used to render newly 'discovered' peoples enhanced their difference from Europeans. A few of these encounters were also dramatised as visually enticing broadsheets with brief text excerpted from longer pamphlet versions. Broadsheets based on Amerigo Vespucci's account published in Augsburg and Leipzig c.1505 followed older cartographic practice of illuminating coastlines with people and vegetation, but they also showed the bodies of indigenous Americans with increasing specificity in feathered costumes, with facial piercings, and bearing weapons.⁴

Travel images must be considered at the intersection of representations circulating in cosmographic texts, merchants' reports, costume books, and maps. Printed illustration in early modern travel accounts frequently collided with visual conventions from cartographic models.⁵ In regularly gridded areas that spilled over into their margins, maps offered readymade formats for the visualisation of peoples encountered by travellers. This modular grid provided handy compartments for organising those peoples, recording both geographic and cultural difference, and incentivising variety. As such, cartographic space offered an important format for presenting costumes and customs.

Perhaps the most salient factor uniting the cartographic, travel, and costume literature printed in cosmopolitan centres was the tendency to express geographic difference by the anatomical shorthand of the bodies of peoples who lived there. Scholars have looked to map margins as a space for structuring incipient gender and proto-racial stereotypes because of the format they provided for the organisation of new knowledge. The modular space of the grid offered a spatial armature that transcended classical binaries used to define the Other, such as orthodox and heathen, civilised and barbaric, and pictured new ethnographic, racial, and gender relationships.⁶ These formal displays of bodies incentivised methods of comparative analysis

⁴ Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 53–72, and plates 3–7.

⁵ For more on cartography and travel, see Chapter 27 above.

⁶ Valerie Traub, 'Mapping the Global Body', in Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (eds.), *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 44–97 (p. 45).

that ultimately inspired relativistic thinking about extra-European peoples, overturning older paradigms founded on stark differences.⁷

A multi-block woodcut that circulated in southern Germany around 1508 used a grid format to map the journey of the merchant Balthasar Springer to Southeast Asia.⁸ The Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair distilled this merchant's journey into a series of encounters with West Africans, indigenous peoples of the Cape region, peoples of Mozambique, and India, all separated into discrete compartments. Images designed for this account established a tenacious visual standard for eyewitness credibility: anatomical rendering filtered through Renaissance models, close attention to ethnographic detail, and presentation of peoples in compartments of shallow depth.⁹ Together, these qualities conspired to support reportorial authenticity. The authority established by Burgkmair's visual comparisons spawned numerous copies, but these copies complicated the careful ethnographic distinctions that he noted and parsed. The path of some of Burgkmair's motifs has been traced to Seville, for example, where they likely became the model for the title-page woodcut of the first published account of the Spanish conquest of the Inca empire in Bartolomé Pérez's *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú* (Seville, 1534), as well as serving as inspiration for other accounts of the conquest of Peru billed as travel literature, such as de Bry's edition of Girolamo Benzoni.¹⁰

Printed images were peripatetic; they wandered amongst diverse genres where their components were transposed or reappropriated. New blocks of Burgkmair's prints of Africans and Indians were generated in Antwerp where they were published in the border of a broadsheet, *De novo mondo*, in 1520 (Figure 29.1). Although marketed by the printer Jan van Doesborch as an account of Amerigo Vespucci's travels to the Americas, after only a brief summary of Vespucci's voyage, it segued into a transcript of an unrelated merchant heading to India.¹¹ The 'novo mondo' of the title seems retroactively fitting for a report

⁷ Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 70–132; Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography*, pp. 78–86.

⁸ Balthasar Springer et al., *The Voyage from Lisbon to India, 1505–6: Being an Account and Journal* (London: B. F. Stevens, 1894); Balthasar Springer, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/06*, ed. Franz Schulze (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1902).

⁹ Stephanie Leitch, 'Burgkmair's "Peoples of Africa and India" (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print', *Art Bulletin*, 91/2 (2009), 134–59.

¹⁰ See Tom Cummins, 'The Indulgent Image', in Ilona Katzew et al. (eds.), *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), pp. 203–26 (at p. 217).

¹¹ Balthasar Springer and Amerigo Vespucci, *De novo mondo ...* (Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch, 1520); Amerigo Vespucci et al., *De novo mondo, Antwerp, Jan van Doesborch (About 1520). A facsimile of an unique broadsheet containing an early account of the inhabitants*



Figure 29.1 Anon. in Balthasar Springer and Amerigo Vespucci, *De novo mundo* . . . (Antwerp: Doesborch, 1520), woodcut broadsheet, Rostock UB Qi-39. Courtesy of Universitaetsbibliothek Rostock.

announcing the mixed jumble of many extra-Europeans new to European consciousness. The document's organising formula of the grid was invoked mostly to categorise peoples in cosmopolitan centres where news of the inhabitants of the Americas, Africa, and India was rapidly colliding. Doesborch's decision to group together peoples of geographically distinct origins has disturbed modern commentators but is unlikely to have bothered sixteenth-century readers for whom this must have served as a crib sheet for categorising peoples in an increasingly connected world.

Although the Antwerp 'Vespucci' broadsheet would have left readers puzzled about the author's actual trajectory, the confused illustrations accompanying it suggest that the early modern appetite for pictures of exotic peoples surpassed the need for carefully reported geographic material, privileging mostly the representations of those encounters. Substituting the iconography of native Americans for indigenous peoples of other geographic regions bred a confusion that often marked early modern recounting of travel. Ethnographic specificity was readily sacrificed in favour of expediency; recycled images usually served the printer's bottom line and produced a rich base of stock images. The widely travelled depiction of the Brazilian Tupinambá in a feather skirt, for example, began as a printer's attempt at ethnographic detail, but the motif was quickly appropriated to portray unfamiliar peoples from all over the globe.¹² Printers were often thus complicit in such confusions – the interchangeability of motifs kept the idea of the exotic alive and well.¹³ At the same time, readers' emerging desire for specificity did produce some attempts to correct previous printers' infelicities. Early modern printers frequently traded accuracy for particularity; rejecting familiar stock images was a calculated risk ventured by only a few.¹⁴

Desire for diversity in a print market now flush with particular images invited the plunder of motifs from other printed sources – especially as wider adventure exposed travellers to more peoples and among whose customs they endeavoured to distinguish. Large-scale projects like the anthology of travels to the Americas and India (1580–1630) printed by Theodor de Bry;

of South America, together with a short version of Heinrich Sprenger's Voyage to the Indies, ed. M. E. Kronenberg (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1927); Amerigo Vespucci, *Van der nieuwer werelt oft landschap* ([Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch], 1506).

¹² See William Sturtevant, 'La tupinambisation des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord', in Gilles Thérien (ed.), *Figures de l'Indien* (Montreal: University of Quebec, 1988), pp. 293–303. Christian F. Feest, *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 610.

¹³ Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 1–42.

¹⁴ Lisa Voigt and Elio Brancaforte, 'The Traveling Illustrations of Sixteenth-Century Travel Narratives', *PMLA*, 129/3 (2014), 365–98 (at pp. 388ff.).

Albrecht Herport's travels to India c.1669; and Johan Nieuhof's peregrinations with the Dutch East India company (VOC) to China required novel depictions simply to distinguish amongst peoples encountered. The need to order diverse groups of peoples found rich potential in the grid format for its ability to juxtapose and organise customs. Borders of later wall maps reprised such groupings to differentiate peoples of an increasingly diverse variety.¹⁵ This formal development would also underwrite nineteenth-century methods of comparativism in travel images specifically designed to organise the results of anthropological inquiry.¹⁶

Travel Collections

One of the earliest popularisers of travel accounts was the Protestant printer and entrepreneur Theodor de Bry, who reprised a tradition begun by Fracanzano da Montalboddo's early travel anthology *Paesi novamente ritrovati* (Vicenza, 1507). Twenty-eight volumes known today as the *Grands Voyages* were printed serially in Frankfurt by the de Bry family press between 1590 and 1628.¹⁷ The novelty of de Bry's approach depended on systematic illustration. These volumes, organised by hemispheres into *India Orientalis* and *America, or India Occidentalis*, essentially reprinted existing accounts, many of conquest, but added copious images.¹⁸ De Bry's overhaul of already circulating reports involved synthesising their content of travel and conquest, directing new emphasis towards the display of customs. Delivering illustrated travel literature with a polemical bent, he focused the books' visual programmes around bodies as sites of cross-cultural encounter and conflict. De Bry's reasons for depicting both European and extra-European bodies stereotypically were practical ones: he himself had little first-hand experience with travel, he relied in part on illustrations cribbed from other accounts, and his training as an engraver exposed him to Renaissance modelling and anatomical standards. De Bry's systematic programme of illustration made these stereotypes recognisable through repeated printings, and as such they became well suited to polemic.

De Bry's 1596 reprint of Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del nuovo mundo* (Venice, 1565), for example, jettisoned the author's original illustrations that

¹⁵ Traub, 'Mapping the Global Body', p. 49 and n.16.

¹⁶ Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion, 2011), pp. 26–9.

¹⁷ Anna Greve, *Die Konstruktion Amerikas: Bildpolitik in den Grands Voyages aus der Werkstatt de Bry* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), pp. 51ff.

¹⁸ Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 389 ff.

documented the local customs of peoples of the Caribbean, Central America, and Peru in favour of sensationalised images of Spanish aggressors and indigenous victims.¹⁹ Sacrificing Benzoni's ethnographic information, de Bry instead concentrated his efforts on an ideological programme denouncing Catholic abuses in the New World.²⁰ Spaniards and native populations were delivered as broad caricatures against an imagined backdrop of local customs. This produced some fantastical images, such as the improbable attempt at defence pictured in fol. 23 (Figure 29.2). However, de Bry attempted to bolster the truth of scenes by providing assurances from other authorities like Vasco Núñez de Balboa and Petrus de Cieca cited nearby in the text.

De Bry frequently couched his volumes' pseudo-ethnographic information in formulae popular from other genres, like adventure travel, costume books, and even manifestos. Because such diverse visual programmes informed early modern travel literature, it is perhaps more helpful to think fluidly about genres of representation not as hard and fast categories, but instead as ones defined by their mutual resemblances. The *Grands Voyages* is itself a collection of conquest narratives that were reified as 'travel accounts' once organised as such by de Bry's press. For example, Bartolomé de las Casas's apologia or manifesto, the *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, which was marketed by de Bry's press as *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1598), illuminates how the printer reconciled his primary sources to the convention of travel literature. Las Casas's diatribe against Spanish abuses included all the markings of a classic travel adventure: exotic location, sensationalised battles, and indigenous peoples disturbed in the midst of peaceful local practices. De Bry's inclusion of imagery familiar from his more classical travel volumes, as well as the standardised look honed by his serialised marketing campaign, linked such polemic to travel literature in general. The visual expectations that de Bry both created and fed ushered diverse types of account into the fold of travel literature.

¹⁹ Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae pars sexta, siue, historiae ab Hieronymo Bēzono mediolanēse scriptae, sectio tertia* . . . (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1596).

²⁰ See Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Ethnographer's Sketch, Sensational Engraving, Full-length Portrait: Print Genres for Spanish America in Girolamo Benzoni, the De Brys, and Cesare Vecellio', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 41/1 (2011), 137–71 (esp. pp. 141ff.).

Die Spanier streiten mit den Indianern/welche ihre Wohnung auff
den Däumen haben.



Die Indianer welche an derselbigen Meridionalischen grenzen oder an dem Meer welches gegen dem stillen Meer über ist sich halten pflegen ihre wohnung oben auff die Däume zu bauen denn der Boden dafelbst ist gang sumpffig vnd moertricht/derhalben dann die Spanier diese Völkler biß daher nicht haben bezwingen können/dieweil sie mit den Drossen ihren nicht zukommen mögen. Valboa ist der erst gewesen/welcher als er an dasselbige Meridionalisch Meer kam/diese Däner auff den Däumen ersehen hat/welches fürwar ihm vnd seinen Spanischen Knechten die er bey sich hatte.ganz lächerlich für kam. Denn es gar was nützlich/also daß sie anfangs anders nicht vermeineten/als ob die Stöcke oder Ägel ihre Däster dohin auff die Däume gemacht besten. Diese selbige Däume waren so hoch/daß ein starcker Mann sie kaum mit einem Stein überwerffen möchte. Ja es sind irer ein theil so dick daß sie acht Personen nicht vmbklaffern können. Gleicher art wohnungen sind man noch mehr/an etlichen andern feuchten wasserichten Orten desselbigen lands. Die Leuth so darinnen wohnen/sind streitbar vnd reich an Gold vnd Silber/sie haben ihr land vor den Spaniern jederzeit beschirmt. Auch deren das meiste theil erschlagen. Dieser Heuser gedentst auch Petrus de Cieca in seinem ersten Theil der Peruanischen Chronica/am zwölfften/am sechß vnd zwanzigsten vnd am neun vnd zwanzigsten Capitel vnd schreibt sie seyen innwendig so weitt außgeräumig/daß sich wol etliche Haußgeßellen darinnen auffhalten können.

Die

Figure 29.2 Theodor de Bry and Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae pars sexta, sive, historiae ab Hieronymo Bēzono scripta, sectio tertia . . .* (1596). Courtesy of Strozier Library Special Collections, FSU.

Although images of Amerindians in de Bry's account frequently traded on stereotypes of the noble savage, they were significant for the extent to which this alterity was particularised. Depictions of indigenous peoples appearing in this series have sometimes been called proto-ethnographic by virtue of their compliance with European norms of anatomy and their copious descriptions of local customs. In fact, de Bry's bodies of indigenous Americans and Southeast Asians were conventional, and in some cases actually modelled on classical sculpture filtered through Flemish Mannerist printmakers such as Hendrick Goltzius, Jan van der Straet (called Stradanus), and Maarten van Heemskerck.²¹ With the depiction of anatomies rigidly governed by familiar artistic norms, de Bry strategically reserved the spotlight for the display of habits and customs.

It is also important to consider the debt that travel images owed to formal printing conventions, including layout.²² While woodcuts in early travel publications were easily embedded into pages set with moveable type, de Bry's engravings on copper plates were printed separately and thus led to new arrangements of text and image. Some of the images in de Bry's travel narratives were bundled like an appendix at the end of long unillustrated passages. As a result, images further removed from their textual references invited more profuse and explanatory captions. Later volumes attempted to reintegrate the text and visual material on the same page where readers could more easily cross-reference text and images.

Anthologising Habits

Capitalising on audiences newly sensitised to foreign bodies through costume books, de Bry's volumes followed templates active in this popular genre. Travel narratives cross-pollinated with contemporary books of clothing and habits with which they sustained a rich symbiotic relationship. The profusion of contemporary books that anthologised the habits and clothing of the peoples of the world made costumes popular content for later travel literature.

²¹ Henry Keazor, 'Theodore de Bry's Images for America', *Print Quarterly*, 15/2 (1998), 131–49 (esp. pp. 135ff.).

²² Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 1–43.

De Bry poached some of the figures used in his edition of Girolamo Benzoni's account from a manuscript *Trachtenbuch* in which the artist Christopher Weiditz recorded peoples encountered on a journey to the court of Charles V.²³ The reappropriation of dress from Weiditz's manuscript offers an excellent example of how costume literature was plundered as authoritative sources for travel literature, frequently at the expense of geographic precision. Weiditz's jugglers and ball players, presumably of Aztec origin, were relocated to Cuzco in Theodor de Bry's reworking of Benzoni's account. The tenacity of motifs from costume illustrations in travel accounts is not surprising given that dress was often the most reliable method of articulating cultural differences in the amorphous borderlands of early modern geography.²⁴

Printed costume books took off in earnest as a genre in the middle of the sixteenth century. Early volumes recording dress, such as François Despres's *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (Paris: Richard Breton, 1562), spawned a half century of publications about dress that reached an apogee in the Venetian costume books printed by Cesare Vecellio in the 1590s. The symbiosis of travel accounts and costume books makes a clear evolution difficult to articulate, but some repercussions of their synergy are explored by Peter Mason.²⁵ The views of peoples in Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1588) were not unlike ones to be found in costume books such as *Recueil de costumes étrangers* (J. J. Boissard, 1581) and Abraham de Bruyn's *Habitus variarum orbis gentium* (1581). Later, the second edition of Vecellio's costume book *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, published in 1598, pirated images from travel publications, such as that of an Algonquian woman carrying her child, after an engraving in de Bry's printing of Thomas Harriot's report of Virginia, itself based on a watercolour by John White.²⁶ Another Venetian costume book, Pietro Bertelli's *Diversarum nationum habitus* (Venice, 1594), cribbed the 'noble American woman' and the Inca leader Atahualpa straight from de Bruyn's *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Cologne and Antwerp, 1577, 1581).

²³ Christopher Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (c.1529), Germanische Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Hs. 22474.4.

²⁴ Wilson, *World in Venice*, p. 77.

²⁵ Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images* (London: Reaktion, 2001), pp. 120ff.

²⁶ Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), p. 35.

The tangled genealogy of travel and costume images reinforced the authority associated with them. Viewers' repeated encounter with the same images in various genres spurred familiarity with recognisable and representative types. Recognition bolstered the credibility of the information presented there. Authenticity was also constructed through visual conventions such as positioning a viewer before the picture plane in order to simulate the role of the eyewitness.

Figures presented in shallow space and parallel to the picture plane were a shared formal hallmark of both costume and travel illustration. Illustrations of people found in editions of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* (1594) exploit this strategy.²⁷ A Dutch explorer in the employ of a Portuguese archbishop in Goa, Linschoten later defected to Protestantism and served as a spy. His adventures were published by several different presses and circulated widely.²⁸ The first Dutch edition of the *Itinerario* featured engravings by Johan van Doetichum of regional maps, topographic panoramas, and many images of the local populations. Linschoten's itinerary stands out in the ethnographic literature for the sharp eye he trained on Indo-Portuguese society. The impartiality offered by this Dutch traveller in Portuguese India was perceived to bring a more objective perspective on indigenous populations.²⁹ Linschoten provided a foil to classical patterns of 'othering' by including images of Portuguese peoples and customs alongside those of the Goans; his identity as a Dutchman introduced a third party into the binary self/other formula.³⁰

Images of indigenous Goans appearing in the *Navigatio* (1596) present peoples as types distinguished by their professions and customs (Figure 29.3). Classically positioned bodies, topographic description, and shallow placement of the figures helped promote the idea that the narrator's gaze was objective.³¹ The caption accompanying the German-language reprint literally constructs the reader as an eyewitness:

²⁷ Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert, van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (Amsterdam: Claesz, 1594).

²⁸ For a collection of digital editions of Linschoten's account, see Linschoten, 'Itinerario', www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/China-Bibliographie/blog/2010/02/03/linschoten-itinerario.

²⁹ Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography', p. 249.

³⁰ Marília dos Santos Lopes, *Wonderful Things Never Yet Seen: Iconography of the Discoveries*, trans. Clive Gilbert (Lisbon: Livros Quetzal, 1998), p. 30.

³¹ See Dawn Odell, 'Creaturally Invented Letters and Dead Chinese Idols', in Michael Wayne Cole and Rebecca Zorach (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 267–88 (at p. 274).



Figure 29.3 Images of Goans in Jan van Linschoten, *Navigatio ac itinerarium . . .* (1596). Courtesy of Herzog August Bibliothek.

Here is presented to your eyes an Indian *Balliadera*, or dancer, who is employed in public spectacles or celebrations for amusements. If someone desires her for other purposes, she accommodates these for a paltry sum. After this is pictured a soldier from Balagate, called *Lascarim*, who wears nothing except around the head and about the groin and holds a drawn weapon in his hand. In the last instance, we see a farmer called *Canaryn* with his wife and children, who also go about naked with the exception of a cloth around their genitals . . . they subsist on the cultivation of palms.³²

The idea that images in travel accounts presented some kind of reality *to the eyes* was frequently articulated in accompanying texts. Even as Linschoten's transcript circulated clichés about sex-workers and exotic practices such as

³² My translation. Jan Huygen van Linschoten et. al., *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien* (Frankfurt: Saur, 1598), xiii.

suttee, the credibility of the narrator was reinforced by pictorial warrants: the captions addressed the reader as an accomplice who should verify the textual data in the images themselves.

Eyewitnessing

Assurances of the 'eyewitness' had credited travel accounts for as long as they had been produced, but these arose with increasing urgency in texts whose images sought to confirm knowledge gained empirically. The fiction of first-hand viewing or 'autopsy' was employed by Pliny, St Augustine, and Isidore of Seville who invoked this rhetorical stance to enhance their credibility. Anthony Pagden and others have rehearsed the importance of testimonies of first-hand experience as critical to the making of colonial relations.³³ But the text's claims were also supported by the paratextual apparatus in which accompanying images performed their own accrediting work. Recycled images did surprisingly little to dilute textual claims to first-hand experience; paradoxically, they might have even assisted the project of credibility by making these types familiar to a wider readership.

In seventeenth-century travel images, eyewitness claims were made credible through descriptive naturalism and perspectival adjustments that situated the viewer in the narrator's position. Subject matter shifted away from representations of extra-European bodies to depictions of foreign customs. Images emerging in the context of the peregrinations of Dutch merchants of the VOC and Jesuit missionaries in Asia reflected new subjects of interest to newsmakers and encyclopedists. Views that we see in those itineraries appear strategically cropped to posit the reader as a first-hand observer. The careful tooling of this point of view unites the variety of images collected in these volumes, as well as their diverse functions, ranging from didactic to narrative and overtly propagandistic.³⁴ These prospects shifted seamlessly among architectural environments including houses of worship, representations of religious practices, and even artifacts themselves, as in the case of Olfert Dapper's *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappye* (Amsterdam, 1670). Attention was frequently drawn to the trustworthiness of

³³ See Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 50ff.; François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 249.

³⁴ Odell, 'Creaturally Invented Letters', p. 284.

the accompanying illustrations. The subtitle of Johan Nieuhof's *Het gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham* (Amsterdam: van Meurs, 1665), an account of the VOC's activity in China, boasts that the engravings would provide 'an accurate description of Chinese cities, villages, government . . . sciences, crafts, manners, religions'.³⁵ The homogeneous visual programme engineered by Nieuhof's publisher Jacob van Meurs has been characterised as commercial branding that abetted the authority of the narratives.³⁶ Pictorial strategies that emerged in publications of Jesuits sought transparently to transmit knowledge collected by missionaries.³⁷ Athanasius Kircher's compendium of idolatry in China, or Joseph Francis Lafitau's comparative history of the customs of North American indigenous tribes and those of ancient Europeans, for example, began to include pictorial collections of objects in encyclopedic displays, partly in response to the expanding proto-scientific functions of these genres.³⁸

The trope of eyewitnessing both justified and certified many Enlightenment scientific pursuits as first-hand testimony began to supplant the reliability of book learning. It is easy to forget that dangerous travel lurked behind the benign and beautiful pictures that returned from the voyages of discovery and ultimately became their goal. To images of peoples, comparative customs, habits, architecture, landscape, colonial travellers added an emphasis on picturing natural history. The visualisation of objective scrutiny that would come to set the standard for picturing Enlightenment science depended on the fiction of an embodied and vigilant empiricist.³⁹ This point of view was already familiar to audiences from travel publications.

Naturalists sent to New Spain and South America carried over older visual paradigms for portraying nature, but these came into scientific focus in the eighteenth century: a diagnostic and taxonomic mode of picturing that isolated natural specimens from their local surroundings, opening them up, as Daniela Bleichmar has suggested, for a more global consideration.⁴⁰

³⁵ Siegfried Huigen et al., *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 135.

³⁶ Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 27ff.

³⁷ Odell, 'Creaturely Invented Letters', p. 286.

³⁸ Joseph Francis Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris: Chez Saugrain l'aîné, 1724).

³⁹ For modes of picturing and their relationship to objectivity, see Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone, 2007), pp. 191ff.

⁴⁰ Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 157.

Minutely described insects and plants in dramatic close-ups appeared in the engravings of Maria Sybilla Merian's *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* (Amsterdam, 1705); these were the concretisation of observations made during her travel expeditions to Surinam. The scientific activity of fact-finding missions can be identified and tracked in the images they returned. Alejandro Malaspina (1789–94), Antoine de Bougainville (1766–9), and James Cook (1768–71) all procured naturalists to accompany their journeys, certainly in part to meet the expectation that pictorial records were required of such voyages. Images in Alexander von Humboldt's *Plantes équinoxiales* (Paris, 1808–17), part of the larger account *Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland aux régions équinoxiales*, were modelled on the visual epistemology familiar from travel literature. The images in these accounts in turn helped fashion new fields of empirical investigation. Humboldt's pursuit of nature in the Amazon shaped a field of knowledge that eliminated evidence of native populations from the illustration in order to construct a clean slate for investigative pursuits of the scientific Enlightenment.⁴¹

Even across technologies in the *longue durée* of travel writing, the idea that illustrations could provide visual guarantees persisted. Photography, invented around 1830, became the technology par excellence to reassert eyewitness claims that had been the cornerstone of travel narratives in both textual and visual iterations. Photography could perhaps best advocate for the veracity of the subject without the intervention of the observer. Because of the perceived transparency of the medium, French and British artists in the wake of its popularisation undertook journeys to the Middle East specifically to produce photographs.⁴² Francis Frith's photographic journey *Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described* (London, 1858), for example, marked an important monument in the early development of documentary photography.⁴³ Indeed, the first book to employ photographs as illustrations per se was a travel publication, Maxime du Camp's *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie: dessins photographiques recueillis pendant les années 1849, 1850 et 1854 . . .* (Paris, 1852). Publications such as these show how travel-related content inflected the development of the new medium of photography.

⁴¹ Neil L. Whitehead, 'South America / Amazonia: The Forest of Marvels', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 122–38.

⁴² Nancy Micklewright, *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Travel photography enjoyed official state sponsorship in diplomatic envoys sent to document foreign regions. The French Ministry of Public Instruction, for instance, commissioned Auguste Salzmann to document Jewish, Islamic, and Christian architecture in Jerusalem.⁴⁴ This photographic mission was backed by the camera's association with objectivity and confidence in the legibility of those truths in the image.⁴⁵ The difficulty of stabilising subjects explains in part the emphasis on the architectural monuments and the empty city-views that proliferated in this volume as the camera's lens sought the stillness offered by immobile subjects. But this absence of the human element in the photographic productions of travel during the Second Empire presented the illusion of an uninhabited landscape that would later motivate imperial expansion.⁴⁶ Like the genre of travel, the history of photography is also bound up with the discourses of science, geographic expansion, imperialism, archaeology, and techniques of reproduction.⁴⁷ While initially embraced for the perceived detachment of the technology from its subjects, photography later became problematic in investigations of colonial anthropology, where it accompanied anxieties about the disappearance of the subject, the effectiveness of the grid as a background for staging anthropological and cultural comparisons, and even the nature of knowledge.⁴⁸

Conclusion

Travel illustrations provide a sharp lens through which to view the emergence of early modern epistemological approaches to understanding the world, its peoples, ideas of otherness, cultural exchange, and geography. While it is productive to consider the content that predominated in illustrations of particular regions at particular times – such as monsters in the Far East, peoples in India and the Americas, religion in China, peoples and hunting in Africa, and nature in the Amazon, for example – this content provides only a partial picture. Historians of visual culture also need to

⁴⁴ Auguste Salzmann, *Jérusalem: étude et reproduction photographique des monuments de la Ville Sainte, depuis l'époque Judaique jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Gide et J. Baudry, 1856).

⁴⁵ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), p. 155.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴⁸ Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, pp. 17ff. See also Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).

consider the visual apparatus of the book, ideas about the originality of the image, the epistemology of the copy, as well as the commercial and ideological incentives for providing illustrations. Early modern travel writing in particular encompassed a wide array of visual material over which no one genre had exclusive rights. Any analysis of images appearing in the range of genres considered travel-related literature must also examine critically the rhetorical, visual, and epistemological claims of these respective media.

Travel and Fiction

JANICKE STENSVAAAG KAASA

From that long journey home to Ithaca in Homer's *Odyssey*, to Aeneas on his wanderings from Troy to Italy in Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Dante's ascent to Paradise in *The Divine Comedy*, Western literature has returned repeatedly to tropes of travel. Later on, travel and travelling asserted themselves in new ways and forms, and in a range of texts (many of them variations of the novel) concerned with travellers and their journeys: from Miguel de Cervantes's delusional hidalgo in *Don Quixote* (1605) and the stranded protagonist of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), to Marlow's mission in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and Rachel Vinrace's sea passage in Virginia Woolf's *The Voyage Out* (1915).

Several of the most prominent texts in the Western literary tradition that deal with travel and travellers, then, are fictional, even though, as with Defoe's sea journey fictions, they may be modelled on works of actual travel, or, as in Jules Verne's adventure novels, inspired by real-life events.¹ In these texts, travel serves not merely as a motif or theme, but is just as important for plot, structure, and character development. As Tzvetan Todorov has argued, 'journey and narrative imply one another', and as such travel and fiction (and writing more generally) seem to be inseparably bound up with each other.²

The persistent tropes of travel and travelling in the Western literary imagination, from antiquity onwards, provide an important backdrop for the overlaps between fictional and documentary modes of travel writing with which this chapter is concerned. In particular, these intersections are made

¹ For more on the sources of Defoe's novels and on the connections between travel writing and the novel more generally, see for example Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 119–43.

² Tzvetan Todorov, 'The Journey and its Narratives', in Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon (eds.), *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 278–96 (at p. 287). On the kinship between travel and writing, see also Michel Butor, 'Travel and Writing', in Susan L. Roberson (ed.), *Defining Travel: Diverse Visions* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 69–87.

manifest in the relationship between travel writing and the novel. As J. Paul Hunter has observed in his study on English fiction in the eighteenth century, travel writing chronicles an emerging attentiveness to cultural difference as well as a 'deterioration of belief in universal truths'. Thus it anticipates the novel by providing readers with certain assumptions and expectations.³ Moreover, Hunter continues, early novelists often sought to exploit the popularity of the genre, adopting many of the conventions of travel writing and 'suggesting the similarity of their wares'.⁴ Just as often, and as the example of Jonathan Swift's satirical take on travel writing in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) demonstrates, novelists also played with readers' expectations and generic conventions.⁵

Travel writing may have paved the way for and served as an important context for an understanding of the novel. However, the influence between the two genres has been mutual, whether through the episodic structure of the picaresque novel, the plotting of exploration accounts, the fascination with travel and transport in modernist fiction, or the experimentation with form in contemporary travel writing.⁶ Just as novelists have drawn on travel writing, travel writers have borrowed from the novel, and often authors either work in both modes or combine them.⁷ Yet, as several critics have pointed out, what distinguishes the novelist from the travel writer and the novel from travel writing is not self-evident.⁸ When Bruce Chatwin – both a novelist and travel writer – published *In Patagonia* in 1977, he was displeased with the fact that critics called it a travel book.⁹ Ten years later, Carl

³ J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), p. 353.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁵ Swift's evocation of the travel-writing genre is clearly underlined in the novel's original title, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships*.

⁶ On plotting in exploration accounts, see T. D. MacLulich, 'Canadian Exploration as Literature', *Canadian Literature*, 81 (1979), 72–85. For a discussion of travel and transport in modernist fiction, see for example Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁷ The works by authors such as Lawrence Durrell, Graham Greene, George Sand, Evelyn Waugh, and Rebecca West illustrate this tendency, as do the writings of contemporary authors such as Michel Butor, Jean Rolin, and W. G. Sebald.

⁸ Consider, for example, the inclusive definition of travel writing suggested by Jan Borm, 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 13–26, or Michel de Certeau's statement that 'every story is a travel story' in 'Spatial Stories', in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 115–30 (at p. 115).

⁹ Nicholas Shakespeare, *Bruce Chatwin* (London: Harvill Press/Jonathan Cape, 1999), pp. 310–11.

Thompson remarks, 'he fought a long and ultimately unsuccessful battle with his publishers to have *The Songlines* [1987] classified as fiction rather than travel writing'.¹⁰

As Tim Youngs notes with reference to Chatwin, 'the denials from prominent authors of travel books that they are in fact travel writers' signal a certain valuing of the fictional over the documentary function.¹¹ Equally important, the examples of *In Patagonia* and *The Songlines* pose the question of whether and how one may distinguish between travel writing and the novel. Just as the novel is characterised by its extraordinary flexibility in content and form, so travel writing is, as Jonathan Raban has famously remarked, 'a notoriously raffish open house where very different genres are likely to end up in the same bed'.¹² In a similar vein, Jan Borm doubts whether travel writing should be regarded as a genre at all, and suggests instead that we think of it as 'a useful heading under which to consider and to compare the multiple crossings from one form of writing into another and, given the case, from one genre into another'.¹³

Nonetheless, travel writing and the novel share far more than just generic pliability. Both genres engage with many of the same questions, and as Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs have observed, 'travel writing and the novel, especially in its first-person form, have often shared a focus on the centrality of the self, a concern with empirical detail, and a movement through time and place which is simply sequential'.¹⁴ What is more, Casey Blanton's notion of travel writing as typically staging 'an engagement between self and world' could be a valid description of what characterises the novel.¹⁵ Importantly, there are also several overlaps in the two genres' use of literary devices. Just as the novel draws on travel-writing conventions, travel writing draws on techniques associated with fiction in order to evoke and maintain the readers' interest, selecting and reconstructing events or crafting a first person narrator. The use of similar techniques does not mean that there are no differences

¹⁰ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 31.

¹¹ Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 7.

¹² Jonathan Raban, *For Love & Money: Writing, Reading, Travelling 1969–1987* (London: Collins Harvill, 1987), p. 253.

¹³ Borm, 'Defining Travel', p. 26.

¹⁴ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 'Introduction', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–13 (at p. 6). The movement through time and place, to which Hulme and Youngs refer, is of course also a fundamental aspect of novelistic structure as discussed by, for example, M. M. Bakhtin in his work on the chronotope.

¹⁵ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (1995; New York: Routledge, 2002), p. xi.

between fictional accounts of travel and accounts of journeys that have actually been undertaken by the author-narrator. Even so, such differences point to extratextual matters. As Barbara Korte has argued, the assumption that the travel experience and the described events have taken place has to be validated and verified by circumstances that lie 'beyond the text itself', not by the use of literary devices.¹⁶

Moreover, fictional and documentary texts on travel have often been oriented towards the same aesthetic ideals. The categories of the picturesque and the sublime, for example, were prominent in both the novel and travel writing, and demonstrate the aesthetic and historical correspondences between the genres. French Romantic authors such as Chateaubriand and Nerval strove for subjectivity and drew on Orientalist ideas in both their fictional work and their travel writing. British Romanticism, as we shall see below, was heavily influenced by, and influenced in turn, the writings of contemporary scientists and explorers.¹⁷ Furthermore, modernist travel writing responded not merely to historical conditions such as war, imperialism, or the growth of modern tourism, but was shaped by modernism's innovative attempts to depict the subjective experience of these circumstances in literary form.¹⁸ There are, then, several connections between travel writing and the novel. Some of these will be explored in this chapter, with emphasis on a selection of travel texts written about the Arctic, a place that in particular allows for a comparison of travel writing with fictional imaginings.¹⁹

The Real and the Imagined in the Literature of the Arctic

Ever since Pytheas reported on his travels to the far-northern lands of Thule, the Arctic regions have been surrounded by myth and fictionalisation.²⁰

¹⁶ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 10.

¹⁷ See Tim Fulford, Debbie Lee, and Peter J. Kitson, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era: Bodies of Knowledge* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁸ See for example Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Alexandra Peat, *Travel and Modernist Literature: Sacred and Ethical Journeys* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁹ See also Chapter 23 above.

²⁰ Janice Cavell, 'The Polar Regions', in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 425–34. On the Thule myths in contemporary British travel writing, see Graham Huggan, 'Ultima Thule/The North', in Thompson (ed.), *Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 331–40.

As such, the area cannot be understood merely as a geographical referent; it is also very much an imagined space. Francis Spufford has remarked that it is a cultural concept as much as a geographical and political one, and our understanding of the Arctic is based not only in the empirical, scientific, or technical, but in a range of assumptions, responses, cultural fascinations, and aesthetic attractions.²¹ The Arctic is of course a real place but it is also a written place, a place we read about, a literary place.

The notion of an imaginary space does not apply to the Arctic regions alone. Several geographical locations have been invested with symbolic meaning in comparable ways, and referred to in terms that project ideas and values from without. 'The North', 'the South', 'the desert', 'the jungle' all serve as such imaginary spaces, as does 'the Orient' in Edward W. Said's pivotal study of Western ideas of the East.²² Often, such spaces are made representative of an earlier stage in historical time, partly due to their geographical distance. In the same way, the distance and frozenness of the area have facilitated the notion of the Arctic as a place where time has stood still.

Although an actual location, the very remoteness and extremities of the Arctic, together with the fact that the geographical and political demarcations of the region remain flexible and uncertain, make it particularly apt as an imagined space.²³ The same applies, of course, to its geographic opposite, the Antarctic, and as Janice Cavell has pointed out, both 'the far north and then the far south gradually evolved into powerful symbolic spaces'.²⁴ What is more, the history of both regions is marked by doubt and make-believe. Tim Fulford, Debbie Lee, and Peter J. Kitson observe how it was a widespread assumption among both scientists and the public in the early 1800s that the magnetic and geographic poles of the Arctic and the Antarctic were fictitious, 'surrounded by figure and fantasy'.²⁵

Moreover, like the Arctic, the Antarctic has inspired a long history of travel and a large number of texts, both fictional and factual, such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' (1798), Edgar Allan Poe's

²¹ Francis Spufford, *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996).

²² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). Said's term has also made its way into Arctic studies. See Anka Ryall, Johan Schimanski, and Henning Howlid Wærp's coining of the term 'arcticism' in *Arctic Discourses* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), p. x.

²³ The most widespread definition, though, locates the Arctic north of the Arctic Circle at approximately the 66th parallel north.

²⁴ Cavell, 'The Polar Regions', p. 425.

²⁵ Fulford, Lee, and Kitson, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era*, p. 175.

The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket (1838), Roald Amundsen's account of the Norwegian South Pole expedition of 1910–12, and Apsley Cherry-Garrard's memoir *The Worst Journey in the World: Antarctic 1910–1913* (1922) on Robert Falcon Scott's Terra Nova expedition. The Antarctic regions, then, have fuelled the Western imagination in important ways, and, uninhabited, they serve perhaps even better than the Arctic the function of an imagined space. As Sara Wheeler writes in the beginning of her travel book *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (1996), 'Antarctica was always a space of the imagination – before, during and after my own journey.'²⁶ Still, the Arctic holds an especially prominent position in Western thought due to its long history of exploration and the wide range of texts written about the region. As such, the literature of the Arctic is especially fitting to illustrate the processes at play in the imagination and representation of geographical places, and may be a point of entry into questions concerning the connections between fictional and documentary travel writing.

Despite the imaginary aspect of the region, the literature of the Arctic seems first and foremost to signify non-fiction writing, and exploration writing in particular. This consists of texts such as Sir William Edward Parry's account of his attempt to reach the North Pole in 1827, the works by Frederick Cook or Robert Peary who went north in the early 1900s, or Fridtjof Nansen's writing of his crossing of Greenland in 1888–9. Of course, the literature of the Arctic cannot be limited to non-fiction genres such as exploration writing. Nor can it be restricted to literature written about the Arctic by authors who are not from (or have never been to) the Arctic. It also encompasses texts by authors indigenous to the region whose writings complement, challenge, and revise established ideas projected from without and whose voices have become an increasingly important aspect of the literature of the region. Overall, the area serves as a setting, motif, and theme in a range of literary genres, spanning poetry, librettos, comics, and children's literature: indeed, even Winnie the Pooh ventures out searching for the Pole.²⁷ Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that exploration writing is a prominent genre in Arctic literature, not merely because it constitutes such a large part of the works written about the region, but also because of its effect on other texts and genres.

Perhaps the best-known example is Coleridge's previously mentioned poem: although set in Antarctic waters, 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner'

²⁶ Sara Wheeler, *Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 1.

²⁷ A. A. Milne, 'In Which Christopher Robin Leads an Expedition [*sic*] to the North Pole', in *Winnie-the-Pooh* (London: Methuen, 1926), chapter 8.

was heavily influenced by polar exploration in the north, and testifies to the poet's engagement with contemporary ideas in science and exploration. The poem, in turn, famously inspired another Romantic masterpiece, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), in which the frame narrative of Captain Robert Walton's meeting with Victor Frankenstein is set in the vast, icy landscape of the Arctic. Numerous critics have stressed the presence of the discourses of scientific progress and exploration on Shelley's gothic novel.²⁸ Yet, and as Fulford, Lee, and Kitson remark, the fact that Shelley lets Walton allude to Coleridge's poem illustrates the equally important role of fiction in the character's idea of the Arctic – and in the representation of the area more generally.²⁹

Coleridge's poem and Shelley's novel demonstrate the ongoing interaction between literary and scientific discourses in the literature of the Arctic. The later example of Verne's *The Adventures of Captain Hatteras* (1864) indicates a similar correspondence, and suggests also how fictional representations had an impact on the real events in the history of Arctic exploration. Verne's novel, drawing upon Sir John Franklin's ill-fated search for the Northwest Passage, tells the story of Captain John Hatteras's frantic attempt to reach the North Pole by letting his custom-built ship *Forward* freeze into the pack ice. Some thirty years later, Nansen's Norwegian polar expedition of 1893–6 brought with it a copy of Verne's novel as part of the library on board the ship *Fram*. The differences between these two expeditions, one fictional the other real, are many. Nansen, for example, never reached the North Pole, nor did he encounter Hatteras's northern Arcadia. Even so, there are some striking similarities. 'Fram' means 'forward' in Norwegian, and like Hatteras's ship in Verne's novel, *Fram* was customised to resist the pressure from the pack ice so that the ship would freeze into the ice and drift towards the North Pole.³⁰ Discourses of literature, science, and exploration interact, and the fictional and the documentary weave into each other: the fictional may be based in the factual, but also anticipates it, indicating an interesting circularity in travel texts on places such as the Arctic.

²⁸ See for example Christa Knellwolf and Jane Goodall (eds.), *Frankenstein's Science: Experimentation and Discovery in Romantic Culture, 1780–1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

²⁹ Fulford, Lee and Kitson, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era*, p. 171.

³⁰ Per Johan Moe considers the possible impact of Verne's fiction on Nansen in his thorough epilogue to the Norwegian translation, *Kaptein Hatteras' eventyrlige ferd til Nordpolen*, trans. Tom Lotherington (Oslo: Vidarforlaget, 2014), pp. 533–53.

Facts as Fiction in the Novel of the Arctic

The literature of the Arctic, then, provides a useful illustration of the close relationship between fact and fiction in travel accounts. This closeness is also evident in the number of references to fictional and even lyrical works that one finds mentioned in travel writing. For example, in her travel book *This Cold Heaven: Seven Seasons in Greenland* (2001), Gretel Ehrlich alludes to the ethnographic writings of Knud Rasmussen, which remain the principal point of reference throughout her text, as well as to works by Jorge Luis Borges, Robert Lowell, John Milton, and Octavio Paz. Connections may also be found in less overt ways and in examples of travel writing that seem to be more purely factual, such as exploration accounts. As John Tallmadge has argued, the notion of exploration narratives as mere 'reports of discoveries' is inadequate if we are to understand their lasting popularity. To entertain the reader, authors of exploration writing draw on techniques associated with fiction, crafting narrative personae, and selecting and arranging the events of the exploration into plots.³¹ A successful exploration narrative, Tallmadge contends, 'must be both an accurate report and a good story', and should thus be considered a hybrid form of writing that combines characteristics of reportage with those of fiction.³²

Likewise, the fictions of the Arctic may mimic the authorising strategies of exploration writing by providing technical details, appealing to the writings and experiences of earlier travellers (real or imagined), or choosing a first person narrator.³³ Or, they may draw directly on the real events and persons of Arctic history. These facts often serve as an authenticating backdrop, but not always. For example, renowned Danish author Klaus Rifbjerg's novel *Nansen and Johansen: A Winter's Tale* (2002) caused controversy in Norway because of its portrayal of homosexual relations between Fridtjof Nansen and Hjalmar Johansen.³⁴ Reading the novel against the backdrop of the *Fram* expedition in 1893–6 (and that of the myth of the masculine polar hero), Norwegian critics disapproved of what they considered to be the author's carelessness with the facts.³⁵ Rifbjerg, on the other hand, denied any wish to

³¹ John Tallmadge, 'Voyaging and the Literary Imagination', *Exploration: Journal of the MLA Special Session on the Literature of Exploration & Travel*, 7 (1979), 1–16 (at p. 2).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Rifbjerg's novel, entitled in Danish *Nansen og Johansen: Et vinterventyr* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2002), has not been translated into English.

³⁵ For a study of masculine myths and ideals in the polar exploration discourse, see Lisa Bloom, *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

authenticate or validate his novel through the use of historical material. Referring to its subtitle, he remarked: ‘This is a novel. Fiction. Not a biography. Indeed, I write about real persons, but the moment one releases real persons within the framework of a novel, they change character. This is fiction.’³⁶ Although it is based on historical people and events, Rifbjerg insisted on his text’s detachment from actual circumstances.

An earlier example of the use of Scandinavian polar history in fiction is Swedish author Per Olof Sundman’s bestselling novel, *The Flight of the Eagle* (1967), which narrates the story of Salomon August Andrée’s effort to reach the North Pole by hydrogen balloon from Svalbard in 1897.³⁷ The Swedish expedition is a fascinating example of fatal audacity and decadence: Andrée and the two other expedition members, Nils Strindberg and Knut Fränkel, were so certain of success and of the balloon’s abilities in cold weather that they did not bring appropriate equipment to land on the ice before they reached their destination. (They did, however, bring silk scarves, champagne, tablecloths, and thirty carrier pigeons.) The men would never return from the expedition alive, and their remains were not found until three decades later on Kvitøya in the northeast of the Svalbard archipelago in 1930.

The Flight of the Eagle is based on the texts – diaries, letters, almanacs, and notes – found on the island. Sundman’s novel renders the events and circumstances of the expedition chronologically, from the earliest preparations in Stockholm in 1896 to the last days of the expedition in 1897, and mimics the authorising strategies of exploration writing by narrating the events in a linear, objective, and recording style. The novel in its entirety is narrated by and internally focalised through Knut Fränkel. The choice of Fränkel as the novel’s first person narrator is especially interesting because he was the only expedition member who has left no personal writings that have been located. Found on Kvitøya were the personal writings of Andrée and Strindberg. Fränkel, on the other hand, left only impersonal, meteorological observations. Thus, the novel presents itself as that one piece of personal writing missing from the records, supplementing the texts from the expedition.

Most remarkable in Sundman’s text, though, is the use of the documentary material on which it is based. First of all, Sundman’s novel was thoroughly

³⁶ Quoted in an interview with the Norwegian Broadcast Company, www.nrk.no/kultur/rifbjerg-provoserer-1.532373 (my translation).

³⁷ Per Olof Sundman, *The Flight of the Eagle*, trans. Mary Sandbach (New York: Pantheon, 1970), p. 335.

researched, and in 1968 he published a compilation of all the sources that he had collected during his work on it.³⁸ Yet, there is nothing in the novel that calls attention to this research, except for the fact that this was a real event and that the characters were historical people: there are no footnotes, no listing of sources, and – unlike the English translation – the Swedish original is not promoted as a ‘documentary novel’.³⁹ Furthermore, there is only one example in which the author makes direct use of any factual material. Towards the end of the novel, while Andrée is roaming around the ice floe on which the three men have made camp, Fränkel finds Andrée’s diary and reads it aloud to Strindberg.

Fränkel’s reading of the diary becomes representative of the rather unfavourable portrait of the expedition leader throughout the novel, as someone willing to sacrifice his own life and those of others in the frenzied desire to reach the North Pole. Sundman’s predominantly negative portrayal of Andrée had a huge effect on the official image of the explorer, and it contributed significantly to a reconsideration of his status in Swedish public debate.⁴⁰ Whereas Andrée had previously been celebrated as one of the great national heroes, the megalomaniac depicted in *The Flight of the Eagle* marked the starting point for a questioning of the explorer’s motivation and capabilities. As such, the novel is an interesting example of how fiction, or the fictionalisation of facts, impacts on the understanding of historical events and people.

Also, the fact that Sundman lets Fränkel read from Andrée’s diary may be read as an authorising strategy: the genre is perceived as an authenticating mode of writing in the way that it seems to grant direct access to the diarist’s most intimate thoughts and feelings and to be written contemporaneously. This strategy is made use of in documentary travel writing, too, and is a convention in many of the exploration accounts in the literature of the Arctic. In Julius von Payer’s record of the Austro-Hungarian North Pole expedition of 1872–4, for instance, the lengthy insertion of his own diary entry from the expedition brings the roar and danger of the pack ice to life, highlighting his sublime experience of the Arctic landscape.⁴¹ Because of this

³⁸ Per Olof Sundman, *Ingen fruktan, inget hopp. Ett collage kring S. A. Andrée, hans följeslagare och hans polarexpedition* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1968).

³⁹ Sundman, *Flight of the Eagle*.

⁴⁰ Andrée received much international publicity, both before, during, and after the expedition. See for example Beau Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer: The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery* (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 158–9.

⁴¹ Julius von Payer, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Nordpol-Expedition in den Jahren 1872–1874, nebst einer Skizze der zweiten deutschen Nordpol-Expedition 1869–1870 und der Polar-Expedition*

intimacy and immediacy, the diary assumes a credibility that is at play also in Sundman's novel: by reading Andrée's diary, Frænkel (together with the reader) gains access to a truth that supposedly cannot be obtained elsewhere.

The understanding of the diary excerpt as an authorising strategy is strengthened by the fact that it is taken verbatim from Andrée's writings found on Kvitøya. However, there is nothing in this passage or in the novel elsewhere to signal this fact to the reader.⁴² Rather, this piece of writing enters into Sundman's fiction seamlessly, which is perhaps why primarily it serves the plot. Closely intertwined into Frænkel's reading, the diary helps to explain Andrée's motivation, marking a turning point in his and Frænkel's relationship. In this way, historical record is turned into fiction without claiming or calling attention to authenticity or to the blending of fact and fiction that is taking place.

Sundman's *The Flight of the Eagle* is an example of the documentary novel that emerged in the 1960s, in which historical facts provided not merely an authenticating backdrop, but were essential to plot and characters. The questioning of conventional boundaries between the fictional and the factual intensifies some twenty years later with the postmodern novel, in which these borders are challenged in more blatant ways. In the literature of the Arctic, one of the most prominent examples of such experimentation is Christoph Ransmayr's *The Terrors of Ice and Darkness* (1984). Based on the events of the previously mentioned Austro-Hungarian North Pole expedition of 1872–4, Ransmayr's text is about a well-known and well-documented event. In addition to material such as diaries, letters, and logbooks, the list of sources informs the reader of how Ransmayr's novel also draws on the accounts written by the expedition members after their return, by which 'the characters in this novel have helped write their own story'.⁴³

The Terrors of Ice and Darkness interweaves the documents of the expedition into the novel's first person narrative about the fictional character Josef Mazzini whose fascination with the events leads to his disappearance in Spitsbergen in 1981. Quotations from the documents are italicised and

von 1871 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1876). For a thorough study of the Austro-Hungarian North Pole expedition, see Johan Schimanski and Ulrike Spring, *Passagiere des Eises: Polarhelden und arktische Diskurse 1874* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015).

⁴² The diary and the other documents found on Kvitøya were published in *The Andrée diaries; being the diaries and records of S. A. Andrée, Nils Strindberg and Knut Fraenkel written during their balloon expedition to the North Pole in 1897 and discovered on White Island in 1930, together with a complete record of the expedition and discovery* [*Med Örnen mot polen: Andrées polarexpedition år 1897, 1930*], trans. Edward Adams-Ray (London: J. Lane, 1931).

⁴³ Christoph Ransmayr, *The Terrors of Ice and Darkness: A Novel* [*Die Schrecken des Eises und der Finsternis*, 1984], trans. John E. Woods (New York: Grove Press, 1991), p. 227.

referenced. They draw attention to the historical basis for the text as well as to the distinction between the narrative levels in the novel, and therefore between the fictional and documentary. The constant alternation between the narrative levels, the documented sources, and the first person narrator's story adds to the novel's non-linearity and the lack of a consecutive and coherent narrative that in turn echoes the loss of meaning that the expedition members and Mazzini experience. The fragmentary, non-chronological form questions the notion of history as linear or the possibility of rendering history as linear. Whereas the historical documents in Sundman's novel seemed to lay a foundation from which one could construct a sequential and chronological narrative, *The Terrors of Ice and Darkness* resists such an assumption, both in its subject matter and form. The factual elements interrogate facts rather than taking them for granted, and serve not so much an authenticating as an inquisitive purpose.

Such an awareness of the fictionality of facts is omnipresent in Ransmayr's novel through his play with genres, and towards the end of the novel, when the narrator comments on the inconclusiveness and futility of his search for answers concerning Mazzini's fate: 'I will reach no conclusions . . . I find ways to interpret the facts of Josef Mazzini's disappearance, facts about the ice, find ever new and different ways, and I shift around in them as if in a chair, until every version feels comfortable.'⁴⁴ Facts, then, are just versions in Ransmayr's postmodern travel novel about the Arctic, and the interpretation of these facts in turn brings about nothing but new versions.

Rereading Facts and Fiction in the Arctic

This chapter has been concerned with the relationship between travel writing and fiction and has focused on examples of Arctic literature, discussing how variants of the novel incorporate the factual into fictionalised accounts about historical events in the history of Arctic exploration. However, fiction, too, may itself be a way to call attention to the blurred lines between documentary and fictional modes of travel texts.

Aritha van Herk's *Places Far from Ellesmere* (1990) draws on elements from the novel, travel writing, autobiography, and feminist literary criticism, and may be read as a piece of fictocriticism, a mode of writing that defies conventions of genre through an experimental blending of fictional and

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 225.

essayistic forms.⁴⁵ The text is divided into four sites of exploration, each tied to the biography of the author-narrator. The fourth section narrates the author-narrator's journey to Ellesmere Island in the Canadian Arctic, to which she brings with her Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. The novel is itself travelling, and Anna's presence in the Arctic is what van Herk refers to as a paginated presence (although, at times, this paginated presence turns into a perceived actual presence, in which the author-narrator sees Anna floating over the tundra). Anna's paginated presence applies also to van Herk's text in that she includes several excerpts from Tolstoy's novel. Like the insertions of historical material in Ransmayr's novel, these interpolations from fiction are set in italics and alternate with the author-narrator's account of Ellesmere as well as with her reading and interpretation of the island.

The remote and vast Ellesmere Island is the place where it is possible to free Anna from what van Herk considers to be Tolstoy's cruel plot, in which the heroine is destined to throw herself in front of the train, and to 'read Anna through and past this male historiographical fiction'.⁴⁶ Thus, the Arctic offers the possibility of a new story: to read *Anna Karenina* on Ellesmere Island means to read or to reread outside of the generic constraints of the realist novel, and of male historiographical fiction.

Although the Arctic lends itself well to a contesting and challenging of restrictive and predominantly masculine genre conventions, van Herk is aware that the region itself has been represented through these very conventions: reading or rereading *Anna Karenina* in the Arctic also means reading or rereading the Arctic itself, outside of the limiting processes of male writing, mapping, and naming. In this way, van Herk makes use of Tolstoy's fiction to criticise exploration history and writing, albeit in an indirect and subversive manner. Also, Ellesmere Island is constantly referred to as a woman, as if to draw attention to the fact that like Anna, it too has been subject to the cruel plot of male discovery and writing. As such, van Herk's fictocriticism provides a feminist rereading of *Anna Karenina* and of the Arctic that challenges assumptions of genre and form and boundaries between fact and fiction, as well as the masculine values of such fact and fiction.

⁴⁵ Van Herk has labelled her text 'geografictione', referring to the intersections between fiction and geography in her work. On fictocriticism, see for example Tim Youngs, 'Making It Move: The Aboriginal in the Whitefella's Artifact', in Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (eds.), *Travel Writing, Form and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 148–66. See also Chapter 34 below.

⁴⁶ Aritha van Herk, *Places Far from Ellesmere: Explorations on Site* (Red Deer, Alberta: Red Deer College Press, 1990), p. 84.

In her article on so-called 'Arctopias', utopian works about the Arctic, Heidi Hansson argues that genre characteristics determine how the region – like all sites represented in writing – can be described and what messages can be conveyed.⁴⁷ This is indeed true, but the ways in which the Arctic may be represented are also determined by the very questioning of such genre characteristics. The overlaps in the literature of the Arctic attest to the blending and circuitousness of the documentary and the fictional in travel writing more generally: although we may very well identify the genre as first person narratives of actual journeys undertaken by the author-narrator, fact and fiction in travel writing have long overlapped, borrowing from and being propelled by each other.

⁴⁷ Heidi Hansson, 'Arctopias: The Arctic as No Place and New Place in Fiction', in Birgitta Evengård, Joan Nymand Larsen, and Øyvind Paasche (eds.), *The New Arctic* (Cham: Springer, 2015), pp. 69–77.

Scientific Travel

MICHAEL F. ROBINSON

Scientific travel writing came of age in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, emerging at a time when the methods and institutions of science itself were in flux. It benefited from the massive expansion of Western empires during the Renaissance and Enlightenment as well as from the use of new maritime technologies. It was also shaped by the changing nature of publication and readership. Explorer reports, once intended for the eyes of royal patrons, became bestsellers in Paris, London, and New York. This affected the way explorers conducted themselves and their work in the field, but also how they chose to write about their observations and experiences for people back home. As a result, these documents of scientific travel – letters, narratives, and journal articles – reveal many things beyond the field bench and the specimen jar.¹

While white explorers boasted about science as a unique attribute of European exploration, the reality was more complicated. Not only was their field science less objective than Europeans described, but non-Western knowledge was more sophisticated. Many cultures gathered knowledge from travel expertly and prolifically, putting it to a variety of ends, and expressing it in many different artifacts such as maps, paintings, and writing. For example, Polynesian cultures developed a complex matrix of practices – observation, oral history, apprenticeship, and technology – that allowed them to explore the Pacific Ocean in spectacular fashion for 1,500 years. The fifteenth-century Chinese admiral Zheng He undertook the exploration of the Indian Ocean on massive junks, the largest of which was 420 feet long, gathering information about India, Arabia, and Africa for the purposes of imperial control. Arab knowledge of sub-Saharan Africa – its geography and trade routes – far exceeded Christian Europe's until the Enlightenment, as

¹ Michael F. Robinson, 'Science and Exploration', in Dane Kennedy (ed.), *Reinterpreting Exploration: The West in the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 21–37 (at p. 22).

can be seen by the North African cartographer al-Idrisi's magisterial world map the *Tabula Rogeriana* (1154 CE). Seen in this context, science writing was only one mode for expressing travel knowledge. Polynesian stick charts, Chinese maps, and Charles Darwin's *Beagle* voyage account (1839) all expressed ideas about the world in different ways as the consequence of expert travel.²

The Origin of Scientific Travel

While Europeans were not alone in how they obtained information about the world, they did establish unique practices for embedding such knowledge into their cultural life and institutions. In Europe, science came to represent many things beyond data collection: a means of measurement, a mode of rhetoric, a social identity, as well as a genre of writing. In shaping a vision of nature, Europeans were also fashioning themselves. As voyages brought the world into closer view, Europeans wrote about their discoveries according to their beliefs and expectations. Columbus reported his voyage by letter to Ferdinand and Isabella in plain style but with such a quixotic belief that he had reached Asia that all observations became harnessed to this idea. The inhabitants of San Salvador were 'Indians' who had easy access to gold and cinnamon, and were ruled over by the 'Great Khan'. So convinced was Columbus that he had found Asia that his observations of the New World – accumulated over four separate expeditions – could not dissuade him of this fact.³

Back home in Europe, knowledge of new discoveries was evaluated within universities which, expanding upon the offerings of the medieval cathedral schools in the twelfth century, created an environment in which Christian and pagan sources of knowledge, particularly from classical sources such as Aristotle and Ptolemy, could be discussed. Still, it was not always an easy assimilation. The scholastic methods of the Middle Ages – anchored by their reliance on the authority of Christian and classical sources – strained to assimilate the new knowledge arriving from Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Classical scholars had speculated about the high latitudes. (Aristotle and

² M. Walker, 'Navigating Oceans and Cultures: Polynesian and European Navigation Systems in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 42/2 (2012), 93–8; Edward Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405–1433* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007).

³ Miles H. Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Reexamined* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), pp. 448–66; Nicolás Wey Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), pp. 107–27.

Ptolemy discussed the possibility of a 'Terra Australis' in the southern hemisphere, and the Greek explorer Pytheas (325 BCE) wrote of Arctic Thule as a place where 'the nights were very short, in some places two, in others three hours long, so that the sun rose again a short time after it had set'. Yet for the lands in between, Scriptures and the writings of pagan antiquity had little to say. These sources were silent on the new continents and the menagerie of life forms that they contained. This was not, by itself, a reason to discard classical frameworks of knowledge but it challenged the completeness of the canon. Newly discovered worlds would have to be understood by other means and measured by different benchmarks.⁴

Gradually scientific discovery – its instruments and methods – became woven into the fabric of Renaissance writing. For natural philosophers rattled by the existential crisis of faith provoked by the Protestant Reformation, exploration not only offered new information but new symbols of knowledge that were not anchored to biblical or classical sources. Francis Bacon's 1620 essay *Novum Organum* ('The New Method') warned of dangers posed by judgments untethered to observation. As Europe was consumed by wars among splintering factions of Protestants and Catholics, all of which staked claims to the truth, Bacon believed that minds became too coloured by self-interest to see nature for what it really is. Significantly, Bacon tied his meditations closely to travel. He describes the urgency of wrestling with the influx of facts 'discovered by means of long voyages and travels'. Even Bacon's metaphors took the form of a voyage. The rigorous empiricism he hoped to achieve was difficult but he remained optimistic. 'We must, therefore, disclose and prefix our reasons for not thinking the hope of success improbable, as Columbus, before his wonderful voyage over the Atlantic, gave the reasons of his conviction that new lands and continents might be discovered besides those already known.' To underscore this, the frontispiece of *Novum Organum* showed a ship passing beyond the Pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic Ocean. Indeed, the voyages which had so transformed the Atlantic world in the sixteenth century, binding together Europe, Africa, and the Americas together in relationships both profitable and violent, had increased the symbolic heft of travel metaphors.⁵

⁴ Roel Nicolai, 'The Premedieval Origin of Portolan Charts: New Geodetic Evidence', *Isis*, 106/3 (2015), 517–43; James Secord, 'Introduction', in Charles Darwin, *Evolutionary Writings: Including the Autobiographies*, ed. James A. Secord (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. vii–xxxvii (at p. xv).

⁵ Francis Bacon, *The Novum Organon*, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Basil Montagu, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Hart, Carey, and Hart, 1852), vol. III, p. 361.

Changes to scientific institutions also affected the ways voyages were narrated. The nature of scientific work itself was changing, increasingly organised into social institutions. The middle decades of the seventeenth century saw the emergence of scientific societies all over Europe, including the Accademia del Cimento (Florence, 1657), the Royal Society (London, 1660), the Académie des Sciences (Paris, 1666), and – slightly later – the Berlin Academy of Science (1700). Within such forums, a great deal of research and discussion was directed towards the practices and objectives of voyaging. Nowhere was this clearer than with the Académie des Sciences of Paris, which emerged as the most powerful society of the seventeenth century. Within a few years of its founding, the Académie had organised a scientific expedition under Jean Richer to Cayenne to establish an accurate measure of the globe, in particular whether it existed as a true sphere. In its extensive discussions about the expedition, the Académie not only established a protocol for scientific voyaging but also a precedent for how such voyages should be described.⁶

The Enlightenment Expedition

Scientific travel was also shaped by new genres of writing. Renaissance exploration came of age as humanists set off on their own expeditions of discovery to survey the inner world of human experience. In letters, diaries, self-portraits, artists began to explore not only the external world but their own individuality. In the fourteenth century, the Italian scholar Petrarch wrote about his inner life in *Secretum* ('My Secret Book'). This inward gaze can also be seen in the self-portrait of German painter Albrecht Dürer in 1500 and in the *Essais* of sixteenth-century French philosopher Michel de Montaigne. Writers frequently connected their inward journeys to outward ones. Petrarch's epiphany about self-reflection came during his ascent of Mount Ventoux in southern France when, after exalting at his successful climb, he writes, 'I turned my inward eye upon myself.' Some of Michel de Montaigne's most introspective work was expressed in his travel diary, published posthumously in 1774 as *Le journal de voyage*, which he kept while travelling through Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.⁷

⁶ John W. Olmstead, 'The Scientific Expedition of Jean Richer to Cayenne', *Isis*, 34/2 (1942), 117–28.

⁷ Francesco Petrarca, *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, ed. and trans. James Harvey Robinson (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1898), p. 317.

None of these works, by themselves, resembled the self-aware, Romantic narratives of nineteenth-century naturalists. They did not put forward the thematic maps and mass of observational data that would later appear in travel accounts. Yet they created the conditions within which science – especially field science – would thrive later in the Enlightenment. Not all explorers were so self-reflective, but those who were created a different ethnographic vision of non-Western peoples. Seeing flaws in themselves, and in the European civilisation of which they were a part, Montaigne, Rousseau, and others would come to see non-Western societies differently. If American Indians and Pacific Islanders appeared in the European imagination as savages, they were ‘noble savages’ who expressed the natural goodness of humanity that had been corrupted by the decadence of European life. In truth, this was the exchange of one stereotype for another, but it created, at least, a debate about the non-Western peoples and their cultures.⁸

In the eighteenth century, European powers began fielding a new type of voyage, one in which scientific research was the goal rather than the by-product of commerce, missionary activity, or conquest. In the 1730s a controversy over the shape of the Earth led to the formation of two French expeditions which had the goal of measuring a degree of latitude on different parts of the earth. Under the command of Pierre Louis Maupertuis (1698–1759), a group of French mathematicians and astronomers travelled to Lapland in 1736, spending the better part of a year measuring a degree of arc as precisely as they could. Simultaneously, another expedition guided by Charles Marie de la Condamine (1701–74) set out to perform the same measurement at the equator in New Spain (Ecuador). The expeditions proceeded differently, with Maupertuis’s running smoothly and returning to confirm that the Earth was flattened near the poles. It took Condamine nine years to return, after which he wrote a narrative that put the best face on an expedition beset by disease, warfare, and internal dissent. Significantly, Maupertuis and Condamine wrote narratives that defended the rigours of mathematics by portraying the arduousness of the expedition and their daily practices. The determination of the men to brave hostile conditions in their quest for exact

⁸ Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual: The Origins of Western Liberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 386; Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 64–95; John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 47.

measurements underscored their perceived reliability and trustworthiness as scholars.⁹

In attempting to resolve scientific controversies, these expeditions represented something new, both in their focus on science and in their use of exploration as a symbol of national enterprise. For patrons, the scientific expedition not only offered opportunities to celebrate the power of human reason, but showed off the sophistication of the European nations that were capable of harnessing it. The shift in goals accompanied a shift in audience. Increasingly exploration was capturing the attention of people beyond the royal court and the scientific society. The geodetic work of the roving mathematicians Maupertuis and Condamine became the talk not only of the Academy, but also of the salons and coffee-houses, where they were discussed by the educated classes.

Dissemination of scientific exploration also continued to diversify in the seventeenth century. Discussion about exploration continued to be popular in scientific societies that existed both as information clearinghouses and gentlemen's social clubs. Although exploration itself remained a male-dominated activity, expeditionary accounts travelled beyond this small fraternity of explorers and scholars. Educated men and women learned about the latest voyages from publications, coffee-house talk, and private salons. Such texts also reached a more geographically diverse audience, with narratives, reports, and society transactions being disseminated throughout Europe and the Americas. These were not the only way that scientific travels circulated. Increasingly, the seventeenth century offered maps, globes, specimens, and artifacts which were presented through other means of distribution in addition to the coffee-house and the salon: the private *Wunderkammer* and the public museum, the botanical garden and the free library. These were the building blocks of a new kind of society, one that sociologist Jürgen Habermas calls the 'Public Sphere'. In these varied forms, information about the world, about the practice of travel itself, percolated into Western societies. While France was a pioneer in this new kind of voyaging, other European countries quickly followed suit.¹⁰

In the eighteenth century, these forces would prove critical for the reception of explorer James Cook, who set off in 1768 under the auspices of the Royal Society in order to measure the transit of Venus – the crossing of Venus

⁹ Mary Terrall, *The Man Who Flattened the Earth: Maupertuis and the Sciences in the Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 1–15.

¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

between the Earth and the sun. The transit would be measured simultaneously from other positions on the Earth – indeed both sets of measurements would be needed to determine the different position of Venus on the surface of the sun as it made its transit. In the process, the distance of earth from the sun could be calculated. It was as esoteric a question as Maupertuis’s and Condamine’s had been, and in its focus on mathematics and astronomical observation fitted this earlier model as well. Yet Cook’s voyage became more than this – a compendium of information about the Pacific, its currents, lands, life forms, and human inhabitants. John Hawkesworth edited a three-volume account of Cook’s voyages, relying upon the captain’s journals and those of three other officers. Joseph Banks, science officer on the first voyage, also described the voyage in letters and addresses before the Royal Society where he became one of the most influential voices in science.¹¹

For Cook (and Bougainville), Tahiti, where Cook set anchor to observe the transit, became a new incarnation of the Earthly Paradise, contributing to the concept of the noble savage back home. Within these descriptions of Pacific life came a new means of critiquing the mores of Europe. In this way, encounters with the Other took on more complicated valences. Such was the power of this trope that, a century after Cook’s voyages, artist Paul Gauguin would write of Tahiti: ‘I have escaped everything that is artificial, conventional, customary. I am entering into the truth, into nature.’¹²

Even more than the French geodesic expeditions of earlier decades, the Cook expeditions brought scientific exploration into public life. Not everyone could afford the three-guinea volumes (US \$250 in 2017) of the Hawkesworth expedition narrative – which included a volume of fantastically detailed illustrations of the Cook party’s encounters with Pacific peoples – but their impact reached far beyond the gentlemen-naturalist community. For example, the Cook volumes were the most requested items at the Bristol Library, where they were borrowed two hundred times between 1773 and 1784. Scenes and episodes from Cook’s voyages were broadly excerpted by the press, with images and maps of the voyage embedded within family atlases and geography primers in Britain and North America. The voyage provided a narrative frame within which geographical and ethnographic lessons could be imparted to pupils, parents, and

¹¹ John Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages undertaken by Order of his Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere . . .*, 3 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773); J. C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford University Press, 1992).

¹² Paul Gauguin, *Noa Noa*, trans. O. F. Theis (New York: Nicholas L. Brown, 1919), p. 12.

the broader public. In so doing, they reinforced a public connection with Cook – enhanced even more after he was killed on the beaches of Hawai'i on his third voyage – and with the national project of exploration.¹³

Here was the irony of the Enlightenment voyage: it had become a thing that, like Bacon's expedition ship, seemed to move beyond the pillars of traditional discovery; it was no longer just a portal to the wider world, but a way of representing the world to people back home. In the process, it offered a means of benchmarking European civilisation relative to other societies around the world. In the exploits of Cook, Alessandro Malaspina (of Spain), and others, readers saw none of the motives that had animated the conquerors, slavers, and colonisers of earlier centuries. And yet, the Enlightenment voyage offered empire-building by other means – new ways of framing the world, centralising knowledge, and promoting the prestige of scientific travel as a benchmark of civilisation. The Enlightenment voyage offered a new vision of scientific progress, mingled with critiques of Western decadence, which could be used for many ends. In the end, the use of the scientific voyage as a symbol of civilisation gave the West a new kind of imperial might, one that twentieth-century political scientist Joseph Nye would later call 'soft power'.¹⁴

Scientific Travel in the Nineteenth Century

The Prussian aristocrat Alexander von Humboldt grew up reading these narratives of Enlightenment discovery. From 1799 to 1804, Humboldt conducted his own expedition: a new survey of the Americas. With the French naturalist Aimé Bonpland, he scaled mountains in the Andes, forded the Orinoco, interviewed indigenous peoples, and collected thousands of specimens. From this mountain of data, he produced a series of scientific essays that were well received in Europe and North America. Yet it was his five-volume *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America during the Years 1799–1804* that established him as the greatest of scientific explorers. Humboldt's *Personal Narrative* married the Enlightenment obsession with

¹³ Hawkesworth, *Account*; Michael F. Robinson, 'Why We Need a New History of Exploration', *Common-Place*, 10.1 (2009), <http://www.common-place-archives.org/vol-10/no-01/robinson>; on the popularity of the Hawkesworth volumes, see Edward G. Gray, *The Making of John Ledyard: Empire and Ambition in the Life of an Early American Traveler* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 76.

¹⁴ Joseph S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

reason and measurement with newer, Romantic notions of subjectivity, individualism, and liberty. In his essays, Humboldt consistently applied the republican freedoms of the French Revolution to the non-European peoples that he encountered in the Americas: Africans, Amerindians, and peoples of 'mixed race'. 'One day, people will hardly believe that . . . no law existed in any of the Greater Antilles against selling young children and separating them from their parents.' He was unapologetically subjective – even introspective – in his scientific writings, mixing objective measurement with personal observations. Moreover, he had a strong desire to find the whole, the unity that underlay the diversity, in the organisation of the natural world. His orientation towards holistic thinking – of understanding not merely the parts of an organism but how it related to its environment – became a call to other Romantic figures – from poets to artists – who believed that Bacon's rugged empiricism would not reveal the ultimate truth that lay beneath the visible world.¹⁵

Ascending the volcano Teide on the island of Tenerife with Bonpland, Humboldt wrote: 'Our hands and faces were frozen, while our boots were burnt by the soil on which we walked . . . it was with regret that we quitted this solitary place, this domain where Nature towers in all her majesty.'¹⁶ This holistic vision can be seen most clearly in Humboldt's graphs and illustrations. Humboldt became a pioneer of thematic mapping, the visualisation of data projected geographically. It is hard for us to appreciate today how radical Humboldt's maps of temperature, climate, and species location were in the early nineteenth century. Yet when he first published his map of isothermal lines, he had to explain the meaning of temperature lines to his scientific readers. Humboldt's holistic vision was also represented in other ways by other people: from textbook writers who thought visualisations were the best way to educate students about geography, to the work of landscape painters such as Frederic Church, who took Humboldt seriously when he urged them to express the essence of the world by painting it. Church's landscapes – along with those of other Hudson River School painters – reflected Humboldtian values: an

¹⁵ Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Island of Cuba: A Critical Edition*, ed. Vera M. Kutzinski and Ottmar Ette (University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 144.

¹⁶ Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the Years 1799–1804*, trans. Helen Maria Williams, 7 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814–29), vol. 1, p. 190. For more on Humboldt, see for example Peter Hulme (ed.), 'Alexander von Humboldt and America', Special Issue of *Studies in Travel Writing*, 15/1 (2011).

obsession with accuracy along with an appreciation for Nature's complexity and sublimity.¹⁷

None was influenced more by the travel writings of Humboldt than the young Charles Darwin. He had read Humboldt as a student at Cambridge University where he was preparing for a life as an Anglican minister. When he finished his studies, Darwin set off on 27 December 1831 as a naturalist aboard HMS Beagle. As the Beagle made ports of call along the coast of South America, Darwin followed in Humboldt's footsteps, collecting specimens by day and reading *Personal Narrative* at night. 'I am at present fit only to read Humboldt', he wrote in his diary. 'He, like another sun, illumines everything I behold.'¹⁸

What Darwin hoped to illuminate was the invisible: the connections between organisms and their habitats, the relationships among varieties within a single species, and the threads that connected extinct species with living forms. In its mixture of personal narrative and scientific observation, Darwin's *Journal of Researches* (1839) outlined the story of the Beagle voyage and, not surprisingly, followed the structure of Humboldt's narrative. Not that anyone would mistake *Journal of Researches* for a Romantic treatise. In style, Darwin's writing was correct and factual. Climbing one of the mounts of the Galapagos, he wrote:

One morning I ascended the highest hill which has an altitude of 1800 feet. The summit consists of a broken-down crater, thickly clothed with coarse grass and brushwood. Even in this one island, I counted thirty-nine hills, each of which was terminated by a more or less perfect circular depression.¹⁹

Yet beneath this matter-of-fact writing style was a Romantic sensibility. In particular, Darwin was eager to discover the holistic system that lay beneath the surface. Even before he had worked out the details of his theory of evolution, he felt himself pulled towards foundational questions of natural history – the point at which science touched philosophy and metaphysics: 'that mystery of mysteries – the first appearance of new beings on this earth'. Eventually, the two men became correspondents and then friends. The influence of Humboldt would also be apparent within Darwin's *On the*

¹⁷ Mary Louise Pratt takes a more critical view of Humboldt in her influential work *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), which frames Humboldt as an agent of empire. Treatments of Humboldt by Aaron Sachs, Laura Walls, and Andrea Wulf challenge Pratt's post-colonial critique.

¹⁸ *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, ed. Richard Darwin Keynes (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 42.

¹⁹ Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches* (London: Colburn, 1839).

Origin of Species (1859), a book that transformed the life sciences as we know them.²⁰

In their dissemination, Darwin's books illustrated the changing marketplace for scientific writing. *Journal of Researches* came out in a second edition in 1845 with Murray, and it was cheaply produced (7 shillings 6 pence) in order that working-class and middle-class readers could purchase it. *Origin of Species* reached a much broader audience. The first print run of 1,250 copies sold out immediately. A second edition of 3,000 copies also sold out. Eventually it went through six editions and was translated and republished throughout Europe, the United States, and the Middle East. While this popularity had a great deal to do with the ideas put forward in the work, publication and distribution also played a role. Murray would soon produce many other titles in this vein: travel work that moved beyond the genre of the Grand Tour to take up the world of science, one that would transport the reader into the shoes of the explorer-naturalist.²¹

Yet the age of the roving gentleman-scientist was coming to an end. By the late nineteenth century, scientific exploration was increasingly organised within the walls of universities and research institutes. Massive government expeditions set off to survey the world. As the British Challenger expedition (1872–6) surveyed the depths of the world's oceans, the US Western Surveys attempted to bring clarity to territories west of the Mississippi River. Meanwhile, fifteen countries agreed to participate in the first International Polar Year (1882–3), with scientific teams fanning out across the northern reaches of the globe in an attempt to study the polar regions simultaneously and systematically over the course of a year. Humboldt's dream of a holistic vision of the earth had survived, but shorn of its Romantic vestments. It would be completed by teams of researchers measuring tides, wind speeds, and magnetic variations from fixed field stations across the globe.

This new kind of exploration science yielded lots of data, but little excitement. The narratives of these expeditions – many of which were published – achieved mixed results. For example, the official expedition reports of the International Polar Year were not widely distributed. Yet personal accounts of the one IPY expedition that ended in disaster, the Greely expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, were spectacularly successful, spawning narratives by the commander Adolphus Greely, and by his surviving men, as well as by

²⁰ Secord, 'Introduction', in Darwin, *Evolutionary Writings*, p. xiii.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Winfield Schley, the commander of the rescue expedition that saved the party.²²

By the late nineteenth century, exploration of the Earth's last remaining *terrae incognitae* – in the polar regions, interiors of Africa and Papua New Guinea, and on mountain ranges and ocean depths – increasingly conflicted with the new practices of science. Climbing mountains, descending into oceans, or reaching the axes of the earth, were races against time. The objective of these journeys was to reach the destination and return before food, fuel, or oxygen ran out. Science continued to be an important rhetorical device of geographical discovery expeditions – a way of promoting missions at home – but it played a diminishing role in the field. This was not simply because science clashed with the goal of geographical discovery, but also because – in the male-dominated world of exploration – the image of the explorer as scientist increasingly clashed with ideas of manliness. Fears about modernisation in Europe and North America were not limited to underpaid industrial workers. In truth, the fear extended to the middle and upper classes who believed that technological progress had divorced people from nature, enervating Western society in general and Western men in particular. A number of explorers – Robert Peary, Frederick Cook, and Robert Dunn – became icons of this anti-modernist revolt, putting forward their anti-modernist ideas in public lectures, magazine articles, and such books as *Nearest the Pole* (Peary, 1907), *My Attainment of the Pole* (Cook, 1910), and *The Shameless Diary of an Explorer* (Dunn, 1907). In setting off on their arduous expeditions, they were not only revealing nature, but also themselves: men who chose the difficult and dangerous over the easy and the lucrative. This was itself a fantasy – these explorers were highly educated men who networked relentlessly among the captains of industry to raise money for their expeditions. Many, like Robert Peary, had elaborate plans for cashing in on his anti-modern celebrity as an explorer. More to the point, such men actively diminished the role of science within their expeditions, choosing instead to emphasise primitivism, nationalism, and masculinity. 'If I win', Peary told his Arctic rivals at the International Geographical Congress of 1904, 'be proud because we are all of one blood – the man blood.' Within these narratives, science is the

²² Adolphus Greely, *The Greely Arctic Expedition* (Philadelphia: Barclay, 1884); Charles Lanman, *Farthest North, or, the Life and Explorations of Lieutenant James Booth Lockwood, of the Greely Expedition* (New York: D. Appleton, 1885); Winfield Scott Schley, *The Rescue of Greely* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885).

object – announced at the outset, and elaborated in the appendices, which bookended voyages that were really tales of manly adventure.²³

Ironically, the rise of anti-modern, hyper-masculine narratives occurred at the moment when women were most involved with every aspect of modern exploration. From their roles as wealthy patrons, lecture organisers, fans, and ghost-writers, to their responsibilities in the field as explorers and assistants, the activity of women undercut the narratives of Peary, Cook, and others. While Peary relied upon the socialist poet Elsa Barker to ghost-write the blockbuster narrative of his 1908–9 expedition to the North Pole – ironically titled ‘Peary’s Own Story’ – other women (including Peary’s wife, Josephine Peary) became explorers in their own right, establishing their own subtle adaptations of the patriotic expedition narrative. Josephine Peary, for example, published a book about giving birth to her first daughter – Marie Peary – in the high Arctic in a children’s book, *The Snow Baby* (1901). Tellingly, her tale of Arctic adventure does not discuss the actions of her husband or other men involved in Arctic exploration. It is a world populated by women and children, white as well as Inuit.²⁴

The Twentieth Century

Exploration narratives of the twentieth century have been characterised by their focus on extreme environments: ocean depths, mountain summits, polar wastes, and outer space. Certainly some of the most popular narratives of the age, Richard Byrd’s *Alone* (1938), Edmund Hillary’s *High Adventure: The True Story of the First Ascent of Everest* (1955), and Tom Wolfe’s *The Right Stuff* (1979), emphasise the increasingly systematic and technologically sophisticated quality of exploration as we progress towards inhospitable ‘abiotic’ realms that are unsuitable for human life. In contrast to the missions of earlier explorers who encountered indigenous peoples and colonised their lands, later explorers occupied themselves with survival: venturing into increasingly dangerous environments, from treks over the Antarctic ice cap and descents by bathysphere to ocean depths, to launches into deep space. So different is this type of exploration that historian Stephen Pyne has labelled it the ‘third age of exploration’ to distinguish it from the Age of Discovery in

²³ Michael F. Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

²⁴ Michael F. Robinson, ‘Manliness and Exploration: The Discovery of the North Pole’, *Osiris*, 30/1 (2015), 89–109 (at pp. 100–7).

the 1400s and 1500s and the Enlightenment voyages of Cook, Humboldt, and others.²⁵

Yet as much as geographical discovery of extremes represents an important aspect of twentieth-century exploration, it is only one of many types of travel that characterise the scientific travel writing of the century. By that measure, the most influential expeditions took place on land, led by anthropologists such as Franz Boas, Gertrude Caton-Thompson, Bronislaw Malinowski, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Margaret Mead, and Louis and Maeve Leakey. Far from being about ‘abiotic environments’, the writings of these explorer-scientists firmly described the human realm – through the study of living societies as well as of ancient ones – in works such as Mead’s *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), Leakey’s *White African: An Early Autobiography* (1937), and Lévi-Strauss’s *Tristes tropiques* (1955). Moreover, while the exploration of extreme environments required massive organisational efforts, lone travellers retained their importance within the field of anthropology, in part because of a growing recognition of the ‘anthropologist effect’ in which it was recognised that a large influx of strangers had a greater chance of skewing cultural practices than the arrival of one individual who embedded herself within the group for a long period of time.

As historian Vanessa Heggie points out, twentieth-century scientists and the historians who study them have both downplayed the role of field work in modern science, focusing instead on laboratory projects such as molecular biology and particle physics. In fact, scientists continued to pursue exploration even as narratives of scientific discovery became confined to the laboratory. The evidence for this comes from travel narratives – that venerable genre of writing, which carries with it information about scientific activities in the field.²⁶

The Authentic and the Remote

As the role of machines continues to expand within the realms of exploration, it has created existential questions about scientific travel writing. How does one write a travel narrative if the author doesn’t travel and the traveller isn’t human? Are robotic craft like the Martian rovers and the Cassini spacecraft merely human proxies or do they have some other status? Do travel narratives end at low Earth orbit?

²⁵ Stephen J. Pyne, *Voyager: Exploration, Space, and the Third Great Age of Discovery* (New York: Penguin, 2011).

²⁶ Vanessa Heggie, ‘Why Isn’t Exploration a Science?’, *Isis*, 105/2 (2014), 318–34.

Despite the perplexing world of twenty-first-century exploration, scientific narratives have not come to an end. The emergence of remote exploration has created a kind of hybrid form which forces us to rethink the dichotomy between human and machine. The scientist who writes about her work on deep space exploration has to communicate the world of the robot to a human audience despite the fact that robots experience the world with different senses. They see the world along a broader range of the electromagnetic spectrum. They move through space undeterred by the effects of vacuum, cosmic radiation, and massive extremes of temperature. The writing which results – on mission update blogs, Twitter feeds, and personal websites – now marries the language of traditional first person narratives with the idea of scientific exploration as a collective activity involving humans and machines:

‘Our Vera Rubin Ridge campaign has begun,’ said Curiosity Project Scientist Ashwin Vasavada of NASA’s Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Pasadena, California. ‘Curiosity is driving parallel to the ridge, below it, observing it from different angles as we work our way toward a safe route to the top of the ridge.’²⁷

Yet the interaction between human and machine is more profound than this and its effects upon scientific travel writing remain unclear. Human scientists are also changed by their encounter with remote environments, even though they are highly mediated by machines. For example, Rover team members follow Mars time and learn how to calibrate instruments, but they themselves become ‘calibrated’ in the process. As sociologist Janet Vertesi observes, they begin to use their bodies to gesture about the position of the Rover, they learn how to see beyond the visible spectrum (since the eyes of the Rover do not correspond with human eyes), and since they are interpreting this data for a human audience, they learn how to make such data visible through artificial colour manipulations.

As we reach the limits of the human capacity to travel in extreme environments, the cultural meaning of exploration and its expression through writing have begun to change. The embodied traveller continues to exist, now writing of extreme experiences in the Amazonian forest, on the BASE jump, or on a descent into the Marianas Trench.²⁸ But these no longer constitute scientific travel, at least by the benchmarks which we use to define

²⁷ ‘Curiosity Mars Rover Begins Study of Ridge Destination’, NASA Mars Exploration Website, 11 July 2017, <https://mars.nasa.gov/news/2017/curiosity-mars-rover-begins-study-of-ridge-destination>.

²⁸ BASE refers to ‘building, antenna, span, and earth’.

the field today: as forms of rhetoric, professional affiliations, or bodies of knowledge. The new scientific explorers are as much philosophers as scientists. On earth, they frame their knowledge of other peoples and places knowing their own limitations as observers. In outer space, they must translate the experiences of machines that sense the world in ways difficult for an earthbound audience to imagine. While explorers continue to resonate with us as sublime figures detached from the world, they are inextricably tied to the worlds they have left behind.

Travel in the Digital Age

PAUL LONGLEY ARTHUR AND TOM VAN NUENEN

The ubiquity of digital media and communications in daily life since the development of the World Wide Web has influenced every aspect of contemporary travel. While in the early Web era of the 1990s the digital environment was frequently depicted as a separate realm to be entered through a computer screen, it now acts as an extension of our bodies. Our world is saturated with competing ways of communicating information and experiences and has embraced constant surveillance – by states, satellites, by the openness of the private sphere, and by citizen journalism. This chapter examines how the digital era is influencing the way we travel, where we go, and what we see, experience, and report as travel writing.

Vastly increased human mobility and the proliferation of information available via digital media are manifestations of twenty-first-century globalisation. From booking and ‘reading up’, to writing down and reminiscing, most stages of a traveller’s trip today are framed by the digital environment. For many people, the physical and digital worlds are inextricably intertwined, and the digital dimension has become an indispensable part of their persona. The computerisation of reservation systems from the 1980s began to make independently organised global travel a reality. The internet soon enabled travellers to start to spread and receive information about routes and destinations in real time. Online distributed knowledge of the travelled world is continuously being produced by governments, individuals, and by the tech corporations of the twenty-first century. Accurate, high-resolution digital images of locations – from cities to streets to individual buildings – can be accessed at the touch of a button or screen. Even places that are remote or relatively inaccessible are documented by services such as Google Streetview and Google Earth, as well as by more adventurous travel bloggers, reviewers, or reporters. Apps such as Periscope allow people to share travel experiences in real time, offering a new and dynamic platform for travel writing. Travelling online to a potential destination is a natural precursor to going

there physically, in much the same way as reading about a place would have been in an earlier era. Yet the profusion of vicarious travel possibilities now available digitally would have seemed miraculous even a few decades ago, let alone for those living in earlier centuries.

By today's standards, the accounts of voyages and travels in centuries past were accessible to a very small reading population. The reach of digital communications reflects increased literacy, and vast audiences now consume travellers' accounts in their myriad forms, both textual and visual. In fact it may not be possible to experience a 'new' place in a unique way in our era of digital copies, simulations, and travel impressions and recommendations that predetermine our paths and ways of seeing, making it seem increasingly difficult to be tantalised by a distant locale in the same way as in the past. This global familiarity arguably influences the constitution of the self in today's travel writing. To put the issue diachronically: have travel and the reception of travel narratives fundamentally changed, or are the shifts from 'real' to virtual, large as they appear, better thought of as extensions of earlier modes of travelling and interpreting?

Linear organisation of early modern travel narratives mirrored the ways in which people moved through physical space, and was closely linked with the history of exploration and discovery.¹ Narrative genres in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emerged during a period of unprecedented travel and the development of new technologies for navigation. In the digital age, the traversing of non-physical space has continued to be thought of in sequential narrative terms. The metaphors of movement such as 'surfing' and 'navigating' the Web, and the 'information super-highway', were used in (and beyond) the Web 1.0 era to describe the experience of traversing the new domain of cyberspace – itself a term that emphasised the new spatial dimension. Yet, virtual spaces today, once 'entered' and 'explored' (a common description of game worlds) are no longer simply out there as distant and separate regions or thresholds to be crossed. Much of the world's population now lives in a symbiotic relationship with the digital environment, which is profoundly influencing behaviour and identity on a global scale.

This overview of travel in the digital age will explore a range of new contexts for travel writing, including travel blogs, review and recommendation platforms, and video games. These attest to the 'bewildering diversity of

¹ Paul Longley Arthur, 'Multimedia and the Narrative Frame: Navigating Digital Histories', *Refractory* (2006), www.refractory.unimelb.edu.au/2006/07/04/multimedia-and-the-narrative-frame-navigating-digital-histories-paul-arthur.

forms, modes and itineraries' that comprise the heterogeneous genre.² Mentioning examples that are synecdochical for the field is almost impossible due to the immense variance and diversity of the different accounts we find online, but nevertheless, some discursive patterns may be pointed out. Depending on one's view, these examples can be seen either to represent genres in their own right, or to be technologically aided adaptations of genres that came before. Yet, if we define genres as '[ways] of making sense of the structures by which we describe our surroundings and perceive meaning in them',³ then these new media genres constitute new 'effects of reality and truth, authority and plausibility' for the traveller.⁴

Travel Blogging

One of the earliest Web genres, blogs remain a popular and influential communication format, of which travel blogs have been estimated to represent about 28 percent.⁵ Though blogs are highly diverse, Cardell and Douglas note that it is possible to identify the 'classic' blog form: a serialised and 'illustrated account' of a trip incorporating a diversity of media.⁶ Others have stressed the difference between blogging and diaries or autobiographical stories based on temporal inversion of the account: blogs typically present the autobiographical subject in a fragmentary and reverse-chronological manner.⁷ Instead of focusing on the anticipation of the holiday or the narration of holiday stories on return, a typical blog presents writing during the trip, with the newest entries at the top, and, though it may be

² Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1–2. See also Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. x–xi. Michael Kowaleski, 'Introduction: The Modern Literature of Travel', in Michael Kowaleski (ed.), *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 1–16 (at p. 7).

³ Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 2.

⁴ John Frow, *Genre*, quoted in Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction*, p. 2.

⁵ Carmela Bosangit, Sally Hibbert, and Scott McCabe, "'If I was going to die I should at least be having fun": Travel blogs, meaning, and tourist experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 55 (2015), 1–14.

⁶ Kylie Cardell and Kate Douglas, 'Travel Blogs', in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 298–307 (at p. 299).

⁷ Daniel Chandler, 'Personal Home Pages and the Construction of Identities on the Web', 1998, <http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/short/webident.html>. See also Michael Hardey, "'E-Health": the internet and the transformation of patients into consumers and producers of health knowledge', *Information, Communication and Society*, 4/3 (2001), 388–405, <DOI: 10.1080/713768551>; Philippe Lejeune, *On Diary*, ed. Jeremy D. Popkin and Julie Rak, trans. Katherine Durmin (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

co-authored, covers the impressions of a sole individual who goes abroad seeking new experiences.

The early years of travel blogging – arguably starting with the launch of the platform Travelpod (travelpod.com) in 1997 – included centralised travel blogging services such as travelblog.org and travbuddy.com, on which amateur writers could start their own dedicated blog.⁸ They also often incorporated interactive aspects, such as a map on which users could chart their trip as it unfolded, and a profile that could be followed or favoured. These blogging services have been facing increased competition since the advent of social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram – not to mention the increasing usability of open source blogging tools such as Wordpress. In 2017, TripAdvisor announced it would close Travelpod, which was acquired in 2005, due to the lack of growth potential.⁹ This shift signals a broader transformation in the field of online travel writing, which reflects the growing dominance of commercially influenced travel-writing platforms and websites.

Within the blogging realm, professional blogs have proliferated, often maintained by people who are travelling for numerous years on end and who collaborate with global brands in the creation of their narratives. Such larger-scale travel blogs can provide a form of digital immersion: to maintain an easily distracted online audience, bloggers publish blog posts regularly, offer information about their current location, and interact with their audiences through comment sections or integrated social media. Travel blogging is sometimes explained as an individualistic rather than social endeavour. For instance, Pudliner notes about blogging that ‘this use of technology parallels the increasing perspective that tourism is becoming an individual act’, and Pühringer and Taylor offer the suggestion that ‘travel blogs are the equivalent of personal online diaries’.¹⁰ However, as polyphonic and heteroglossic

⁸ Carmela Bosangit, Scott McCabe, and Sally Hibbert, ‘What Is Told in Travel Blogs? Exploring Travel Blogs for Consumer Narrative Analysis’, in Wolfram Höpken, Ulrike Gretzel, and Rob Law (eds.), *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism 2009: Proceedings of the International Conference in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 2009* (Vienna: Springer, 2009), pp. 61–71.

⁹ Travelpod.org currently reads ‘TravelPod is now closed :(’, with references to other travel blogging sites. Among these is Travelark.org, a website dedicated to storing TravelPod content after the original domain has been taken down. See also www.tnooz.com/article/tripadvisor-to-close-travelpod-blogging-service.

¹⁰ Betsy A. Pudliner, ‘Alternative Literature and Tourist Experience: Travel and Tourist Weblogs’, *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 5/1 (2007), 46–59 (at p. 47); Stefan Pühringer and Andrew Taylor, ‘A Practitioner’s Report on Blogs as Potential Sources for Destination Marketing Intelligence’, *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 14/2 (2008), 177–87.

forms of communication, popular and professional travel blogs cannot be viewed strictly in terms of an isolated individual author performing a role: rather, their expert role is co-constructed, with readers as well as fellow (professional) travel bloggers playing crucial parts in the social processes of ratification.¹¹ What appears to be a highly individualistic experience and presentation of travel and adventure also conforms to and produces common patterns, repetitions, and conventions.

Since blogs are often written in a casual, informal style, or as incomplete impressions, narrated in the moment, we may be tempted to think of today's reflections on travel experiences as less serious than in the past. Yet travel writing has often been prone to falsifications and mythmaking. Not all works of popular travel writing in centuries past were erudite, objective anthropological studies. The great majority of travel writing – most of it now forgotten – circulated in popular print and was often misleading and misinformed, or else was designed to serve an entirely different purpose (such as being a vehicle for satire or parody of political figures or systems when censorship precluded more direct political comment).¹² While today's travel commentaries may be shorter (as short as a 140- or 280- character post on Twitter or similar social media networks), they are generally being produced by a much more literate and well-informed global citizenry. Of course, they can still be equally misleading or misinformed.¹³

Cardell and Douglas note that the travel blog should not primarily be demarcated by form, but rather by its rhetorical mode, whose appeal is 'tied to its authenticity as a first person, eyewitness account and to the author's persona as an honest autobiographer of their experience'.¹⁴ These qualities can also be considered as standard characteristics of much travel writing in past centuries. Identity performances on these blogs are laboriously mediated, dramatised, scripted, and edited, in order to highlight the eventfulness of people's lives.¹⁵ Professional blogging is an act of self-branding:

¹¹ Tom van Nuenen and Piia Varis, 'There Is No I in Team: The Co-Construction of Expertise on the Nomadic Matt Travel Blog', in Sirpa Leppänen, Samu Kytola, and Elna Westinen (eds.), *Discourse and Identification: Diversity and Heterogeneity in Social Media Practices* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 125–49.

¹² See Paul Longley Arthur, *Virtual Voyages: Travel Writing and the Antipodes, 1605–1837* (London: Anthem Press, 2010).

¹³ Eli Pariser, *The Filter Bubble: How the New Personalized Web Is Changing What We Read and How We Think* (London: Penguin, 2011).

¹⁴ Cardell and Douglas, 'Travel Blogs', p. 299.

¹⁵ Espen Ytreberg, 'Erving Goffman as a Theorist of the Mass Media', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 19/4 (2002), 481–97 (at p. 487).

a conscious construction of a self-image in order to produce cultural or material profit.

Professional travel blogger Nomadic Matt, for instance, brands himself with the slogan ‘Travel better. Cheaper. Longer’, underlining the theme of frugality and cost-effective travel that the blogger specialises in. The blog clearly furnishes itself as a space for advice and knowledge for the aspiring traveller. The header text establishes the blog as a seven-year endeavour of ‘helping 16 million people realizing their travel dreams’, while featuring logos of well-known sites (such as CNN, *Time*, and *National Geographic*) as markers of expertise to underscore the blogger’s successful insertion of himself as an expert in the tourism field.¹⁶ A tension arises here, due to the ideological way in which travel blogs tend to be read – that is, ‘as an amateur activity in which experience is the ultimate authority’.¹⁷ This blogger needs to distinguish himself from his audience as an expert, while also needing to portray his lifestyle as something achievable by others.

A similar tension arises in the many kinds of commercial activity that these professional bloggers engage in: the blogs typically include Advertise, Media, or ‘Work with me’ pages, which frequently reference the popularity metrics of industry-leading corporations such as Google, and in which logos are included of global brands that bloggers have worked with. Alongside these figures and graphs, bloggers offer all kinds of advertising services, such as affiliate links, banners, sponsored posts and content, social media campaigns, contests and giveaways, or speaking engagements.¹⁸ These are practices of ‘co-branding’ in which the blogger’s authorial persona is connected to and reinforces other brands, such as guides, booking companies, and credit card companies.¹⁹

The genre of blogs under discussion mixes recognisable commodified imagery and personal stories and snapshots to establish a blog both as a globally recognisable commercial effort, and as a more ‘personal’ site of travel expert discourse that may be easily identifiable by its audiences, walking a ‘fine line between independence and affiliation’.²⁰

¹⁶ Nomadic Matt, www.nomadicmatt.com.

¹⁷ Alison Hearn, “‘Meat, Mask, Burden’: Probing the Contours of the Branded “Self””, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 8/2 (2008), 197–217 (at p. 199).

¹⁸ Tom van Nuenen, ‘Here I Am: Authenticity and Self-Branding on Travel Blogs’, *Tourist Studies*, 16/2 (2015), 1–21, <doi:10.1177/1468797615594748>.

¹⁹ Tom Blackett and Bob Boad (eds.), *Co-Branding: The Science of Alliance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

²⁰ Cardell and Douglas, ‘Travel Blogs’, p. 302.

Review Platforms

Social media have amplified the collective and communal aspect of online travel narrative encouraged by blogs and taken it to a new level of interactive immediacy that continues to stretch and change what can be considered as travel writing. Travel experiences reported via social media tend to be more open-ended and fragmentary representations because they are projected in segments at each step of the journey, rather than as shaped and crafted entries or completed works of reflection and interpretation.

Much travel writing takes place on the social media platforms Instagram and Facebook. Professional travel bloggers such as Nomadic Matt and Adventurous Kate manage social media accounts, often referring to their blogs and interacting with their audiences. Instagram, meanwhile, offers travel reports that are, due to the medium's function, predominantly visual. Travel photographers such as Christian McLeod and Allan Dixon manage accounts with hundreds of thousands of followers. McLeod typically attaches short captions to his images, with little or no narrative. By contrast, Instagram users organise their content predominantly with hashtags – meta-data that produces likes and 'organic' followers (that is, people naturally sharing content).²¹ Platforms such as Instagram produce entirely different types of travel writing because they act as 'logistical media', supported by databases and filtering systems reliant on data retrieval, segmentation, and categorisation. These platforms 'arrange people and property into time and space' in entirely new ways, which arguably produces different subjects and stories.²² Both are allocated through processes of data mining, and are involved in processes of segmentation, sorting, and categorisation in the search for useful patterns.

A prolific form of travel writing in logistical media can be found in review and recommendation platforms, such as TripAdvisor. This platform, which self-reportedly contains over 500 million reviews at the time of writing,²³ represents a relatively new environment for travel writing. Like travel writers in the classic sense, users on TripAdvisor are led to contemplate and reflect

²¹ Many online services offer followers in exchange for money; these followers consist mostly of inactive accounts and 'bots' (a software program, possibly sending out automated posts).

²² John Durham Peters, 'Calendar, Clock, Tower', in Jeremy Stolow (ed.), *Deus in Machina: Religion, Technology, and the Things in Between* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), pp. 25–42 (at p. 40).

²³ See <https://tripadvisor.mediaroom.com/us-about-us>.

on their trip – but they do so through the logic and language of ‘customer satisfaction’ that the platform arranges for them. Defining travel reviews as forms of travel writing may be stretching the genre as they are anchored in the review discourse and often lack the coherence and style of much travel writing. Yet these genres are evolving: there is a significant overlap between travel reviews and microblogging, with both involving brief and autobiographically inspired posts drawn from everyday travel experiences and containing colloquial language, a focus on personal experiences, and explicit affect-laden content.²⁴ Further, what is arguably the travel review’s most defining aspect is also the generic requirement that Hulme attributes to travel writing in general: authors must have travelled to the places they describe if they want their texts to count as ‘travel writing’.²⁵ This tenet of facticity, together with the ‘neutral perspective’ of the everyday traveller, is of tantamount importance in online travel reviews: the amateur, non-authorial status of reviewers signals a sought-after ‘independent’ perspective for their readership.²⁶

Due to the travel review’s surge in popularity in the face of disappearing blogging platforms, it could be argued to constitute a commercial appropriation of amateur travel writing previously performed on non-commercial travel-blogging platforms. In fact, travellers can become so engrossed in previews, evaluations, and discussions about their travel destinations that the travel itself – physical travel to a ‘real’ location – becomes an ever-diminishing component of an experience dominated by digital engagement. A destination is often rated for associated services rather than for the place itself, as though the attractions that motivated the visit are taken for granted, and all that remains to be said is how conveniently they were packaged or how true they were to their projected marketing images.

If we look at the supply side of these review and recommendation platforms, we can note an attendance to issues of authenticity in the face of the still expanding mass tourism market. Of course, claims to and demonstrations of authenticity have long been important in travel writing, and the term has been increasingly slippery in a context of travel products aggressively marketed as experiences. With promises of unique or unusual travel opportunities, some travel services purport to facilitate veracity as part of their business model. The most telling case is arguably Airbnb, the platform

²⁴ Cardell and Douglas, ‘Travel Blogs’, p. 303.

²⁵ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, *Talking about Travel Writing: A Conversation between Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs* (Leicester: English Association, 2007).

²⁶ Cardell and Douglas, ‘Travel Blogs’, p. 299.

allowing individuals to rent out their residence. With more than 100 million users, the web platform is one of the biggest new players in the tourism industry.

Brian Chesky, Airbnb co-founder and CEO, explained that ‘The number one reason people choose to travel on Airbnb is they want to live like a local.’²⁷ Airbnb offers an ecology for all kinds of writing revolving around the ‘authenticity’ of interactions between host and guide. Guests, in their reviews, write everything from succinct notes to prosaic stories about their experiences with the host, in their homes, or in the city. In this ideological context, personal and affective relationships are put to use instrumentally – to increase revenue, ranking, and social capital. The demands of hospitality on Airbnb consist, paradoxically, of both informality and professionalism – which are arguably key to understanding the sharing economy as a whole.

Video Games

Our last example of travel in the digital age concerns the medium of the video game. Interrelations between travel and games can be seen from at least three perspectives: games representing forms of travel, games representing travel writing, and games *as* forms of travel writing. Travel constitutes a significant activity in the majority of contemporary video games. Three-dimensional environments, in particular, emphasise movement through the world, prompting more (or at least more realistic) travel than the two-dimensional environments that preceded them.²⁸

In video games, the systems of movement are important communicative aspects. Games, after all, are a ‘procedural’ medium – that is, they represent processes in life with digital processes, which is ‘where the particular power of procedural authorship lies’.²⁹ As procedural simulations of embodied experience, games can be productively viewed as forms of travel via the notion of ‘affordances’, which refers to the ways that the physical qualities of a particular environment enable or preclude certain embodied performances in that place.³⁰ Games, as constrained spaces, create such affordances through

²⁷ See www.airbnb.com/livethere.

²⁸ Betsy Book, ‘Traveling through Cyberspace: Tourism and Photography in Virtual Worlds’, paper presented to the ‘Tourism & Photography: Still Visions – Changing Lives’ conference, Sheffield, 20–23 July 2003.

²⁹ Ian Bogost, *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Videogames* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

³⁰ James Paul Gee, ‘Video Games and Embodiment’, *Games and Culture*, 3/3–4 (2008), 253–63.

computer code. This comprises both the game world and the traits and capacities of the player-character that moves through it. In doing so, video games model processes that they often take from systems in the physical world.³¹ This can range from the manoeuvrability of a car to the strength of gravity, the (in)accessibility of certain areas, and so on.

The structuring of game space facilitates different kinds of narrative: both diegetic (referring to the game's proper narrative) or emergent (narratives that the player creates in the process of traversing the game space). The latter kind is often related to what in game studies is called environmental or spatial storytelling: narrative expression through environmental design, which is experienced and explored rather than told through descriptive verbiage.³² Due to architecture design, item placement, and so on, gamers roaming through virtual environments can learn the history of what has happened in a place, its functional purpose, who inhabits it, what might happen next, and so on.

Through these different procedural constructions of space, games interact with literary modes and concerns.³³ Adam Ruch, for instance, argues that the video game as a medium is exceptionally suitable for communicating certain modernist themes.³⁴ Writers such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and T. S. Eliot tried to capture the chaotic spirit of the modern, urban experience in cities like Dublin, London, and New York, noting all the while that the nature of urban life frustrates the very models of representation they had at their disposal. This led them to rigorous formal experimentation: the narration, for example, was focused on physical movement through a city as much as on the dramatic presentation of plot events. Modernists, Ruch notes, created cities to be *explored* rather than narrated – and it is precisely this mode of representation that occurs when gamers travel through Liberty City, the compressed and fictionalised model of New York in the popular sandbox game *Grand Theft Auto IV*.

³¹ Bogost, *Persuasive Games*, p. 5.

³² Henry Jenkins, 'Game Design as Narrative Architecture', in Noah Wardrip-Fruin and Pat Harrigan (eds.), *First Person: New Media as Story, Performance and Game* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), pp. 118–30.

³³ James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), p. 129. See also Tim Edensor, 'Sensing Tourist Spaces', in Claudio Minca and Tim Oakes (eds.), *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), pp. 23–45; Jonas Larsen, 'Practices and Flows of Digital Photography: An Ethnographic Framework', *Mobilities*, 3/1 (2008), 141–60; Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday: Consuming the Orient* (London: Routledge, 2010).

³⁴ Adam W. Ruch, 'Grand Theft Auto IV: Liberty City and Modernist Literature', *Games and Culture*, 7/5 (2012), 331–48.

It can be argued that the exploration and colonisation of space in games resembles Renaissance travel writing on the New World. Returning to our previous example, players typically start their trip through the three-dimensional *Grand Theft Auto* games restricted to a particular home area, and only gradually move beyond ‘digital frontiers’ to gain access to more regions of the game world. Mary Fuller and Henry Jenkins note that such not-yet-visited digital territories

exist only in the abstract, as potential sites for narrative action, as locations that have not yet been colonized . . . Places are there but do not yet matter, much as the New World existed, was geographically present, and culturally functioning well before it became the centre of European ambitions or the site of New World narratives. Places become meaningful only as they come into contact with narrative agents.³⁵

Another productive way of looking at games as sites for travel refers to the tension between the player and the game’s protagonist as travellers. In three-dimensional games, the player typically inhabits the goals of a virtual character. Much of the travel in such games is therefore motivated by the game instead of the player, with the protagonist being sent on all kinds of quests that the player, in turn, internalises.³⁶ In the discourses surrounding many games, this results in the presentation of travel as something laborious – ‘*travail* in the truest sense of the word’ – which is preferably avoided.³⁷ However, substantial numbers of players choose to engage in virtual travel for reasons other than those driven by the game. The game’s specific affordances lead players to travel leisurely or slowly through virtual spaces even when the game prompts them to do otherwise. For instance, trips through thatgamecompany’s *Journey*, in which players guide their avatars to a mountain in a wordless pilgrimage, have been chronicled on the *Journey Stories* Tumblr page, hosting hundreds of virtual travel accounts.³⁸

Comparable illustrations can be found in modern space exploration games, which stand in the long-lived tradition of science fiction and travel. One

³⁵ Mary Fuller and Henry Jenkins, ‘Nintendo® and New World Travel Writing: A Dialogue’, in Steven G. Jones (ed.), *CyberSociety: Computer-Mediated Communication and Community* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), pp. 57–72.

³⁶ This tension between the agency of player and protagonist is the central theme of 2K Games’ *BioShock* (2007), in which gamers are sent on quests by a man on the radio named Atlas, who prefaces his requests with a cordial ‘would you kindly’. The player later learns that the sentence is a post-hypnotic activation phrase commanding the playable character to do Atlas’s bidding.

³⁷ Nick Webber, ‘Why Walk When You Can Teleport? Themes of Travel in Online Roleplaying Games’, *Akademisk kvarter*, 4 (2012), 276–90 (at p. 279).

³⁸ See <http://journeystories.tumblr.com/archive>.

example can be found in *Eve Travel*, a travel blog based on CCP games' space-based, massively multiplayer online role-playing game *Eve Online* (2003). The blog is run by an author who uses the identifier 'Mark726'. The blog's purpose is to 'compile a somewhat comprehensive list of all the various "landmarks" in New Eden', the galaxy in which *Eve Online* takes place.³⁹ In the case of *Eve Online*, player choices revolve around interstellar space exploration.

Another example is formed by the community of Hello Games' *No Man's Sky* (2016), which features an infinite, procedurally generated universe that players can explore. Players build a ship, then name and explore parts of the millions of planets in order to mine materials they need to proceed in their journey. The only official goal of the game is to reach the 'center of the universe' – however, certain players quickly decided to stray from the diegetic path, leading to projects like the Galactic Hub subreddit, a group of players who dedicated several months to mapping a sector of space.⁴⁰ The game now also hosts its first 'tourist destinations' like the Pilgrim Star, a star system in which one user named St3ambot decided to traverse a whole planet on foot, taking 40 to 45 hours over the course of two weeks, and posting about the experience on Reddit.⁴¹ His account mostly revolves around technical aspects of the game itself (the game's unreliable waypoint system, for instance), supplemented with ruminations on the psychological aspects of a long pedestrian journey: 'I really wanted to quit tonight. It all started when somebody posted a video of themselves flying their starship through a canyon earlier today. I couldn't get that image out of my head as I loaded up the game and started walking. I missed my ship *so bad*.'⁴²

These forms of self-instantiated travel, and the emergent stories that result, further underscore that games need to be 'read' ethnographically by scholars.⁴³ As Kiri Miller notes, one needs to have 'really been' to Liberty City, for instance, in order to be an effective interpreter of the player discourse in *Grand Theft Auto*.⁴⁴ Even so-called 'single player' games are

³⁹ See <https://evetravel.wordpress.com>.

⁴⁰ See www.reddit.com/r/NMSGalacticHub/comments/5a4u00/galactic_hub_project_explained.

⁴¹ See www.reddit.com/r/NoMansSkyTheGame/comments/4zs99x/im_circumnavigating_a_planet_on_foot.

⁴² See www.reddit.com/r/NoMansSkyTheGame/comments/50416n/im_walking_the_circumference_of_a_planet_pt_3.

⁴³ See Jesper Juul, *Half-Real: Video Games between Real Rules and Fictional Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 82–3.

⁴⁴ Kiri Miller, 'The Accidental Carjack: Ethnography, Gameworld Tourism, and Grand Theft Auto', *Game Studies*, 8/1 (2008), www.gamestudies.org/0801/articles/miller.

shared experiences: like other media, games serve imagined communities of readers, consumers, players, or citizens, interacting through fansites, player-built mods, and discussion forums.

Games may represent travel writing more directly as well, such as in Inkle's *80 Days*, a digital gamebook based on Jules Verne's famous novel but transposed to a steampunk science fiction world. The player takes on the role of Jean Passepartout, valet to the gentlemanly Phileas Fogg who has wagered that he can circumnavigate the world in eighty days. The game world here consists of a virtual globe, on which players select the route, manage the suitcases, and decide how long and where to spend their time. Setbacks occur in the form of social and political turmoil in different cities: players can be kept in custody or find themselves marooned, losing precious time to finish the journey. Yet, there is less of a focus here on the phenomenology of travel compared to the previous three-dimensional games; the gameplay revolves around the entanglement of touring and cartography, as the player fills in the 'travel lines' on the globe.⁴⁵ The remainder and largest part of the game comes in the form of textual narrative, in the style of 'choose your own adventure': as Passepartout recounts his experiences in the cities that players decide to visit, the gamers get to choose between different pathways through the travel narrative as it unfolds. The result is a defamiliarisation of the world: the planetary geography may be familiar to the player but, due to fictional distortion, everything that happens on it is not. The players do not know what will be expected as they pack their bags, which cities and parts of the world are safe to travel through, and so on. The game thereby models the happenstance of terrestrial travel.

Finally, we can consider games that themselves act as forms of procedural and 'ludic' travel writing. One example is *Game Trekking*, a project by Jordan Magnuson, who in 2011 crowdfunded a trip through Asia, producing a collection of basic video games about 'the things that impacted me along the way'.⁴⁶ Magnuson explores themes that are characteristic of travel writing, such as loneliness, estrangement, and conflict. He does so through the affordances that his brief, two-dimensional games allow for. In *Loneliness*, for instance, the player moves a pixel upwards towards groups of pixels, moving about different formations and figures. All of these groups, however, break their patterns and move away from the player as they approach. The player

⁴⁵ For a discussion on games and cartography, see Sybille Lammes, 'Spatial Regimes of the Digital Playground: Cultural Functions of Spatial Practices in Computer Games', *Space and Culture*, 11/3 (2008), 260–72.

⁴⁶ See www.gametrekking.com.

has nothing to do but steer their simplified subject further upwards. Eventually, a metagame – a player strategy transcending the prescribed ruleset – arises, as gamers may start deciding against approaching the pixel clusters, so as to prevent disturbing them. Even with minimal graphics and user input, the ‘learning curve’ of figuring out what *Loneliness* simulates sets this game apart from the travel writing whose concerns with social strangeness it mimics.

Conclusion

As with any major shift in social patterns and the communication genres that reflect them, the new forms of travel writing discussed here are symptomatic not only of changes in travel itself but also of the way we view ourselves and our relationships with the contemporary world. In the context of travel, all this activity is fundamentally connected to a shifting concept of what the internet is and does and how people use it. The optimistic 1990s vision of the future Web as manifest in books such as Janet Murray’s *Hamlet on the Holodeck* (1997) imagined future writing and story forms (and ways of living) that were not bound by conventions of order and sequence, but were more fluid and interactive.⁴⁷ Hypertextuality is, at its core, about navigating text and narrative as pathways through online information. Travel writing texts that have been digitised and so brought into the digital environment may be read differently because they can be searched and accessed through text querying rather than linear reading. This is not a unique feature of examples of travel writing but is a characteristic of most digitised texts. Engagement with the digital environment today is becoming even more immersive and connected with our ‘real’ world through on- and offline integration. How we think about and use the internet has gradually shifted from a mentality that emphasised the seemingly boundless possibility of online democratisation, or ‘becoming’ someone else, to the internet as a projection of real-world relations, effects, and causes mimicked in an online space. As travel writing moves into online ecologies – materially, semiotically, economically – it becomes influenced by new representational paradigms and patterns of consumption. This, if anything, underscores the well-known breadth of the genre.

⁴⁷ Janet H. Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck: The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

Systems of computationally formatted knowledge are a feature of the time we live in, and individuals find themselves tasked with composing the self, and writing their travels, through these formats. Travel and writing in algorithmic culture are about knowing how to use and manipulate its scripts – from searching queries to payment models to website templates to programming languages.⁴⁸ This importance of technical know-how, we should not forget, is not just a phenomenon of neoliberal functionalism, but an appeal to creativity. Tourism and travel writing, of course, have always been in part about finding ways to relate to the world with a sense of ingenuity and self-ownership. Such efforts appear all the more relevant as they are couched in the formal systems and binary logic of the internet.

⁴⁸ Alexander R. Galloway, *Gaming: Essays on Algorithmic Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

(III)

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Approaching Travel Writing

Gender and Travel Writing

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Gender has influenced what travellers can and cannot do, and where they can and cannot go. It inflects interests, choice of destinations, contacts people form, the perspectives they develop, and the style of the accounts they record.¹ Moreover, the gendered behaviour, courtship and marriage, and sex lives of those among whom they travel offer subjects of fascination.² Sexual opportunities often present themselves to travellers, and curiosity, desire, and the fact of being away from prying eyes and censorious attitudes at home can encourage indulgence.³ Putting adventures into print, travel writers carefully consider both readers potentially shocked by risqué anecdotes, and those who savour them.

There exists substantial scholarly literature on travel written by historians, gender theorists, and literary specialists.⁴ Issues surrounding women, travel, and writing have attracted particular attention, though with little consensus about whether there exists a particular female ‘voice’, themes, or

¹ This was particularly true in the colonial world. See Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2004) and Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

² See, e.g., Rudi C. Bleys, *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-Male Sexual Behavior Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination, 1750–1918* (New York University Press, 1996). The research and theories of Magnus Hirschfeld, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Margaret Mead owed much to their perceptions of non-European cultures.

³ Among other works, see Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Christelle Taraud, *La prostitution coloniale: Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc (1830–1962)* (Paris: Payot, 2003).

⁴ Dúnlaith Bird, ‘Travel Writing and Gender’, pp. 46–56, and Churnjeet Mahn, ‘Travel Writing and Sexuality: Queering the Genre’, pp. 35–45, both in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016); Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), chap. 9; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), chap. 7; Susan Bassnett, ‘Travel Writing and Gender’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 225–41; Sidonie Smith, *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women’s Travel Writing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

perspectives.⁵ Carl Thompson suggests that ‘travel writing constituted an important route to self-empowerment and cultural authority for women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’, and the same applies to gay people.⁶ In accounts by closeted or openly gay men and lesbians, writing has not only concerned identity, states Gregory Woods, but ‘a manner of relating to people from elsewhere’ and a position from which ‘to suggest more varied ways of living’.⁷ Scholars nevertheless ought not to assume that a writer is fully representative of a group – an imperative travel writers themselves tend not to observe – and must be attentive to authors’ backgrounds, the chronological and geographical context of their travels, political and cultural conjunctures, the circumstances of publication, and readers’ reception.

Discussing treatment of gender in travel writing does pose challenges. It is difficult to know how accurate accounts are (and, indeed, what constitutes accuracy) – from ‘don’t ask, don’t tell’ to ‘kiss and tell all’ – and all travel writing contains substantial literary artifice. Writings about different countries and people remain partial, in both senses: less than comprehensive and often far from objective. They are bent towards the moral presuppositions of authors, with many discreet or critical about domestic and intimate lives. Sex has frequently been taboo, at least for explicit discussion, except in more supposedly scientific or erotic works; until the second half of the twentieth century, respectable Western writers shied away from exposing their own sexual experiences. One also must be careful about imposing on writers past or present ideas about gender, and thus perpetuating stereotypes about masculinity or femininity, heterosexuality or homosexuality, or morality and immorality. Vocabularies and concepts applicable to one society often translate awkwardly to other countries and ages, and the urge to categorise gender and sexual behaviours does not always advance understanding.

With those caveats, two groups of travel writers will now be considered.⁸ Both illustrated departures from conventions of gender: French women travellers in Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and

⁵ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), is a pioneering work; see also Clare Saunders (ed.), *Women, Travel Writing and Truth* (London: Routledge, 2014); Kristi Siegel (ed.), *Gender, Genre and Identity in Women’s Travel Writing* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); Shirley Foster and Sara Mills (eds.), *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writing* (Manchester University Press, 2002).

⁶ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 189.

⁷ Gregory Woods, ‘Gay Travel Writing: An Unstable Category?’, in Thompson (ed.), *Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 318–27 (at p. 327).

⁸ Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*.

peripatetic men of homosexual orientation in the mid-twentieth century. These have been chosen because of the oblique vision that the women's gender (or, more precisely, the ways in which they disrupted expectations about women's roles, and explicitly positioned themselves as women writers), and the men's homosexuality, gave them on the dominant norms of their own and different societies. The chosen figures were travelling and writing at key moments in the history of gender. The *fin-de-siècle* saw such challenges to the sexual order as the phenomenon of the 'New Woman' and the campaign for women's suffrage. The 1940s and 1950s witnessed renewed debate about homosexuality stimulated by the establishment of homophile organisations throughout Europe, and the Wolfenden Report in Britain in 1957.⁹ The times and people focused on here also mark different conjunctures in European engagement with the outside world: the conquest and consolidation of colonies in the decades before the First World War, and the coming apart of European empires after the Second World War. These women and men, therefore, are actors and commentators during important transitions in sexual and international politics. The wider world through which they ventured offered a terrain for exploration of the inner world as well: their self-positioning as women who did not adhere to conventions of domesticity and as men with castigated same-sex desires. The authors are Western European, most from privileged positions, and it should be acknowledged that travellers from other backgrounds might reveal significantly different perspectives.

Three Frenchwomen in the Himalayas

The intrepid 'lady traveller' is a familiar figure: the woman who braved the rigours of the West African jungle, the Australian desert, or some other obstacle-strewn terrain. The list is long, with pioneers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), Isabella Bird (1831–1904), Mary Kingsley (1862–1900), Gertrude Bell (1868–1926), and Dame Freya Stark (1893–1993), among the most famous British names. Their contributions to travel literature were remarkable, and so was the influence they exercised. Part of their reputation, of course, was the idea that they had gone where no white women had gone or written about before, to places deemed inhospitable if not fatally dangerous to the 'fair sex'.¹⁰ Showing clear parallels are

⁹ Brian Lewis, *Wolfenden's Witnesses: Homosexuality in Postwar Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

¹⁰ See Dea Birkett, *Off the Beaten Track: Three Centuries of Women Travellers* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2004).

Francophone women such as Isabelle Eberhardt (1877–1904), who went to the Maghreb, carried out intelligence work for colonial authorities, married a Muslim, and published fictional and non-fictional writing. There is also Ella Maillart (1903–97), who drove from her native Switzerland to Afghanistan in the 1930s, in the company of the formidably talented author-explorer Annemarie Schwarzenbach (1908–42). Odette du Puigaudeau (1894–1991), a French lesbian who explored Mauritania with her companion, Marion Sénones (1886–1977), offers another fascinating case.¹¹ This section, however, will look at three roughly contemporaneous francophone travellers to the northern reaches of the Indian subcontinent and the Himalayas: Isabelle Massieu (1844–1932), Marie de Ujfalvy-Bourdon (1845–?), and Alexandra David-Néel (1868–1969).¹²

The three women were born into prosperous and fairly traditional families, though David-Néel's father, a socialist journalist, had fled into exile after the 1848 revolution in France. The Guimet Museum of Asian Arts in Paris sparked David-Néel's fascination for 'the East'. She briefly dabbled in theosophy, studied Sanskrit and, at twenty-one, travelled in India for several months. Back in Europe, and alongside an ephemeral stint as an opera singer, she began a career as a writer with a book on Buddhism and articles championing women's suffrage. In 1904, she wed Philippe Néel, chief engineer of French railways in North Africa, and moved to Tunis. In 1912, with Néel's accord and financial support, Alexandra set out for Asia, not to return for thirteen years. She regularly wrote fond letters to her husband, but intimated that she could not be the wife and sexual companion he wished.

Isabelle Massieu and Marie Bourdon had more traditional early lives. Bourdon married Charles-Eugène de Ujfalvy, an ethnologist who became professor at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris. Like her husband, she had studied with Paul Broca, the leading specialist of ethnology and anthropology. The French Ministry of Education dispatched Ujfalvy, accompanied by Marie, on missions to collect clothing, jewellery, household utensils, and

¹¹ Annette Kobak, *Isabelle: The Life of Isabelle Eberhardt* (London: Virago, 1998); Olivier Weber, *Je suis de nulle part: sur les traces d'Ella Maillart* (Paris: Payot, 2010); Dominique Laure Miermont, *Annemarie Schwarzenbach, ou le mal d'Europe* (Paris: Payot, 2004); Monique Vérité, *Odette du Puigaudeau, une Bretonne au désert* (Paris: Payot, 2001).

¹² Basic biographical information can be found in Numa Broc, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs français du XIXe siècle*, vol. 11: *Asie* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1992), pp. 124–7 (David-Néel), 317–21 (Massieu), 425–9 (Ujfalvy-Bourdon, in the article on her husband). Little has been written on the last two, though there is more scholarship on David-Néel, e.g. Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, chap. 5.

even human remains, and (in line with current practice) to take measurements of the bodies of 'natives'. They first went to Asia in 1876, and Marie's account, *De Paris à Samarcande: impressions de voyage d'une Parisienne*, appeared four years later; a trip to the Himalayas followed in 1881.

Isabelle Massieu was the wife of a lawyer, Jacques Massieu, with whom she travelled to Lebanon in 1892; after his early death, she determined to continue her voyages. In 1894, she went to Ceylon and India, and two years later to French Indochina, China, Japan, Mongolia, and back through Siberia to Turkestan and the Caucasus. Her account was evocatively descriptive of the countries visited and perspicacious on the geopolitical situation in Southeast Asia – Massieu ardently promoted French colonialism. In 1908, she embarked on a trip to Nepal and the Himalayas. Ujfalvy-Bourdon, David-Néel, and Massieu all thus ventured to the 'roof of the world', considered impossibly remote, strange, and fraught with danger. The Himalayan region lay at the intersection of the rival British, Russian, and Chinese empires where the 'Great Game' of competition for spheres of influence was played out. Tibet remained secretive and largely out-of-bounds to Westerners, the Dalai Lama's realm a place of intense popular speculation and British political hopes of achieving some sway against the Chinese. David-Néel, who travelled later than the two other women, experienced China and Tibet during struggles for power by 'warlords' following the overthrow of the Qing dynasty; Tibet had lost little of its mystery.¹³

Each of the women produced substantial travel accounts: Ujfalvy-Bourdon's *Voyage d'une Parisienne dans l'Himalaya occidentale jusqu'aux monts Karakoram* (1887), Massieu's *Népal et pays himalayens* (1914), and David-Néel's *Voyage d'une Parisienne à Lhassa* (1927).¹⁴ The works responded to popular demand for travelogues about exotic foreign places, and they followed the model of adventurers writing up their travel notes. Though two of the women remained less well known, David-Néel's chronicle brought her immediate fame. The titles of Ujfalvy-Bourdon's and David-Néel's volumes announce that they recount the experiences of a woman. The former was initially published as instalments in an illustrated periodical, *Le tour du monde*, and

¹³ See Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Travel Writing and the Western Creation of a Sacred Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

¹⁴ The following editions have been used: Marie de Ujfalvy-Bourdon, *Une Parisienne dans l'Himalaya*, ed. Samuel Thévoz (Paris: Éditions Transboréal, 2014); Isabelle Massieu, *Népal et pays himalayens* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1914); Alexandra David-Néel, *Voyage d'une Parisienne à Lhassa* (Paris: Presses Pocket, 2004). (All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.)

Ujfalvy-Bourdon, guessing that women would be her audience, addressed them as '*chères lectrices*' ('dear women readers').

The self-positioning of the three authors as women differed, though all were conscious of breaking with or manipulating conventions. Ujfalvy-Bourdon claims to be the first Frenchwoman to travel in the northern Indian subcontinent and Himalayas; of the writers, she fashions herself most traditionally in a womanly role. She also offers idiosyncratic views about a gendered landscape. Soon after arriving in the mountains, Ujfalvy-Bourdon opines that 'the nature of the Himalayas is like that of a beautiful woman, who in all her maturity and beauty, presents her charms in the light of day and subjugates you by her grandeur and majesty'. She adds: '*Excuse, chère lectrice*, this digression . . . you will easily conceive that everything that appeared to my eyes had the effect of a fairy tale and that I felt a desire . . . to use the language of these old stories' (p. 82). Later, musing on the Indus River, she remarks: 'Farewell, powerful torrent whose name echoes in my childlike ears; a woman, I leave you without regret, because your arid surrounds are of too savage a beauty for me' (p. 378). Elsewhere, Kashmir at first disappoints her and 'in my very feminine anger, I was furious' (p. 234), but she is soon seduced by panoramic views and the opulence of a maharajah's palace. Massieu, also much taken with spectacular views and different cultures, remarks that maharajahs and others 'were intrigued and amused by my presence; other than . . . the wives of Residents [senior British officials], I was the first European woman to penetrate these countries' (p. 91) – the kind of boast men were liable to make about being the first one to arrive in a particular place. David-Néel was confident, too, that she was the first Western woman to head for Lhasa.

Neither Massieu nor Ujfalvy-Bourdon had any intention of 'going native'; their personae were always genteel, if hardy, bourgeois women abroad. David-Néel, leaving her husband on the other side of the world, was the least traditional, including in the choice of a sole travel companion rather than a team of bearers. Aphu Yongden was a young lama whom David-Néel met in Sikkim; working first as her servant, Yongden became her confidant and protégé. Indeed, he returned to Europe as her adopted son; they travelled to Asia again in the 1930s, and then shared a house in southern France until Yongden's death in 1955. David-Néel clearly presents herself to Tibetans and readers as a woman, though hardly with parasols and crinolines, and at least to the Tibetans not at all as a Frenchwoman. The Chinese prohibited travel to Tibet, and thus David-Néel moved about incognito, aided by her ability to speak Tibetan (which she had studied before she arrived) and adoption of

local clothing. She also darkened her face with soot and cooking grease, and her hair with ink, although neither she nor her reader is fully convinced by her disguise.

Ujfalvy-Bourdon and Massieu expressed gratitude for the hospitality of colonial officials and the comfort of administrators' residences, government rest-houses, and maharajahs' palaces after long days in breath-taking altitudes or tropical jungles. Already in her sixties, Massieu was mindful of her dignity, often carried in a palanquin-chair amidst what she calls her 'caravan' of as many as forty 'coolies'; she nevertheless makes no complaints about hardships except for the lack of cleanliness. David-Néel practically revelled in the discomforts of the eight-month trek from southwestern China to Lhasa.

The authors commented variously on issues of gender. Though Ujfalvy-Bourdon's account contains relatively few pages explicitly about women, she occasionally manages gender commentary: 'Bad-tempered people contest that women have many talents, but at least admit that they can make judgments about cloth and fabrics' (p. 87). She regularly pauses to discuss weaving and impressive local clothing, finding Indian saris especially attractive. European women's dress, by comparison, seems dull, including the Parisian outfits of travellers like herself: 'Never mind, Mesdames, back me up! Isn't it true that nothing is pretty except in its own place?' (p. 88). Local women's lives are less appealing than their garments. Women everywhere have a subaltern position to men, who she says mistreat their wives; the fate of widows, remarks the author, is utterly miserable. Despite wealth and luxury, women at princely courts have little to occupy their time. The presence of a woman like Ujfalvy-Bourdon did not necessarily reassure local women. Some quivered in fear at being measured by the Europeans. After observing Asians, the Frenchwoman declared: 'I let out a sigh of satisfaction and judged myself happier beyond belief to be a European woman' (p. 176). This comment evinces a tension between culture and gender, with Ujfalvy-Bourdon's ultimate sense of identification being with her compatriots rather than fellow women.

Massieu makes more regular comments on gender issues, generally without a negative tone; she discreetly notices 'objects' – carved phalluses hung on temples and houses – which 'appear to illustrate very curious stories of an unheard of boldness' (pp. 74–5). She notes the polyandry and polygyny of many mountain peoples, characterising the Bhutanese, for instance, as 'amoral'; women enjoyed great sexual freedom before marriage and might take other male partners afterwards if their husbands were absent, giving the traveller an 'impression of a great loosening of morals' (pp. 156, 203). Men

were required to pay a bride-price among the Lepchas, and the cost meant that many couples had relations outside wedlock. Both young men and women often went on sexual escapades away from family homes. Furthermore, 'sodomy is frequent', she adds though with no evidence (p. 202) – the sort of throwaway comment found not infrequently in travel writing, and that reinforces a notion of the erotic otherness of foreign peoples.

Massieu, in text and photographs, was much drawn to the elaborate clothing and the pearl, coral, and turquoise jewellery of women (and she noted that men were as heavily ornamented as women). She was received by the hereditary prime minister in Nepal and the maharajah of Sikkim, and also visited their wives, whom it would have been more difficult if not impossible for a male traveller to meet. Communication had to pass via an interpreter, but Massieu found the women elegant, graceful, and attractive, especially the alert Tibetan-born wife of the *chogyal* of Sikkim, whom she characterises as the real power in the country. Companion photographs of a maharani and a servant woman, both snapped with a respectful gaze, illustrate the variety in their attire.

Massieu's and Ujfalvy-Bourdon's works are composed by assertive and articulate women and, in the latter case, written for women readers, but neither is exclusively about women. They also write about indigenous men, especially maharajahs, who not surprisingly attract attention for their regal glamour and power. Repeating and reinforcing common gender tropes about South Asians, Ujfalvy-Bourdon finds Sikhs strong, but other Indian men are often seen as scrawny and effeminate – degrees of muscularity and hirsuteness necessarily catch the eye of someone interested in racial physiognomies and typologies. Massieu, also engaging in stereotyping, emphasises the warlike nature of Gurkhas in Nepal, and credits the Newari with great artistic sensibilities.

According to her biographer, Ruth Middleton, David-Néel had a complex attitude towards gender. Her mother was heartbroken that Alexandra was not a boy, and from an early age, Alexandra showed 'abhorrence for all things masculine'. Middleton surmises she had little appetite for sex. Her relationship with Yongden satisfied a maternal instinct, and was a partnership of necessity; David-Néel depended on Yongden's language skills, status as a holy man, and talents as a handyman.¹⁵

¹⁵ Ruth Middleton, *Alexandra David-Néel: Portrait of an Adventurer* (Boston: Shambhala, 1989), pp. 5, 94, 115.

David-Néel's Himalayan travelogue notes gender distinctions in household work in China and Tibet, but with little editorial commentary, though she notes that she will reserve ethnographical material for her other works. Occasional comments concern women's duties and clothing, with the explorer once allowing that some fabrics and ornaments would not look out of place in a chic Parisian shop. She notes the women's hospitality, though often shuddering (like Massieu) at the lack of hygiene, and chiding that Tibetans almost never bathe. David-Néel nonetheless claims to establish a rather easy rapport with local women in a way that the other two travellers did not attempt, adopting the reserved and domestic role she saw as the norm for Himalayan females. Men and women alike treated her with deference as an older person, pilgrim, and supposed mother to the lama Yongden (part of her disguise). The focus in her work is not local customs, but rather the epic nature of the journey and the rugged life she and Yongden share with local people, as well as her efforts to avoid detection as a foreigner. Her admiration for the Asians' endurance is clear, despite disapprobation for superstitions, belief in magic, and what she dismisses as a corrupted Buddhism. Her empathy also did not preclude her having packed a revolver.

As David-Néel set out for Tibet, someone tells her that 'it's not possible to get through'; in retrospect, she laughs: "'It's not possible to get through!' Really? A woman would get through' (p. 29). So she did, and the comment might also apply to the other two writers, each eager to assert the mettle of women adventurers in confronting challenging landscapes, climates, and political situations. Great differences nevertheless separated the women, one travelling on her own, another with her husband, the third with a 'native' companion. They represented a trained anthropologist, an autodidact, and someone who claimed no particular expertise in Asian studies. While travel for Massieu and Ujfalvy-Bourdon was a passionate avocation, and the countries visited sources of abiding fascination, for David-Néel the Asian experience of travel, religion, and writing became an all-consuming vocation.

Gender gave the Frenchwomen access to people and places they would not have had otherwise, though it disbarred them from other sites. Massieu, for instance, realised that her presence at the ritual slaughter of buffalos during a festival would have been awkward, and she was not able to visit certain temples. However, none showed interest in hunting, hard drinking, sport, or the camaraderie of homosocial club culture that would have provided sure topics and boasts in many men's accounts. Massieu's fairly extensive comments on traditional male domains, such as colonial policy and

economic developments, in her book on Southeast Asia – which included an appendix on gold-mining in Laos – were less evident in her volume on the Himalayas since she was not writing about areas of French colonial expansion.¹⁶ None of the women, however, writes exclusively, or even primarily, about what would be thought of as women's affairs. Explicitly and self-consciously, gender appears in reflections on how they were perceived as women, comments about the people among whom they moved, and critical comparisons about women's lives in West and East.

Peripatetic Postwar Homosexuals

Travel has exercised a great appeal to men with homosexual inclinations, especially those escaping countries such as Britain and Germany with laws that until the late 1900s punished same-sex acts.¹⁷ The favoured destination until the early twentieth century was the Mediterranean, and particularly Italy. Others journeyed further afield, to North Africa or the Middle East, Asia, or the Pacific, the 'Sotadic zone' (in the famous phrase of Sir Richard Burton (1821–90), himself a travelling sexual observer) where sodomy, it was said, was not a sin.¹⁸ Some later travellers preferred gay Paris or wicked Berlin. 'For Christopher, Berlin meant boys' is the memorable opening line of the memoirs of Christopher Isherwood (1904–86), who more than any other English writer contributed to the image of a decadent interwar German capital.¹⁹ The Nazi regime brought that to a tragic end, but the puritanical climate of the 1950s and early 1960s still impelled British homosexuals to travel. These decades preceding the era of militant gay liberation provide an interesting moment for consideration of gender, homosexuality, and travel writing.

An identifiable breed of homosexual traveller during the immediate post-war decades was the middle-class, generally well-educated, and relatively moneyed man for whom literature, across a spectrum of genres, provided a vocation or avocation. Robin Maugham (1916–81), son of a British Lord

¹⁶ Isabelle Massieu, *Around Southeast Asia in 1897*, trans. Walter E. J. Tips (1901; Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2013).

¹⁷ Robert Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean: Writing, Art and Homosexual Fantasy* (London: Routledge, 1993), and *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁸ See Richard Phillips, 'Writing Travel and Mapping Sexuality: Richard Burton's Sotadic Zone', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds.), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 70–91.

¹⁹ Christopher Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1977).

Chancellor, provides an example. Maugham grew up with means that permitted global tours and sybaritic leisure, his homosexuality an open secret despite criminalisation of homosexual acts in the United Kingdom during most of his lifetime. He was a prolific writer, though without attaining his uncle Somerset's literary standard. Homosexuality appears in his novels and short stories – set in places such as North Africa, Lebanon, and Sri Lanka – in surprisingly blatant ways for the time, including a novel, *The Wrong People* (1967), which recounts the efforts of a British expatriate in North Africa to procure an Arab lover.

Search for Nirvana (1975) is a curious book of travel and reminiscences in which any nirvana onto which Maugham might happen would certainly be congenial to homosexual desires. Everywhere he travels in Africa and Asia his eye is caught by shapely young men, portrayed in text and photographs. He meets others with his inclinations; in Sri Lanka, there is the charming rake Bevis Bawa (1909–92), and in Morocco, Gerald Hamilton (1897–1970), whom Isherwood had known in Berlin.²⁰ In the Egyptian oasis of Siwa, Maugham suggests (with dubious veracity) that he has found a place where homosexual relations are enshrined in local culture. Maugham may be counted among many men for whom North Africa seemed a homosexual dream, though reality did not always match yearnings. The American novelist and musicologist Paul Bowles (1910–99), notably, became the doyen of a homosexual coterie in Tangier, and played host to such other 1950s and 1960s literati as Jack Kerouac and Joe Orton. Bowles encouraged his Moroccan protégés to write about encounters with foreigners, and his own works rather discreetly portray his amours with Moroccan men and his wife Jane's relationship with a North African woman.²¹

The relaxation of sexual mores and of publishing constraints made it increasingly easy for men to reminisce about their lusts and loves during the decades between the old-style culturally legitimised Grand Tours to Italy, and the later sexual tourism in New York's Christopher Street, San Francisco's Castro, and cities such as Bangkok. The journalist Michael Davidson (1897–1976), like Hamilton, had lived in Germany in the 1930s and then was arrested for homosexual activity in Britain. He thereupon decided to become a foreign correspondent, a profession that promised to conjoin work and pleasure. His 1962 autobiography began with the confession: 'This

²⁰ See Robert Aldrich, *Cultural Encounters and Homoeroticism in Sri Lanka: Sex and Serendipity* (London: Routledge, 2014).

²¹ See Michelle Green, *The Dream at the End of the World: Paul Bowles and the Literary Renegades in Tangier* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

is the life-history of a lover of boys. It's a first-hand report, therefore, on that heresy which, in England especially, is reprobated above all others.²² In a second volume, cast as a memoir, and unabashedly entitled *Some Boys*, each of sixteen chapters is devoted to a city where he had travelled or lived in the 1940s and 1950s, and the sexual conquests he made: from Rome and Ischia to Marrakech and Tangier, Dakar and Timbuktu, Lahore and Rangoon. 'At that time the great invasion by cackling cohorts of international queerdom hadn't yet begun', he wrote. His partners were willing but often impoverished young men who could be seduced with kind words and a bit of money. There was, for instance, a Saigon trishaw driver, 'his slim buttocks alternately heeling over the saddle as his weight shifted from pedal to pedal'. On the docks in Rangoon, Davidson met a young man, with whom he continued a relationship until his departure – with tears on both sides – for another posting. In a Tokyo park, he encountered Kiishi, and they lived together during Davidson's stay in Japan in the house of a broad-minded professor. 'Mine has been a peripatetic life', Davidson writes, 'it has generally been my aim, and sometimes my achievement, as I moved about the map, to discover as soon as possible after arrival in a new place a boy companion whom I could be happy with as long as I stayed there, and even longer'. The business of journalism, travel, sex, and writing about his amours all came together.²³

John Haylock's *Eastern Exchange*, part memoir, part travel writing, is about a somewhat more restrained life as a gay British expatriate teacher, between 1948 and 1984. It ranges over several countries where Haylock (1918–2006) lived, from Iraq to Japan, all of which provided sexual companionship. He was seduced by 'a slim Egyptian lad with dark burning eyes' in Cairo, had a 'chief intimate friend' in Baghdad, met a young fellow on the Galle Face Green in Colombo ('Do you like boy business?', the teacher was asked), and discovered men waiting to be picked up in Tangier. There was a Japanese man whose erotic needs found fulfilment only with foreign men. Haylock remarks that in Japan he found both love and the satisfactions of teaching. His work and the landscapes and cultures of places he lived relate closely to the sexual encounters of his narrative.²⁴

²² Michael Davidson, *The World, the Flesh and Myself* (1962; London: Quartet, 1977), p. 3.

²³ Michael Davidson, *Some Boys* (1970; London: Gay Men's Press, 1988), pp. 129, 140, 78.

²⁴ John Haylock, *Eastern Exchange* (London: Arcadia, 1997), pp. 33, 38. Haylock also published several novels whose themes include sexual encounters between Westerners and non-Westerners.

The confessional nature of books by Maugham, Davidson, and Haylock (and the works of their successors) heralds a new frankness in homosexual writing devoid of the coded language, classical allusions, and prim details about sex of Victorian times or later decades.²⁵ Homosexual liaisons counted among the benefits of travel and expatriation without the censure and legal risks entailed in Britain down to the late 1960s. The decades from the 1940s to the 1960s saw decolonisation, profound economic change, and much Westernisation in 'traditional' societies. Different gender norms in overseas cultures – lack of clear divisions between homosexual and heterosexual identities, notions of sex as play or pleasure unencumbered by Christian beliefs in sin, homosociality that sometimes excluded women, economic disparities between locals and foreigners – provided favourable contexts. These were also years when the 'white man', especially one with status and money, enjoyed privileges not much changed from the age of empire.

Homosexual travelogues in later decades, pioneered by the work of Edmund White (b. 1940), would become even more explicit.²⁶ Searching for sex with men, writing with provocative intention about copulation, and observing the same-sex habits and attitudes of local people have become central traits of an avowed style of gay travel writing combining reminiscence and reportage.²⁷ That literature includes writing on lesbian wanderlust.²⁸

Gender and Sex, Travel and Writing

French women in the late 1880s and early 1900s and British men in the middle decades of the twentieth century made different journeys. Both groups, however, challenged certain gender and sexual norms in their home

²⁵ On other gay travellers in Asia, see D. E. Mungello, *Western Queers in China: Flight to the Land of Oz* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012); and Gary L. Atkins, *Imagining Gay Paradise: Bali, Bangkok, and Cyber-Singapore* (Hong Kong University Press, 2012).

²⁶ Edmund White, *States of Desire* (New York: Dutton, 1980).

²⁷ The title of Canadian Daniel Gawthrop's *The Rice Queen Diaries: A Memoir* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2005) brandishes a phrase often used derogatorily to designate a Western man of a certain age with a penchant for young Asians. *Wanderlust in Gay Asia* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2011) is a volume by Swiss author Hans Fitschi, who first wrote the pieces for a blog under the moniker 'Suzy Size'. Benjamin Law's *Gaysia: Adventures in the Queer East* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc., 2012), is the work of a young, openly gay Australian journalist of Chinese background; he offers insightful, though often dark portraits of the challenges of homosexual life in Asia, as well as its pleasures.

²⁸ Gillian Kendall (ed.), *Something to Declare: Good Lesbian Travel Writing* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

countries; even though the three French women in the Himalayas were heterosexual and more or less happily married, the sorts of travel they undertook were hardly customary. They, and the homosexual men of later times, journeyed to places where the great difference in cultures from what they knew formed part of the attraction. For the British men there was also the impetus to escape a country where sexual activities could lead to arrest. The travellers had to situate themselves in multiple gendered contexts: those of home and host societies, the way the Europeans were perceived by local people and perceived themselves, the degree of engagement with overseas cultures. Gender was ever present, in varied ways for the women in the Himalayas, though none of the texts discussed here betrays sexual desire or dramatic gender non-conformity (except, to an extent, David-Néel); they would probably have been shocked at the sexual quests (and the uncensored writing about it) of the British homosexuals. The men in some ways nevertheless also conformed to gendered expectations of profession, camaraderie, and privilege, but for them sex with other males formed an integral aspect of travel.

Travel, gender expectations, the openness with which sexual life was lived (in particular, for homosexuals), and the conventions of publishing changed almost beyond grasp over the century after Ujfalvy-Bourdon's trip to the Himalayas. Technologies of travel and communication were revolutionised, bringing near inaccessible places within relatively easy access. The 'lady traveller' is no longer a curiosity (and the 'lady' adjective decidedly quaint); 'queer' travellers are served by a plethora of commercial venues, guidebooks, and web-based networks. The foreign gender roles and expectations that caught the eye of footloose Europeans have metamorphosed, though to different degrees in various societies. Travellers' tales nevertheless still focus on the unexpected and the exotic, things that can be experienced abroad but not at home, bringing to readers' attention the particularities of the foreign and bringing into question the verities of the familiar. In the present, when in most Western societies questions of gender command close attention, and discussions about sex are commonplace, any travel writer not devoting some passages to these issues would probably be regarded as ill-informed, uninquisitive, or overly prudish. Pioneering travellers and writers such as Ujfalvy-Bourdon, Massieu, and David-Néel, and Maugham, Davidson, and Haylock, opened doors for successors who have continued to explore the

wider world and the inner world, where intellectual perspectives, personal emotions, and individual desire inevitably connect to gender for the traveller writers and their readers.²⁹

²⁹ See, e.g., Duncan Fallowell, *One Hot Summer in St Petersburg* (London: Cape, 1994); and Robert Dessaix, *Night Letters: A Journey through Switzerland and Italy* (Sydney: Picador, 1997), and *Arabesques: A Tale of Double Lives* (Sydney: Picador, 2008).

Ecocriticism and Travel

KYLIE CRANE

Ecocriticism is concerned with the relationship between cultural texts and the environment. Cheryll Glotfelty's definition of ecocriticism, which focuses on literary texts, has been used widely to introduce the field, and may serve to contextualise the approach taken here:

Simply put, ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment. Just as feminist criticism examines language and literature from a gender-conscious perspective, and Marxist criticism brings an awareness of modes of production and economic class to its reading of texts, ecocriticism takes an earth-centred approach to literary studies.¹

Its emergence as a field of critique towards the end of the twentieth century was, and continues to be, marked by a politicised concern for environmental issues, as Glotfelty's parallels to feminist and Marxist modes suggest. As Greg Garrard notes in his introduction to the field, 'Ecocritics generally tie their cultural analyses explicitly to a "green" moral and political agenda.'² The modes of ecocriticism have undergone significant alterations since the first use of the term, for instance through the shift from a decidedly literary emphasis evidenced in the Glotfelty quotation to a broader focus on 'cultural texts'.³ Yet such political convictions remain evident in much of the critique produced to date, both as ecocriticism and in the related field of environmental humanities.

¹ Cheryll Glotfelty, 'Introduction: Literary Studies in an Age of Environmental Crisis', in Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (eds.), *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology* (1978; Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. xv–xxxvii (at p. xix).

² Greg Garrard, *Ecocriticism* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 3.

³ William Rueckert's essay 'Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism', published in 1978, is usually credited with being the first to use the term. See Dana Phillips, *The Truth of Ecology: Nature, Culture, and Literature in America* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 141.

Travel Writing and Nature Writing: Ecocriticism and the Object(ives) of Study

If ecocriticism is the body of literary (and cultural) criticism that takes relations to and representations of nature as its focus of attention, then one of its obvious objects of study is nature writing. This emphasis is evident in many early critical writings that endeavour to establish the approach, although, since the close of the twentieth century, ecocriticism has expanded to include critiques of the depiction of environments and relations with the world in a broader range of texts.

Don Scheese suggests that nature writing – the ‘traditional’ sphere of (first-wave) ecocriticism – derives from natural history, travel writing, and what he denotes ‘spiritual autobiography’.⁴ The proximity of nature writing to travel writing, he argues, is a function of travel writing’s ‘tracing of a physical movement from place to place and recording of observations of both new and familiar phenomena’.⁵ His emphasis on fieldwork as a practice that ecocritics should engage in is prescriptive and based on a comprehension of poststructuralist theory that proclaims ‘there is no nature’.⁶ Both assumptions are problematic. The latter privileges certain environments, serving to impede interpretations of ‘less obvious’ sites of environmental issues, for example, sites that are coded as ‘polluted’, or otherwise not ‘natural’. Further, whilst the emphasis on fieldwork entails travel and is therefore of interest here, it simultaneously excludes any environmentally inclined writing that does not entail (physical) travel, as well as precluding those writers who cannot work on-site.

The relative lack of ecocritical accounts of travel texts suggests that nature and travel writing are seen as distinctive, if not separate, genres. There are of course some exceptions, even in earlier ecocritical works. In bringing William Wood’s *New England’s Prospect* (1634) into a discussion of a deeper history of nature writing, Michael P. Branch highlights the author’s descriptive accuracy at the same time as noting the collaboration between these descriptions and the potential for establishing and settling plantations in the region, given Wood’s involvement in New England settlements.⁷ The ensuing work thus might be considered travel writing, although

⁴ Don Scheese, *Nature Writing: The Pastoral Impulse in America* (1995; New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷ See Michael P. Branch, ‘Before Nature Writing: Discourses of Colonial American Natural History’, in Karla Armbruster and Kathleen R. Wallace (eds.), *Beyond Nature Writing:*

Branch himself does not engage with the mode. Branch argues, instead, that a restrictive definition of nature writing 'as the non-fiction personal essay' has led to a troubling exclusion of numerous other texts, particularly of the colonial period in the United States of America.⁸ William C. Horne's contribution to the same volume deals more explicitly with travel writing.⁹ However, his essay remains theoretically indebted to more postcolonially informed practices of reading and gestures towards expanding the literary canon available to ecocritical readings.

In *Tourists with Typewriters*, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan work to 'collapse' 'the distinction between nature writing, which focuses mainly on the phenomenal lifeworld, and more conventional forms of travel narrative that document the traveler-writer's adventures'.¹⁰ Their account elicits several nodes where the concerns of nature writing and travel writing overlap: scarcity (both of site and of species), New Age sentiments, and a mode that foregrounds 'salvage ethnography', a term they borrow from James Clifford to denote the recording of cultural practices and myths facing extinction. Their examples include David Quammen's *The Song of the Dodo* (1996) and Peter Matthiessen's *The Cloud Forest: A Chronicle of the South American Wilderness* (1961), with the latter, in particular, being noted for its nostalgia for a foregone wilderness and longing for a precolonial culture, replete with the problematic assumptions these sentiments have for cultural dominance.¹¹ Other texts included in Holland and Huggan's section on the overlap between travel and nature writing include Melanie McGrath's *Motel Nirvana: Dreaming of the New Age in the American Desert* (1996), which they read as a derisive account of New Age spiritualism, and Barry Lopez's *Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape* (1986), a text that has received quite some attention within ecocritical circles. Their readings owe more to postcolonial theory, for instance Mary Louise Pratt's influential *Imperial Eyes* (1992), rather than to ecocriticism, although Huggan's later scholarship, for instance *Postcolonial Ecocriticism* (co-written with Helen Tiffin, 2010), investigates the convergences of the two fields more rigorously.

Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism (1995; Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), pp. 91–107 (at pp. 96, 95).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁹ William C. Horne, 'Samuel Johnson Discovers the Arctic: A Reading of a "Greenland Tale" as Arctic Literature', in Armbruster and Wallace (eds.), *Beyond Nature Writing*, pp. 75–90 (at p. 77).

¹⁰ Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p. 179.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 179–80.

A point of contrast between travel and nature writing that emerges is a conviction that the former emphasises movement whereas the latter emphasises (static) place. And yet this tension between movement and stasis, between breadth and depth, is one Peter Hulme notes within travel writing itself. Noting that the titles of travel narratives often flag which of the two tropes is stressed, he recognises a tension between, on the one hand, a 'willed superficiality, as if a dogged ignorance about a place is necessary to preserve the freshness of the writer's fleeting contact with its features and inhabitants' in those titles that foreground movement, and, on the other, 'a compulsion to know more and more about less and less, to go deeper and deeper' in those with an emphasis on place.¹² In his brief analysis of David Quammen's *The Song of the Dodo* (1996), Greg Garrard suggests specific generic conventions elicit a disjunction between travel writing and particular issues of environmental concern. He stresses in particular the 'difficulty of narrating ongoing systemic crises within intrinsically individualising forms such as the travelogue and the novel'.¹³ Whilst many environmental issues are indeed exacerbated by an emphasis on the individual, the perceiving subject pervades most cultural forms, not just travel writing and fiction. Richard Kerridge, in his account 'Ecologies of Desire: Travel Writing and Nature Writing as Travelogue' (1999), argues that in providing a pleasurable narrative, the travelogue must include 'a narrating consciousness whose emotions will be included in the spectacle', and yet uphold an 'exemplary attitude' wherein 'wildlife would have no significance in human discourse, but simply remain separate and for itself'.¹⁴

Other critics more explicitly question the generic divide. Casey Blanton suggests, in eliciting a mode she calls 'Nature-Travel Writing', that 'Nature writing and travel writing ... have never really been strangers'.¹⁵ The distinction between the two emerges as one of reception rather than of characteristics inherent in the texts themselves. The reception of travel writing readily accounts for the role of authors as travellers, and thus affords space for autobiographical meditations. With respect to nature writing,

¹² Peter Hulme, 'Deep Maps: Travelling on the Spot', in Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (eds.), *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 132–47 (at p. 132).

¹³ Garrard, *Ecocriticism*, pp.157–8. Garrard's concern here is for species extinction.

¹⁴ Richard Kerridge, 'Ecologies of Desire: Travel Writing and Nature Writing as Travelogue', in Steve Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed, 1999), pp. 164–82 (at p. 182).

¹⁵ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (1995; New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 72.

reception tends to displace such considerations, setting them aside in order to emphasise the environment more fully.

Negotiating the impulses of ecocriticism with the form of travel writing, then, necessitates careful consideration of the object of study. Further, care needs to be taken to account for the subject's material embeddings and enmeshment with its surroundings. The trouble, it seems, might be that a monolithic Nature – understood in terms of purity and consequently separated entirely from culture – has eclipsed the environment. To write of the environment in conjunction with travel writing stresses the agency and responsibility emerging through, and from interactions with, the surroundings, as the etymology of environment would also stress ('en-' coming from 'in' and 'viron' from 'circuit'). With respect to travel writing, an emphasis on environment as opposed to Nature as the 'object of interest' means that the privileged site of the traveller-author can be accounted for as the agent of perception (and, by extension, also the reader). And emphasising the environmental as opposed to the natural is suggestive of the extent to which the phenomena thus described are indicative of mental categories and imaginations as much as a pre-discursive, even 'naturalised', state of nature.¹⁶

Stacy Alaimo formulates this expansion of what might warrant the attention of ecocritically or environmentally minded cultural critique in the following terms:

Emphasizing the material interconnections of human corporeality with the more-than-human world – and, at the same time, acknowledging that material agency necessitates more capacious epistemologies – allows us to forge ethical and political positions that can contend with numerous late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century realities in which “human” and “environment” can by no means be considered as separate.¹⁷

Travel writing, which for Carl Thompson is 'a retrospective, first person account of the author's own experience of a journey, or of an unfamiliar place or people', entails movements, shifts (of selves and of perspectives), and agencies.¹⁸ It is dependent on the resources of the planet at the same time as it reflects on them. If, accordingly, one takes relations of the *environment* as the focus of ecocritical attention, then the objects of study quickly broaden to

¹⁶ See also Roman Bartosch's notion of the environMental, which comprises a hermeneutic process that takes both perspective and circuit, in line with the etymology of 'environment'. Roman Bartosch, *Environmentality: Ecocriticism and the Event of Postcolonial Fiction* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013).

¹⁷ Stacy Alaimo, *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 2.

¹⁸ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 14.

encompass a variety of texts, written and otherwise. This shift in perspective opens ecocriticism to modes of critique that reach beyond the mimetic and that can embrace theoretical and philosophical impulses from neighbouring disciplines and beyond.¹⁹

Travel Writing and Natural History: Collecting Specimens, Collecting Knowledge

Reports of European exploration form a considerable body of historical travel writing. These can be read for the way in which they codify nature according to dominant European modes, particularly the pastoral and Romantic notions of wilderness. Subjugating environments to Eurocentric notions of use, however, is by no means a bygone, historical strategy; its effects continue to be mobilised through policy.²⁰ Travel writing continues to mobilise knowledge about foreign or faraway places.

Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) is certainly a mainstay of such knowledge, with continuing impact on contemporary natural sciences.²¹ As Glen A. Love argues in a short piece on ecocriticism and Darwin, it 'undergirds and originates all modern biology and the resulting life sciences'.²² This work had an important travel-writing precursor: the *Journal of Researches* (1839), or *The Voyage of the Beagle* as it has since become known. The book is organised according to site, resulting in an arc of circumnavigation that constitutes a departure from the itinerary of the journey itself. The ensuing narrative is one of development – of both the traveller himself, and of the theories of natural selection a contemporary reader might reconstruct.²³ Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle* might then be seen as exemplary for the 'negotiation of similarity and difference', 'an encounter between self and other that is brought about by movement through space', which for Thompson comprises travel writing, and which

¹⁹ See Phillips, *Truth of Ecology*, for a book-length corrective to the mimetic impulse.

²⁰ See, for example, Ramachandra Guha, 'Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique', in J. Baird Callicott and Michael P. Nelson (eds.), *The Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), pp. 231–45.

²¹ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species and The Voyage of the Beagle*, intro. Ruth Padel (1839, 1859; London: Vintage, 2009).

²² Glen A. Love, 'Ecocriticism, Theory, and Darwin', *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 17/4 (2010), 773–5 (at p. 773).

²³ In her Introduction (pp. ix–xix) to the 2009 Vintage edition that publishes both works, Ruth Padel argues that, in order to 'understand what happened' prior to the publication of *On the Origin of Species*, 'we have to think of the inner rather than outer results of that original voyage' (p. xi).

is 'at some level a record or product of this encounter'.²⁴ Similarity and difference, here, are not only the negotiations of travel writing, but emerge as the cornerstones of Darwin's observations that gave rise to the theory of natural selection. Considered a bestseller, *The Voyage of the Beagle* is, John Tallmadge argues, 'a natural history classic which both exemplifies and transcends the conventions of early Victorian travel writing'.²⁵

The emphasis on the notion of knowledges travelling extends beyond the travellers themselves, who mediate such knowledges to the cultures of contact and through the writing as they report. Emphasising only this dimension might eclipse the mobility of other goods, in particular those acquired through the imperialistic practices of collection. Such practices encompass colonial collections of natural goods, for instance plant, animal, and fungus species and geological matter, which travel with natural historians.²⁶ Natural matter as well as matters of nature travel with and through such writings. The collections of Darwin's writings as well as specimens held in the Natural History Museum of London act, accordingly, as depositories of knowledge both written and material.

On a different scale, Antiguan-American author Jamaica Kincaid, in her portrayal of the Himalayas in *Among Flowers* (2005), makes numerous references to her garden in Vermont, a site which might also be seen as a repository for travelling knowledges of environments.²⁷ The persistent stressing of her bodily actions as she hikes through the mountains works to insist on an embodied and localised understanding of environments that travels nonetheless and is radically open to negotiation and contextualisation. As Katherine Bergren argues, *Among Flowers* 'possesses both a material foundation and a contextual movability', both of which are crucial to this work.²⁸ In Kincaid's words, 'the garden itself was a way of accommodating and making acceptable, comfortable, familiar, the wild, the strange', a repository

²⁴ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 10.

²⁵ John Tallmadge, 'From Chronicle to Quest: The Shaping of Darwin's "The Voyage of the Beagle"', *Victorian Studies*, 23/3 (1980), 325–45 (at p. 326).

²⁶ Other material formations that emerge from travel and cultural contact include practices such as safari trophy hunting, coral removal, even the movements of bacteria and viruses (as with global breakouts of various influenza infections affecting all kinds of animals, including humans).

²⁷ Jamaica Kincaid, *Among Flowers: A Walk in the Himalaya* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2005).

²⁸ Katherine Bergren, 'Localism Unrooted: Gardening in the Prose of Jamaica Kincaid and William Wordsworth', *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 22/2 (2014), 303–25 (at p. 318).

of and for travelling knowledges of environments that contributes to recognising the materiality of the materials of travel writing.²⁹

Not only stored matter, then, but ‘storied matter’: approaches to ecocriticism collected under the umbrella of material ecocriticism attend to such matters.³⁰ In the words of Serenella Iovino and Serpil Oppermann, material ecocriticism comprises a project ‘understood as an approach that entails a critical self-reflection on our part as humans and on the constitutive engagement of human discursive systems with the material world’.³¹ Like the field of ‘ecocriticism proper’, material ecocriticism offers no dogma of theory or prescriptive analytical moves, but attends instead to querying underlying dualisms, drawing extensively on fields such as posthumanism, postmodernism, ecofeminism, and STS (science, technology, and society) studies. An ecocritical approach to travel writing therefore will only be richer for embracing more contemporary incursions – such as Stacy Alaimo’s material ecocriticism above – to account for the movements, shifts, and agencies of the material basis for life and lives, as well as the forms it takes.

Material Ecocriticism and the Preconditions of Travel

An ecocritical consideration of travel writing would be amiss if it did not consider the material preconditions of travel itself. Travel implies a movement, and this movement increasingly requires the displacement of material goods: in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, first and foremost, fossil fuels. The costs of mobility upon which travel is predicated are not only economic – privileging specific subjects, as postcolonial and Marxist critique would stress – but environmental. For instance, the extraction of fossil fuels is further exacerbated by the polluting practices left in its wake, and whilst the wealth such extraction generates accrues with the wealthy and privileged, the negative aspects, such as pollution and waste, accumulate with the poor and dispossessed. The extraction of raw materials nowadays regarded by many as essential for negotiating, reporting, and recording such travels – for instance, those used in smartphones and laptops – also are

²⁹ Kincaid, *Among Flowers*, p. 44.

³⁰ Serenella Iovino and Serpil Oppermann, ‘Theorizing Material Ecocriticism: A Diptych’, *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 19/3 (2012), 448–75 (at p. 451).

³¹ Serenella Iovino and Serpil Oppermann, ‘Introduction: Stories Come to Matter’, in Serenella Iovino and Serpil Oppermann (eds.), *Material Ecocriticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), pp. 1–17 (at p. 9).

predicated on such imbalances and environmental degradation. Global travel is also connected to climate change, particularly in the accelerated forms of fossil-fuelled transport, for instance, or the planned obsolescence of electronic devices that make reporting possible and facilitate navigations through unfamiliar territories. The beauty or intrigue of the site visited by the traveller is coupled with the degradation of another site.³²

These concerns inform a number of publications that shift the locus of travel from an exotic or exoticised Other (encoded as There) to a de-familiarised Self (Here). Two prominent examples of this shift in locus and in mode of travel are Robert Sullivan's *The Meadowlands: Wilderness Adventures on the Edge of New York City* (1988) and Paul Farley and Michael Symmons Roberts's *Edgelands: Journeys into England's True Wilderness* (2011).³³ Notably, both works configure a transition in comprehensions of wilderness in their subtitles, specifically through the juxtaposition of wilderness with metropolis in Sullivan's subtitle, or the claim to shifting authenticities of the phrase 'true wilderness' in Farley and Symmons Roberts's subtitle. The notion of the 'untrammelled landscape' thus undergoes a crucial transformation to a 'less-trammelled landscape'.

In texts such as these, wilderness is shifted from a distant location (often in a faraway, 'less-developed' country) to the outskirts of, and pockets within, (familiar) towns and cities. The foreign or exotic, accordingly, might not be a function of space, but a function of distance understood in the sense of the 'Other'. Similarly, in modes of travel writing that recollect the activities of urban explorers, writers offer accounts of travel to the near strangeness of derelict sites, for example waste disposal sites, wastelands, rubbish tips, industrial remnants, abandoned carparks, and ruins.³⁴ 'To walk in edgeland ruins', Farley and Symmons Roberts note, 'is to feel absence and presence at the same time'.³⁵ It comprises 'less-trammelled' landscapes, forgotten urban spaces: the space of the train tracks between Liverpool and Manchester, 'some of the most mature edgelands on the planet', spaces left

³² Offsetting carbon footprints by purchasing credits with a flight does not abate the demand for fuel. See also Greg Garrard, 'The Unbearable Lightness of Green: Air Travel, Climate Change and Literature', *Green Letters*, 12/2 (2013), 175–88.

³³ Robert Sullivan, *The Meadowlands: Wilderness Adventures on the Edge of New York City* (1998; London: Granta, 2006); Paul Farley and Michael Symmons Roberts, *Edgelands: Journeys into England's True Wilderness* (2011; London: Vintage, 2012).

³⁴ Urban exploration might itself warrant elucidation in the context of travel writing, although the dominant mode of recording these experiences is the (HDR) photograph. Cf. e.g. Bradley L. Garrett, *Explore Everything: Place-Hacking the City* (2013; London: Verso, 2014).

³⁵ Farley and Symmons Roberts, *Edgelands*, p. 154.

underdeveloped by development, the edges of modernisation.³⁶ The eccentric traveller of these accounts is the one who walks through the wastelands of home, the smallest shift from the centre. The shifting notions of wilderness elicited through such texts resonate with the shift from Nature as the object of study to a more inclusive environmental sensibility through explorations of 'othered' spaces.³⁷

Two further texts similarly engage in shifting environmental sensibilities: Jay Griffiths's *Wild: An Elemental Journey* (2006) and Robert Macfarlane's *The Wild Places* (2007).³⁸ In both titles, the 'wilderness' of the previous examples has been eclipsed by 'wild'. The physical location of 'wilderness' gives way to the quality of wildness, which both writers address at length in their books. Both of these texts are given the double generic label of nature and travel writing, producing a tension between wilderness as site and wild as quality, which, through ecocritical critique, indicates many problems with wilderness itself.

A notion of the wild as redemptory, in a manner that recollects Holland and Huggan's trope of New Age spiritualism, is present both in Griffiths's and Macfarlane's books. Griffiths's travels take her to the Amazon, the Arctic, an archipelagic island off Sulawesi, the Australian Outback, and the mountains of Papua. Like Macfarlane's, Griffiths's account is scattered with references to other travel narratives and maps, as well as to philosophies, linguistics, and colonial and current affairs. The work ends with a chapter called 'Wild Mind' (following the more 'elemental' chapters in line with her subtitle, earth, ice, water, fire, and air). Here, Griffiths argues, 'Wildness . . . persists in whatever is yet unmeasured, uncounted, the in-ordinate'³⁹ – the objective correlative is *not* objective, but subjective, a consequence of patternings of travel both physical and metaphysical. Macfarlane notes at the close of his account that 'We are fallen in mostly broken pieces . . . but the wild can still return us to ourselves.'⁴⁰ His travels take him through the British Isles, a location much closer to his home, but rendered 'strange' through, for example, the map included at the outset of the book. This map prefigures the shift in

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

³⁷ Wilderness remains a heterotopian site that is simultaneously outside, but inevitably within, society, offering a commentary, through what is excluded, on what is contained. For 'heterotopia', see Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. Jay Miskowicz, *Diacritics*, 16 (Spring 1986), 22–7. For more on travel writing and wilderness, see Chapter 24 above.

³⁸ Jay Griffiths, *Wild: An Elemental Journey* (2006; London: Penguin, 2008); Robert Macfarlane, *The Wild Places* (2007; London: Penguin, 2008).

³⁹ Griffiths, *Wild*, p. 419.

⁴⁰ Macfarlane, *Wild Places*, p. 320.

perspective that elicits the wild by reorienting the map with south at the top of the page, and distorting the proportions of the outline of the isles so as to suggest an oblique perspective from above. Through their travel writings, Macfarlane and Griffiths reconfigure attitudes towards environments, not as 'static places' but as discursive products.

Strangers: Writing the Other, Effecting the Other

Bringing ecocriticism to travel writing entails caution towards gestures of displacing the perceiving subject, and emphasises the ways in which the environment is co-constitutive in identity.⁴¹ As Richard Kerridge stipulates, 'if the experience [of travel] is not voyeuristic, then the boundaries between home and abroad, sympathy for animals and people, will begin to dissolve – as environmentalism demands that they should'.⁴² Accounting for the writerly position as constructed through the text (and, accordingly, the position of the reader or critic) suggests turning to certain forms of postcolonial and feminist critique to elicit readings of travel writing that account for the other and that do not eclipse the authorial role.

The emphasis on the environment placed by ecocritical approaches does not necessarily mean neglecting more ethnologically or anthropologically oriented texts and contexts. Particularly at the 'crossroads' of postcolonial ecocriticism, the role of the tourist, and the environmental and social damage thus entailed, have been stressed. Although not always specifically concerned with travel writing as such, the work of scholars such as Anthony Carrigan, Elizabeth DeLoughrey, and Rob Nixon resonates well with the concerns of tourism, migration, mobilities, and poverty, on the one hand, and the environment on the other.⁴³

Particularly cogent in this respect are those texts that interpolate the position of the reader into the text by using the second person 'you'. Tim

⁴¹ See also, e.g., Scott Slovic, 'Introduction: Approaches to the Psychology of Nature Writing' in *Seeking Awareness in American Nature Writing* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), pp. 3–20.

⁴² Kerridge, 'Ecologies of Desire', p. 172.

⁴³ E.g. Anthony Carrigan, *Postcolonial Tourism: Literature, Culture, and Environment* (London: Routledge, 2010); Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Rob Nixon, 'Stranger in the Eco-Village: Environmental Time, Race, and Ecologies of Looking', in Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley (eds.), *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 159–81; and Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

Youngs has suggested that ‘The travelling first-person narrator not only looks at those who inhabit the places through which he or she passes, but views them in ways that throw light on his or her own anxieties and desires and (some critics would say) of the home culture.’⁴⁴ With the change from the first person to the second person, this ‘mirror-function’ also shifts slightly to implicate the reader.

Accordingly, Aritha van Herk’s ficto-critical *Places Far from Ellesmere* (1990),⁴⁵ with its interpolation of the reader through the second person ‘you’, might be read as travel writing, as much as memoir or any other genre.⁴⁶ The explorations of site in the book – Edberg, Edmonton, Calgary, and the titular Ellesmere Island – give rise to excavations of (personal) history, archive as well as self and environment. Van Herk maps her travels through the Canadian west and north in terms of her own biography, meaning the slippage between the author and reader forged by the ‘you’ is foregrounded throughout. As an example, the work opens with the following: ‘Home: what you visit and abandon: too much forgotten/too much remembered. An asylum for your origins, your launchings and departures, the derivations of your dream geographies.’⁴⁷ Congruencies and discrepancies of ideas of home here draw the reader into the text and its travels, through the shifting allegiances with or against the narrator-figure. *Places Far from Ellesmere* traces the influence of environments both built and natural on the self, as well as that of the Canadian nation: the synecdochic function of travel writing is thus shown to be a function of the traveller not only in foreign lands, but also ‘closer to home’.⁴⁸

The use of the second person address is also employed in Jamaica Kincaid’s scathing ‘anti-travel’ book, *A Small Place* (1988). Kincaid’s narrator is a traveller to Antigua herself in this book, but the shift in focus to the reader

⁴⁴ Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 173.

⁴⁵ Aritha van Herk, *Places Far from Ellesmere* (Red Deer, Alberta: Red Deer College Press, 1990).

⁴⁶ On other ficto-critical works read as travel writing see, e.g., Tim Youngs, ‘Making It Move: The Aboriginal in the Whitefella’s Artifact’, in Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (eds.), *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire*, pp. 148–66.

⁴⁷ Van Herk, *Places Far from Ellesmere*, p. 13.

⁴⁸ The quasi-mythical postulated emptiness of the Canadian Arctic transforms through the presence of the author-narrator, the reader, and van Herk’s reading of *Anna Karenina*. ‘You are closer to Moscow than you are to Edmonton, to Edberg, to Calgary’, van Herk observes, shifting perspective from the (national) map to the globe. *Ibid.*, p. 113. See also Kylie Crane, ‘Wilderness as Projection: Reading Practices and Aritha van Herk’s *Places Far from Ellesmere*’, in *Myths of Wilderness in Contemporary Narratives: Postcolonial Environmentalism in Australia and Canada* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 33–57.

via the use of the pronoun 'you' elides her role to a certain extent. The overall effect of the book is accusatory, even as it maintains many of the characteristics of travel writing. The disjunction in perspective between the reader, assumed to be from North America '(or worse, Europe)', and the surroundings of Antigua is maintained throughout *A Small Place*.⁴⁹ If read autobiographically, this shift in perspective hints at Kincaid's own ambivalent position with respect to the island.

The beauty of Antigua is, from the outset, a function of comparison. This is figured in terms of lack, for instance the lack of rain leading to drought, which is nevertheless a precondition for the tourist-reader's travels to a 'place (Antigua) where the sun always shines and where the climate is deliciously hot and dry for the four to ten days you are going to be there'.⁵⁰ It is also figured in terms of the un-real: 'No real sand on any real shore is that fine or that white (in some places) or that pink (in other places); no real flowers could be these shades of red, purple, yellow, orange, blue, white; no real lily would bloom only at night and perfume the air with a sweetness so thick it makes you slightly sick.'⁵¹ Uneven development and displacement are phenomena not only of postcolonial concern, Kincaid's text demonstrates, but, crucially, they have environmental repercussions. While the text emphasises the colonial legacy that shapes the Antiguan present – political corruption, as well as through the ongoing presence of travellers/tourists – it links the postcolonial tropes of exploitation and domination of peoples with the environment.

The narrative structure of texts such as van Herk's and Kincaid's is suggestive of the implication of the writer and reader in processes of environmental and political exploitation and degradation upon which travel is predicated. Such insights can be mobilised to inform readings of other travel-writing texts, acting as crucial rejoinders to the individualising tendencies of the form, and stressing entanglements of co-constitution of author and reader within and through (writing and reading) environments.

Reports from a Global Wasteland, Or: Travellers and Travelling Goods

Ecocritical approaches to travel writing allow for an emphasis on the shifts and movements in matter: the materials of the world are no longer

⁴⁹ Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Penguin, 1988), p. 4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

backgrounded, nor the environmental implications of the traveller ignored. Andrew Blackwell's *Visit Sunny Chernobyl* (2012) is an example of such a text that addresses environmental concerns whilst utilising a number of generic conventions of travel writing, like mapping a trajectory of physical movement over shifts in emotional development and introducing readers to unfamiliar places by means of comparisons to familiar places.⁵² In addition to Chernobyl, Blackwell recollects his travels to Alberta's tar sands in western Canada, a Texan refinery in the southern United States of America, Santarém in the northwestern Brazilian state of Pará, the recycling facilities of Shanxi province in China, the river Yamuna (which runs through Delhi), as well as the Pacific Ocean for the accumulation of plastic rubbish usually referred to as the Great Pacific Garbage Patch.

All of these sites comprise locations of materials in a state of flux: travelling goods and flowing energies. Although Blackwell's destinations are scattered through the globe, they are interconnected through the very materials that constitute them as worthy of visiting. The oils of the tar sands in Canada connect to the refineries of the southern United States as stages in production processes that generate goods, which are dismantled in China, or which accumulate as plastic in the waters of the Pacific or in the subsiding flow of the Yamuna. Desires for energy, both fossil and food, thus forge mobile interdependencies. The travel narrative thus provides a fitting genre for tracing the story of this kind of environmental issue: pollution, waste, excess.

The motif of anti-tourism is central to the text. Blackwell's attempts to visit polluted sites are often hindered by the lack of infrastructure or by the lack of a clearly defined or definable destination. The misnomer of the Great Pacific Garbage Patch, suggesting, as Blackwell explains, an image of an island or even a continent (the title of the respective chapter), evokes a clearly definable and demarcated site.⁵³ The plastic, however, does not amass in this way. This leg of Blackwell's journey is thwarted from the outset, for there is no site that is constituted as such, and hence he draws attention to the importance of the choice of images and the central role of language and rhetoric for rendering environmental issues.

John Urry has suggested that 'Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures' and that 'Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines,

⁵² Andrew Blackwell, *Visit Sunny Chernobyl: Adventures in the World's Most Polluted Places* (2012; London: Arrow, 2013).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

records and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze.⁵⁴ Blackwell's book inverts the tone by shifting the positively connoted anticipation 'of intense pleasures' thus 'constructed and sustained' to a bleaker perturbation.

Tracing the paths of materials as they emerge and merge into lifeworlds lends itself to forms that occupy 'a space of discursive conflict', a key quality of travel writing, as Holland and Huggan suggest.⁵⁵ As environmental concerns are increasingly considered in terms of global patterns of change and movements of wealth (of financial and material resources), they will 'map onto' genres and forms that take account of this. As ecocriticism increasingly no longer looks at nature as a static, pure, stable entity, separate and containable, but instead investigates environments undergoing continual change with and through culture, then it will look to genres that can account for its subjects and objects – including authors and readers – as shifting, 'dirty', flowing forces, for which travel writing is a prime example.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2002), p. 3.

⁵⁵ Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, p. 10.

⁵⁶ See Heather Sullivan's work on the dirty pastoral, e.g. 'Dirt Theory and Material Ecocriticism', *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 19/3 (2012), 515–31.

Translation and Travel Writing

SUSAN BASSNETT

Translators are interpreters; they bring texts written in one language to the attention of readers who may have no knowledge of that language, which means that translators are responsible for the journey a text makes as it crosses an interlingual frontier. In a similar way, travel writers are responsible for bringing a narrative about their experiences in another culture to their readers, and so both translators and travel writers inhabit a contact zone where cultures converge. Moreover, just as translators exercise a high degree of individual creativity in their rewritings, so the travel writer negotiates between cultures, bringing to a target audience his or her subjective impressions of a journey undertaken. This role is akin to that of the translator, who is, above all, a mediator between cultures, a Janus-faced being who inhabits two different worlds and whose task is to bring those worlds into contact. However, whereas for translators, a text written in another language is their starting point, for travel writers that 'text' is the journey. The principal difference, of course, is that translators are engaged in bilingual contact, whereas the linguistic dimension in travel writing is rarely foregrounded, despite there often being issues of language comprehension. Indeed, one of the conventions of travel writing requires readers to suspend disbelief and to accept the veracity of conversations between the traveller and people encountered on a journey, as though such conversations always take place in the traveller's own language.¹ It is paradoxical that whilst readers of travel writing appear content to collude with the myth that a traveller is able to converse in a range of different languages and dialects, readers of translations often appear all too anxious about the 'accuracy' and 'authenticity' of a translated text and seem to need reassurance that the translation is indeed 'faithful', whatever that means. It is also important to remember that the

¹ For a discussion of collusion in the reading of travel writing, see Susan Bassnett, 'When is a Translation not a Translation?', in Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. 25–40.

history of travel writing is also a history of translation. Two of the most widely read works in the Middle Ages and beyond, *The Travels of Marco Polo* and the *Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville, Knight*, were popularised through translation. The account of Marco Polo's travels to Cathay, as set down in Old French by Rustichello da Pisa in the thirteenth century, was translated into English by John Frampton, an English merchant familiar with Spanish culture in 1579. Frampton used as his source text a Castilian translation from French that had appeared in 1503, hence the English version is the result of translations from at least three other languages, from Old French to Renaissance French, then into Castilian and finally into English. There is a vast literature on the 'authenticity' of Marco Polo's travels, but regardless of the veracity of Rustichello da Pisa's supposed account of the stories told him while (possibly) imprisoned with Marco Polo, which form the basis of the text, the fact that the work went through so many translations across a range of European vernaculars has rendered the question of authenticity even more complex. Similarly, there were multiple translations of Mandeville's *Travels*, probably the most popular travel account in European history. This text, written in French, was produced and circulated in the 1360s, with the first English translation by an anonymous hand appearing around 1375.² Whatever the 'original' may have been, what has survived is a range of versions in various languages.

The question of the authenticity or reliability of a so-called original text is also a central issue for translation studies, given that texts are inevitably changed as they are moved across linguistic boundaries. In a 1972 essay in which he coined the term 'translation studies', James Holmes noted the way in which translation had been systematically marginalised by linguists and literary scholars alike, the subject of 'centuries of incidental and desultory attention from a scattering of authors, philologists and literary scholars, plus here and there a theologian or an idiosyncratic linguist'.³ The task for the emergent translation studies field was to challenge the myths that complete equivalence might exist between languages, or that there could ever be such

² For further discussion of the problems of authenticity in the accounts of Marco Polo and Mandeville, see Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. and intro. Nigel Cliff (London: Penguin, 2015); Laurence Bergreen, *Marco Polo: From Venice to Xanadu* (London: Quercus, 2008); Zweder von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. C. W. R. D. Moseley (London: Penguin, 2005). See also Chapter 3 above.

³ James Holmes, 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', in Lawrence Venuti (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 172–85 (at p. 173).

a thing as a perfectly 'faithful' translation, as well as to demonstrate the role played by translation in literary and cultural history.⁴

Itamar Even-Zohar, another founder member of translation studies, endeavoured in a series of essays through the 1970s to set down a model for studying patterns in translation activity across cultures. Edwin Gentzler, the US translation scholar, summarises Even-Zohar's work as follows:

By expanding the theoretical boundaries of traditional translation theory, based all too frequently on linguistic models or undeveloped literary theories, and embedding translated literature into a larger cultural context, Even-Zohar opened the way for translation theory to advance beyond prescriptive aesthetics.⁵

The polysystems approach, as it came to be known, shifted attention away from the more narrowly linguistic dimension and towards broader ideological issues around translation. Questions such as why some cultures translate more than others at particular moments in time, how certain writers acquire canonical status in the target literary system, why some writers who enjoy canonical status in their own language fail to succeed once translated, and what the factors might be that determine greater or lesser translational activity all began to acquire significance. What can now be seen is that the emergence of translation studies in the 1980s gave rise to a great deal of research into the history of translation, just as the parallel rise of women's and gender studies led to an increase in historical research with a view to creating new maps that contested received wisdom about the creation of literary canons.⁶ Similarly, the rise of travel writing as an academic field has also been linked to theoretical and historical developments in both post-colonial and gender studies, a point well made by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs in their Introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Hulme and Youngs argue that interest in the role of travel literature as a way of

⁴ Translation studies came into being in the 1970s, promoted by a small international group of scholars, known as the polysystems group, who held meetings primarily in Belgium and the Netherlands. For an account of the origins of the field, see Susan Bassnett, 'The Origins and Development of Translation Studies', in *Translation* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 16–36.

⁵ Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 2nd edn (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), p. 123.

⁶ For further details of the origins and diversification of translation studies, see Bassnett, *Translation*; Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, 4th edn (1980; London: Routledge, 2014); Sandra Bermann and Catherine Porter (eds.), *A Companion to Translation Studies* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014); Kirsten Malmkjaer and Kevin Windle (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2011); Venuti (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader*.

approaching the colonial past has been joined by a growing sophistication of textual readings ‘and by an acceptance that claims to truth and objectivity are not always reliable’.⁷ They also note that in addition to literary studies and women’s studies, the three disciplines that have engaged most with travel writing are history, anthropology, and geography, and it could be argued that the same can be said of engagement with translation studies. Recognising that claims to truth and objectivity can be unreliable is paralleled by recognising that no translation can be a completely ‘accurate’ reproduction of any original. Many more translations today are published with an introductory essay by the translator, in which he or she discusses the strategies and decisions taken during the translation process, exposing the role played by the translator in reshaping material. Translators appear to be becoming more visible in the twenty-first century, and the significance of translation in the global movement of texts is increasingly being recognised by scholars of world literature, another recent expanding field.

In 1990, Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere proposed that translation studies had moved on to the point where the object of study should be to explore the function of a text embedded in its dual network of both source and target cultural signs. They also emphasised the ideological issues at stake in translation and argued that:

What the development of Translation Studies shows is that translation, like all (re)writings is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed . . . although idealistically translation may be perceived as a perfect marriage between two different (con)texts, bringing together two entities for better or worse in mutual harmony, in practice translation takes place on a vertical axis rather than on a horizontal one.⁸

The cultural turn proposition coincided with the beginning of global changes in population movement, and led to an expanding body of research that considered translation in relation to gender, postcolonialism, censorship, and, more recently, global news reporting, internet advertising, and political discourse. What it also did was to shift attention towards broader ideological questions being discussed within postcolonial and gender studies, and central

⁷ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, ‘Introduction’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–13 (at p. 9).

⁸ Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, ‘Introduction: Proust’s Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The “Cultural Turn” in Translation Studies’, in Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (eds.), *Translation, History and Culture* (London: Pinter, 1990), pp. 1–13 (at p. 11).

to the study of travel writing, as well. In the introduction to an important collection of essays, *Translation and Power*, Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler point out that:

Translation is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. In these ways translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture.⁹

Tymoczko and Gentzler are here comparing translators to creative writers and to politicians, a proposition that marks another phase in the development of translation studies, which is increased focus on the role of the individual translator. Here too we can see a rapprochement between translation and travel writing, as the significance of the individual agent becomes more apparent. Where translation was once perceived as little more than a conduit through which a text passed unproblematically on its interlingual journey, or as a second-rate activity reliant on a bilingual dictionary, attention has shifted today onto the figure of the translator as agent of transformation. Translators, like travel writers, make choices: they have to decode the source text and then re-encode it in such a way that a new set of readers will be able to engage with it. Even a cursory glance at different versions of the same translated text show wide variations, which reflect decisions taken by translators and call into question old ideas about ‘faithfulness’ and ‘accuracy’. Here, as a brief example, are three very different English versions of the opening lines of one of the most famous medieval accounts of a (symbolic) journey, Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, some of the best-known lines in Italian poetry:

Midway this way of life we’re bound upon
I woke to find myself in a dark wood,
Where the right road was wholly lost and gone.

This is the Dorothy Sayers translation, published in 1949 in the Penguin Classics series, and selling some 50,000 copies in the first three months. Sayers opted for rhymed verse, in an effort to reproduce Dante’s *terza rima*, and used archaic language to signal that she was translating a medieval poem. What we can see here though, is that the emphasis on rhyme leads to some very odd choices. My literal translation of the Italian reads:

⁹ Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler, ‘Introduction’, in Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (eds.), *Translation and Power* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. xi–xxviii (at p. xxi).

In the midst of the journey/road of our lives
I found myself in a dark wood
where the straight way had been lost.

Sayers introduces the idea of waking up, which is not there in the Italian, and translates the single adjective *smarrita* (lost) as 'wholly lost and gone', making the wood the active agent of the sentence. Her translation is full of similar awkward solutions, though it stayed in print for decades. The translation by the Irish poet Ciaran Carson in 2002 reads very differently:

Halfway through the story of my life
I came to a gloomy wood, because
I'd wandered off the path, away from the light.

Carson has adapted the rhyme scheme, noting that *terza rima* 'cannot be accommodated with any comfort in the English language'; the imagery evoked is focused on the idea of walking through the dark wood, and the third line expands the metaphor, stressing the idea of darkness by the additional phrase 'away from the light'. Most significantly, Carson reminds us that this is one man's journey – 'my life . . . I came . . . I'd wandered', whereas Sayers introduces the universal 'we' and the first person singular only appears in the second line, as it does in the Italian.

Sayers's fifty-five-page scholarly introduction does not discuss her translation strategy at all and focuses on the content of the poem. Carson's brief introduction discusses the difficulties he found while translating Dante, and also the rationale for embarking on the project. He finds parallels between the warring factions in Dante's Florence and his native Belfast:

Natives of Belfast claim that they can tell each other's identities – Protestant or Catholic – by a combination of accent, vocabulary, clothes, hearing, gesture. The souls in Dante's Hell reveal themselves by a phrase, by body language: a nod, an eyebrow-twitch, the plucking of a garment. By these words, these accents, they epitomize their past lives.¹⁰

Translators as Travellers

Loredana Polezzi has examined what she sees as the complex relationship between travel and translation in her study of contemporary Italian travel writing in English translation, noting that both translation and travel writing are written for a home readership, sharing a similar function:

¹⁰ *The Inferno of Dante Alighieri*, trans. Ciaran Carson (London: Granta, 2002), p. xii.

Both are influenced, though not in a mechanistic fashion, by the norms and expectations operating in the target culture, both actually belong, as texts and as processes to that system, and potentially tell us as much about it as about the source culture and 'text' (which, in the case of foreign travel writing, is mostly identifiable with intercultural experiences, exchanges, dialogues, etc.).¹¹

Polezzi points out that both translations and travel texts are audience-specific, since the writers of both shape their material for the target reader. She also discusses the ambiguity around both translator and travel writer in that both create texts for readers who have to rely on the veracity of their versions, hence both demand trust from those readers. The reader of a translation probably has no access to the source language, while the reader of a travel account may have no direct knowledge of the environment being described in the narrative.

James Duncan and Derek Gregory identify another parallel between translation and travel writing, reminding us that just as translation can never reproduce the patterns of sound and sense of the source text, so 'the translation of one place into the cultural idiom of another loses some of the symbolic loading of the place for its inhabitants and replaces it with other symbolic values'.¹² In short, both travel writing and translation involve a conscious manipulation of material, whether that material exists as a written text in another language or whether it consists of an account of an individual's journey. Translation, as research demonstrates, is never an innocent activity; similarly, travel writing is a genre that exposes both explicit and implicit structures of power and knowledge.

In an essay on postwar travel writing, Peter Hulme draws attention to the significance of the personal dimension, noting the rise in importance of travel writing in the second half of the twentieth century, and pointing out, as noted above, that the huge global political and economic changes from the 1990s onwards have offered travel writers more opportunities to engage in what he calls a mixture of personal reportage and sociopolitical analysis.¹³ Similarly, one of the recent developments in translation studies has been a re-evaluation of the role of the translator as a (re)writer, and the proliferation of paratextual

¹¹ Loredana Polezzi, *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 82–3.

¹² James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 'Introduction', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds.), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1–13 (at p. 5).

¹³ Peter Hulme, 'Travelling to Write (1940–2000)', in Hulme and Youngs (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 87–101 (at p. 94).

material in the publication of contemporary translations reflects that shift of emphasis.

The Canadian scholar Sherry Simon, who has written extensively on bilingualism as well as on translation and gender politics, is someone whose work could equally be labelled as travel writing or as translation studies. She focuses on the way in which diverse linguistic communities interact in urban contexts, and in 2006 she published a book about her native city, *Translating Montreal*, subtitled *Episodes in the Life of a Divided City*. Simon explores the complex processes of daily negotiation for the inhabitants of a city which is crossed by what she terms a linguistic faultline. She also notes that the gradual movement of immigration and the absorption of other linguistic communities into the city beyond the long-established English and French language speakers of the two communities are leading to ongoing processes of identity redefinition, processes that inevitably involve translation. Simon has continued to explore aspects of multilingual cities, and followed her book on Montreal with *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* published in 2012. In her preface, she notes that the language divides that she had investigated in Montreal seemed to be becoming ever more porous, with the blending and merging of other, newer linguistic communities, and she contrasts this porosity with the situation in Nicosia, a city divided by a partition wall that splits the city's population into Greek and Turkish:

Walking this Mediterranean version of a distant North American street, I experience Nicosia as the catastrophe which Montreal might have become. Nicosia's landscape of ruins recalls the fragility of all cities, the ways in which their mixtures are vulnerable and provisional.¹⁴

This leads her to question what kind of exchange is possible if there is a dividing line, such as a partition wall, which restricts mobility. She finds her answer in the power and potential of translation. Translators, she suggests, are connecting agents, intermediaries, negotiators, and the history of conflict and of conflict resolution is intimately bound up with translation. Simon looks at translation and translators in four cities, each with complex multilingual histories: imperial Calcutta from 1800 to 1880, Trieste from 1850 to the end of the First World War, Barcelona between 1975 and 2000, and Montreal from 1940 to the present. Her aim is to look at how translators, including self-translators, have served to promote cultural renewal. A clash of

¹⁴ Sherry Simon, *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. xvii.

languages, in her view, can result in entanglements that are at the same time conflictual and yet productive: 'If modernity means that the very terms of knowledge or the values of aesthetics are revealed to be positional, then linguistically divided cities are privileged sites for the modern. Ideas and trends eye one another across the city, assess their belatedness, vie for timeliness.'¹⁵

In her chapter on Trieste, Simon looks briefly at the history of this multilingual city, situated at the northern tip of the Adriatic, a junction zone for Italian, Austrian, and Slavonic cultures. In the nineteenth century when Trieste was a major seaport of the Habsburg empire, German enjoyed the highest status as the language of political and administrative power. Nevertheless, there was resistance to total Germanisation, and during the struggle for Italian independence (finally achieved in 1870) there was growing antipathy to Austrian influence. To further complicate the picture, in addition to both Italian and German, the local version of Italian, Triestine, was, and still is, quite distinctive, while the peasants of the hinterland spoke a Slavic language that has since evolved into Slovene and Croatian. What this meant was that there was a hierarchy of languages in the city which shifted with changes to the political landscape. When Italy went to war against Austria in 1914, Italian rose in prominence as Trieste acquired a new symbolic significance on the front line, but the rise of Fascism in the 1920s changed the linguistic power landscape again. Slovene speakers had been seen as the bottom of the social pile, since Slovene was the language of servants and peasants, but after 1918 its status began to rise. Slovene publishing houses flourished for a few years, before Mussolini's government began a policy of Italianisation, when Slovene language and culture were banned, printing presses were burned, and Slovene writers and activists were imprisoned. Today, Slovene has risen in importance and coexists with Triestine and Italian, being seen and heard in shops and schools across the city, while German has disappeared.

Simon's exploration of translation in different multilingual cities expands the idea of translation from the verbal to broader cultural signs. She shows how different architectural styles were 'translated', assuming a hybrid significance in their own right. In Trieste, she points to the massive downtown buildings which 'exude the stolid self-confidence of Habsburg structures across Central and Eastern Europe', and which served to reinforce links created through commerce, industry, and the massive imperial

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

bureaucracy.¹⁶ In this way, she extends the boundaries of what has traditionally been considered as 'translation' to include the built environment and landscape of the city, and views the city as a whole as a translational space. Simon's work has been taken up by Federico Italiano in his *Geography and Translation*, where he argues for what he terms the 'spatial turn' in translation studies, which he maintains is 'probably the most consistent attempt to overcome the almost positivistic view of translation based on the illusion of linguistic equivalence in the transfer of meaning'.¹⁷ Italiano sees translation as a space in which meaning is constructed through the encounter of different cultures. We could equally say that travel writers construct their own version of what encounters with a particular space or set of spaces have come to mean to them.

Simon's chapter on Trieste is entitled 'Habsburg Trieste: Anxiety at the Border'. The travel writer Jan Morris's book on Trieste, published to coincide with her seventy-fifth birthday in 2001, is entitled *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere*. The cover expands on the implications of that sentence: it comprises a sepia-tinted photograph of the Triestine castle of Miramar from an unusual angle, that is, from across the bay behind it, rather than as it is usually shown, from the front or side-on. Above the castle and to the left are the two words 'of Nowhere', the first words we would see if we were to read from the top left-hand side across and down as we would expect to do. Below the castle on the right is the phrase 'and the Meaning', then below that on the left side the word 'Trieste'. A reading in the standard way would give us a deconstructed sentence: 'of Nowhere and the Meaning Trieste'. In much larger type is the name of the author. It is thus signalled that this is going to be an enigmatic and very personal book, which the Prologue confirms. Morris opens with a statement: 'I cannot always see Trieste in my mind's eye', then goes on to explain:

For me, Trieste is an allegory of limbo, in the secular sense of an indefinable hiatus. My acquaintance with the city spans the whole of my adult life, but like my life it still gives me a waiting feeling, as if something big and unspecified is always about to happen.¹⁸

Morris's theme is herself, her relationship with a city that she first encountered as a young soldier in 1945, at a time when she had not yet undergone the gender transformation that saw her change from James to Jan Morris in 1972.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁷ Federico Italiano, *Translation and Geography* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 5.

¹⁸ Jan Morris, *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001), p. 7.

Her concern as a writer is to portray a mood of the city, and that mood is one of melancholy and nostalgia. Everything she describes, whether conversations or buildings, reflects that mood:

The very sea of Trieste, although it lies beautifully beneath the hills, seldom seems to me a laughing sea . . . Trieste makes one ask sad questions of oneself. What am I here for? Where am I going? It had this effect on me when I was in my teens; now that I am in my seventies, in my jejune way I feel it still.¹⁹

The nostalgia that runs through the book is not for Trieste, however, but for an imperial past, in Morris's case, for the passing of the British empire. 'A lost England made me', she writes in her concluding pages; the world of her childhood and youth has vanished forever. This leads her to focus not so much on the politics of the decline and fall of the Habsburg empire (she endeavours to avoid politics as much as she can), but on some of the colourful personalities whose lives are intertwined with the city. She tells the story of the doomed Archduke Maximilian who built Miramar, and who met his end at the hands of a Mexican firing squad when another imperial adventure failed, and offers a sympathetic portrait of Isabel, the wife of Richard Burton who burned his manuscript translation of *The Perfumed Garden* after his death because she judged what he had described as his masterpiece to be a work of pornography. In Morris's sentimental version, Isabel's devotion to her husband is 'the prime Trieste love story'.²⁰ James Joyce is also mentioned, depicted as a drunken philanderer and seen through the eyes of his long-suffering wife, Nora. The passing reference to Italo Svevo is even more ambiguous:

Italo Svevo, who was born in 1861 and died in 1928, seemed to live a humdrum life in Trieste, first as an insurance clerk, then as an executive in the family paint and varnish factory. If we are to believe his novels, though, behind the bourgeois facade of the city seethed all manner of sexual passions.²¹

Even Morris, however, cannot wholly ignore the troubled political history of Trieste, or the Nazi atrocities, but every anecdote, whether personal or historical, is presented through a lens of nostalgia. She cannot avoid the Karst, the limestone area above the city where hundreds of victims were thrown down potholes while still alive in the 1940s, but chooses to focus on

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 65.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

²¹ Ibid., p. 121.

the living and on memorials to the dead. The tangled history of language politics and linguistic oppression is brushed over. But it is in the concluding pages that we discover the subterranean theme that Morris has been working through. Much of the book, she tells us, has been self-description:

I write of exiles in Trieste, but I have generally felt myself an exile too. For years I felt myself an exile from normality, and now I feel myself one of those exiles from time. The past is a foreign country, but so is old age, and as you enter it you feel you are treading unknown territory, leaving your own land behind. You've never been here before.²²

Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere is a kind of nostalgic memoir, in which the writer engages with growing old in a world that has changed almost beyond recognition since her/his childhood. Writing about Trieste the place is a means to an end, for the book is not about Trieste at all, the city is simply an excuse to write about feelings of loss and the transience of life. In this sense, Morris's book conforms to Paul Fussell's ideas about travel writing being a subspecies of memoir, a narrative that is distinct from fiction and yet claims validity by reference to actuality.²³ In contrast, Sherry Simon's chapter on Trieste, indeed her entire book, provides readers with ethnographic, historical, geographical, and linguistic information about various cities across the world, with an autobiographical thread stitching these all together. The classification of the one text as a work of travel writing, the other as a work of translation studies, exposes the fuzziness of categorisation boundaries here. Simon's work, like that of Federico Italiano, Michael Cronin, or Edward Genzler, suggests an uneasiness in labelling texts that cross genre boundaries in their engagement with self and Other, and with multilingual spaces.²⁴

Carl Thompson notes that travel writing 'has often been the focus of profound epistemological anxieties, as both writers and readers confront the difficult problem of distinguishing fact from fiction in the written text'.²⁵ A travel account is first and foremost a subjective and remembered version of a journey, so readers have to agree to accept that subjectivity. Sometimes, as in the case of Patrick Leigh Fermor's reconstruction in late middle age of a journey undertaken when he was a young man, readers have

²² Ibid., p. 186.

²³ Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

²⁴ See Michael Cronin, *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation* (Cork University Press, 2000); Edwin Genzler, *Translation and Identity in the Americas* (London: Routledge, 2008).

²⁵ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 29.

to suspend disbelief to journey with the author through a remembered Europe that has changed beyond all recognition. The final volume of Leigh Fermor's trilogy was completed posthumously by his biographer, and by another travel writer, Colin Thubron, thereby involving readers in a whole range of epistemological uncertainties.²⁶ At one point in the third volume, the elderly Leigh Fermor records an imagined conversation with his younger self, in which the two selves argue over the inadequacy of what the younger might have known in contrast with what the older self has since learned. It is a conceit that serves to remind readers of the instability of memory and the fuzzy boundary between autobiography, travel writing, and fiction.

We could expand Thompson's point, and say that translators and the readers of translations also encounter profound epistemological anxieties as they wrestle with ideas about the 'authenticity', 'accuracy', and 'veracity' of a text that has been transferred out of its original linguistic and cultural context. Until recently, much of the discourse about translation was shrouded in negativity, with emphasis on what was 'lost' in translation. Today, with the ongoing re-evaluation of the role of translation as a prime agent in intercultural textual transfer, also as a creative act of rewriting, that negativity is diminishing in frequency and importance. The use of translation by postcolonial theory as a metaphor for in-betweenness, for the state of exile in which migrant communities find themselves, has also helped to make translation more visible.²⁷

If, on the one hand, there have been debates about defining travel writing, on the other hand what is emerging in translation studies are debates about the boundaries and definitions of translation. In a chapter on border writing and the Caribbean, in *Translation and Identity in the Americas*, Edwin Gentzler reflects on the conditions of migrants and exiles caught between borders, languages, and national definitions, and asks how we might think of a culture in which there were no longer any centres, but only borders and how such

²⁶ Patrick Leigh Fermor undertook his journey in 1933, from the Hook of Holland to Constantinople at the age of eighteen. The first volume of the trilogy, *A Time of Gifts*, appeared in 1977, the second, *Between the Woods and the Water*, in 1986. Both were written from memory, as Leigh Fermor had lost his notes years earlier. The rediscovery of some of those notes led him to continue with a third book, but he died at the age of 96, with it still unfinished. Artemis Cooper and Colin Thubron continued editing the draft, and *The Broken Road* was published in 2013.

²⁷ See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Emily Apter, *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature* (Princeton University Press, 2006); Bella Brodzki, *Can These Bones Live? Translation, Survival, and Cultural Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2007).

a situation might change our definition of what translation is.²⁸ As definitions of translation grow ever broader, one question that arises, in consequence, is what is *not* translation. More recently, Gentzler has gone further, suggesting that this is an age of ‘post-translation studies’, where translation should be perceived as a precondition underlying the languages and cultures upon which communication is based, therefore as an ‘always-ongoing process of every communication’.²⁹

As noted earlier, both travel writing and translation are target-oriented, since both are aimed at a domestic readership, and this may serve as the framework within which to consider both modes of writing. Loredana Polezzi points out that both participate in the construction of identity and difference, and she highlights the additional layers of complexity when travel writing, written for one readership in one cultural context, is translated for a different readership. Travel writing is itself a form of translation, a point made also by Duncan and Gregory, who highlight the linguistic dimension: ‘In re-presenting other cultures and other natures, then, travel writers “translate” one place into another, and in doing so constantly rub against the hubris that their own language-game contains the concepts necessary to represent another language-game.’³⁰ With this in mind it is interesting to note that both Sherry Simon and Carl Thompson remind us of the significance of the figure of Hermes, god of travellers and of liars: a figure who is ‘messenger and trickster, trader and thief, Hermes is also a *hermeneut*: an inquiring mind, an interpreter of texts and a mediator across languages’.³¹ Simon also points out that another of Hermes’s functions was to ferry souls across to Hades, to act as the bearer of the formerly living to the realms of the dead, the ultimate act of translation.

As we have so often seen in the past, great sociopolitical changes have epistemological consequences. One example of such a major change today has been the rise in the global movement of people since the 1990s, and it is probable that the growing interest in translation and intercultural awareness is linked to the fact that millions more people than ever before in history have, for a variety of reasons, left their homelands and moved elsewhere, taking their languages and cultural baggage with them. Just as translation has grown in importance in an increasingly multilingual world, so too has

²⁸ Gentzler, *Translation and Identity*, p. 145.

²⁹ Edwin Gentzler, *Translation and Rewriting in the Age of Post-Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 5.

³⁰ Duncan and Gregory, ‘Introduction’, in *Writes of Passage*, p. 4.

³¹ Simon, *Cities in Translation*, p. xviii.

interest in both the consumption and the study of travel writing, for in both kinds of writing there is active engagement with Otherness. Travel writing is a shape-changing genre that has gone through all kinds of textual transformations as writers have catered for changing readerly expectations, and the diffusion of much travel writing, from Herodotus to Ryszard Kapuscinski, has been dependent on their works being translated, hence reshaped according to the demands of the target readership. Translation, too, has undergone an important shift, both in how translations are analysed within the academy, and in how attitudes to the creativity and independence of the translator are being revised. Today there seems to be a rapprochement between the study of travel writing and the study of translations, a timely development indeed in an increasingly multilingual, multi-ethnic world.

Travel Writing and Tourism

AGNIESZKA SOBOCINSKA AND RICHARD WHITE

While travel writing was arguably one of the earliest forms of writing, tourism, understood as travel primarily for pleasure, is generally considered a much later development, emerging in Britain in the eighteenth century. Yet very rapidly tourism and travel writing developed a symbiotic though often antagonistic relationship. From the early nineteenth century, travellers with literary pretensions sought to distinguish their experiences from those of mere tourists; at the same time tourists were defined in part by a particular form of travel writing – the guidebook – and by their enjoyment of a collective experience that more ‘literary’ travel writing increasingly derided.

Hierarchies of travellers that existed before the invention of the category of ‘tourist’ help explain the fraught relationship between travel writing and tourism. The two iconic forms of travel that preceded tourism proper were pilgrimage and the Grand Tour. They were sanctioned socially because each had an ostensible purpose that gave the undertaking a serious meaning – spiritual fulfilment or education. The traveller was meant to be morally or intellectually transformed by their journey. Pleasures enjoyed along the way were considered secondary, but in both cases debates sprang up around whether participants found their travels too pleasurable. Travel writing by both ‘true’ pilgrims and ‘real’ Grand Tourists asserted their moral superiority to those they condemned as frivolous, superficial, or incapable of appreciating the deeper meaning of travel. The traveller whose rationale was more self-indulgence than self-improvement became a figure of satire, from Chaucer’s Wife of Bath in *The Canterbury Tales* to the Grand Tour’s ‘macaronis’, aristocratic fops who toured Italy only to buy the latest fashion. The stereotype of the superficial traveller helped define the higher purpose of the journey.

As James Buzard has shown, the tourist/traveller distinction (and the word ‘tourist’ itself) emerged in the final years of the eighteenth century. It drew

heavily on the critique of the Grand Tour that developed in Britain during its eighteenth-century heyday.¹ Some critics had a nationalist impulse, believing young aristocrats could learn little useful on the continent.² Others feared that the Enlightenment credentials of the Grand Tour were being lost. If, following John Locke, knowledge was deemed to be rooted in experience and empirical observation, then too many Grand Tourists lacked the ability to see for themselves: they were, as Buzard put it, ‘the dupe of fashion, following blindly where authentic travellers have gone with open eyes and free spirits’.³ Furthermore, a new Romantic response began valuing originality and individuality over convention, also evident in new forms of autobiography dealing with ‘issues of selfhood’.⁴ Priding himself on his nonconformity was Sir Joseph Banks, one of Britain’s richest young men. Prior to joining James Cook’s first Pacific voyage in 1769, he allegedly said, when asked why he was not taking the Grand Tour befitting his status, that ‘Any blockhead can do that: my Grand Tour shall be around the whole world.’⁵ He proclaimed a shift in the rationale for travel as entertainment, from experiencing the expected to discovering the unexpected.⁶

This was not simply one-upmanship, though in travel and travel writing one-upmanship is often a sufficient motivation. Banks was pointing to a critical distinction between his aspiration and the Grand Tour’s essential conventionality. An aristocratic rite of passage meant certain itineraries and pursuits became obligatory. Journals of Grand Tours were somewhat repetitive: status lay in having done the conventional thing. James Boswell reported Samuel Johnson’s poignant reflection in 1776: ‘A man who has not been to Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see.’⁷ In contrast, Banks and others were beginning to proclaim the superiority of the unexpected. These more eccentric travellers would have portraits done, not in their finest clothes amidst the predictable symbolism of Pompeo Batoni, the Grand Tourist’s go-

¹ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture’, 1800–1918* (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 98–9; Fred Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 23–4.

² Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd edn (1992; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 166.

³ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 1.

⁴ Zoë Kinsley, ‘Travellers and Tourists’, in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 237–45 (at p. 239).

⁵ Edward Smith, *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks* (London: Bodley Head, 1911), p. 16.

⁶ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, ‘Introduction’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–13, (at p. 4).

⁷ James Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (1791; Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 742.

to painter, but in exotic costumes demonstrating the unconventionality of their travels: Banks in a Maori cloak, Boswell in a Corsican chief's outfit, Byron in an Albanian turban. This move to the unexpected coincided with the Romantic predilection for nature's wildness and sublimity over formality and symmetry.

From the late eighteenth century on, the Romantic preference for the unexpected worked its way into travel writing, where the stock figure of the tourist provided the essential counterpoint. A set of dichotomies congealed around the distinction between traveller and tourist: curious/complacent; adventurous/timid; authentic/inauthentic; active/passive; intellectual/superficial; inquisitive/gullible; spontaneous/predictable; independent/submissive; suffering/comfortable.⁸ Tourists moved in 'swarms' or 'herds'; the traveller travelled heroically alone.⁹ These cultural distinctions overlapped with socially constructed ones: tourists were stereotypically lower-class, female, provincial, or colonial. By the twentieth century, according to Lawrence Levine, culture more broadly had bifurcated around a high/popular distinction, but early glimmers of that divide can be seen in the hierarchies created by travel.¹⁰

The Tourist Guidebook as Travel Writing

The most obvious impact that the tourist had on travel writing was the evolution of the guidebook as a specialised genre. Though travellers had always used guides – even the most intrepid explorers sought advice from locals¹¹ – tourists' supposed dependence on guidebooks became a defining mark of their superficiality. Up until the tourist's arrival, Grand Tourists had access to dedicated continental guidebooks from the 1630s.¹² Travel writing conventionally included advice for those following in the author's footsteps. Richard Lassels's popular *Voyage of Italy* (1670) described 'the chief towns,

⁸ Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 3; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 123; Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 60.

⁹ Jonathan Culler, 'The Semiotics of Tourism', *American Journal of Semiotics*, 1/1–2 (1981), 127–40 (at p. 127).

¹⁰ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 232–3.

¹¹ Shino Konishi, Maria Nugent, and Tiffany Shellam (eds.), *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015).

¹² Giles Barber, 'The English Language Guide Book to Europe up to 1870', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (London: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), pp. 93–106 (at p. 95).

churches, monasteries, tombs, libraries, palaces, villas, gardens, pictures, statues and antiquities . . . with instructions concerning travel'.¹³ That advice became increasingly formalised: what to take, how to behave, what to see. This focus on useful information rather than the writer's experiences would come to distinguish a guidebook from other travel writing. The author's personality was curbed in favour of objectivity, convenience, clarity, reliability, and systematisation.

In the Enlightenment, practical usefulness was considered a virtue and attracted no particular criticism: comprehensive and reliable information was highly valued. Later the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie also valued the efficient use of time and practical arrangement. Their Protestant morality rebuked time-wasting, a sign of aristocratic degeneracy. With guidebook in hand, modern bourgeois travellers gained a sense of superiority from 'doing' the continent comprehensively and efficiently.¹⁴ Yet by the nineteenth century those guidebook virtues were also being derided by many travel writers.

One reason for this was the widening market for travel. Joining young aristocrats on the Grand Tour were professional men, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs, often travelling with family: they were not a leisured class.¹⁵ Leisure was increasingly defined as time away from work rather than the prerogative of one social class. Guidebooks recognised that these new travellers had limited time and prescribed its efficient use. And increasingly the infrastructure of travel – dedicated accommodation, agents, financial services, and above all railways – made shorter, more 'efficient' trips possible.¹⁶ New social and cultural distinctions were needed to maintain the aristocratic Grand Tour's exclusivity.

A second reason for deriding the guidebook was its association with the marketplace. As travel itself was commodified, the guidebook packaged information in an easily consumable product. Romantic travellers imagined themselves free of the taint of commerce; the guidebook was a reminder they were not. It became systematised, produced by specialist publishers,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁴ Rudy Koshar, "'What Ought to be Seen": Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33/3 (1998), 323–40 (at p. 327); Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (Stroud: Sutton, 2007), p. 178.

¹⁵ John Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12/3 (1985), 297–333 (at p. 310).

¹⁶ Laurent Tissot, 'How did the British Conquer Switzerland? Guidebooks, Railways, Travel Agencies, 1850–1914', *Journal of Transport History*, 16/1 (1995), 21–54 (at p. 22).

regularly updated, commercialising cultural knowledge for those who could not claim it as a birthright.

A major advance came with Mariana Starke's *Letters from Italy*, published in 1800. She sounded the death-knell of the true aristocratic Grand Tour by writing for middle-class families, telling them what to see and how to do it economically. Her particular innovation was to identify 'Objects Most Worth Notice' by marking 'the most celebrated with one or more admiration points, according to their merit' – that is, with one, two or three exclamation marks.¹⁷ This star system would become a fundamental feature of guidebooks. Her sex also heralded a major change: despite the fact that more and more women were travelling the continent in the eighteenth century,¹⁸ Grand Tourists were and often still are assumed to be male – their sisters were 'finished' in enclosed institutions, convents or Swiss schools. By 1800 it was clear women were travelling, with or without male protectors. The figure of the tourist, in contrast to the traveller, was feminised.

John Murray published Starke's next book, *Travels on the Continent* (1820), catering for the surge in continental travel that followed the end of war in 1815. His firm specialised in journals of exploration, popular among armchair travellers, becoming publisher to the Admiralty and to the Royal Geographical Society in 1831.¹⁹ Murray built on Starke to hone the guidebook genre for the middle-class tourist, publishing new editions and variants. The move into tourist guides might seem an odd departure, diluting the serious import and lofty reputation of the explorer's journal. Conventionally the despised tourist and the Romantic explorer are placed at the two ends of a spectrum, with the traveller somewhere in between;²⁰ but tourist and explorer share qualities that the traveller's focus on personal experience precludes: formality, objectivity, and an interest in accumulating facts. Starke downplayed her own connoisseurship, aiming instead to provide 'ample, and I hope correct Catalogues' of art, 'together with the opinions

¹⁷ Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy, between the Years 1792 and 1798*, 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1800), vol. 1, p. 188; Mariana Starke, *Travels on the Continent: Written for the Use and Particular Information of Travellers* (London: John Murray, 1820), p. x.

¹⁸ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 27ff.; Emma Gledhill, 'Travelling Trifles: The Souvenirs of Late Eighteenth-Century Female British Tourists', PhD thesis (Monash University, 2017).

¹⁹ Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 6.

²⁰ Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 38.

of Nardini, Venuti, Winckelmann, and Visconti'.²¹ Murray perfected the style, with its universalising 'we' rather than 'I', in his hugely successful 1836 'handbook' to the continent. Other handbooks followed, covering most of Europe over the next decade.²² They were revised and updated regularly, with readers recruited to the task. Murray added a note to Starke's *Travels*: 'Any Corrections, or suggestions for the improvement of this Work, will be thankfully received by the Publisher.'²³ Even then he was presaging the 'death of the author', the end result being the compendia of collective advice found in TripAdvisor and Lonely Planet.²⁴

Other publishers went even further downmarket, becoming increasingly terse and utilitarian. Francis Coghlan's short *Guide to France; or, Travellers their Own Commissioners* (1828) promised 'the cheapest and most expeditious system of travelling'.²⁵ His many further editions and 'hand-books', 'companions', 'pocket pictures', and 'miniature guides' covered the Continent as well as many British cities. Henry Gaze produced *Switzerland: How to See it for Ten Guineas* (1861) and over the next three years packaged *Paris, Holland and Belgium*, and *North Italy and Venetia* (five, seven, and fifteen guineas respectively – anticipating Frommer's 1957 *Europe on Five Dollars a Day*).²⁶ Later he conducted tours himself. Conversely Thomas Cook began with conducted tours – purposely and altruistically enabling a less affluent clientele to travel – and started publishing guidebooks only after 1866. Guidebooks were integral to the business of tourism.

Frenchman Adolphe Joanne began publishing Guides Joanne from 1841, transformed into Guides bleus from 1919, but the guidebook as utilitarian reference work reached its apogee with the German publisher Karl Baedeker. With no prospect of a pleasurable read, he offered more condensed detail on the practicalities of travel: routes, accommodation, transport, etiquette, and tipping. Beginning with an 1839 guide to the Rhine, Baedeker expanded rapidly, publishing English translations from 1861 and challenging Murray

²¹ Mariana Starke, *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent* (London: John Murray, 1828), p. 1.

²² Esther Allen, "'Money and the Little Red Books': Romanticism, Tourism, and the Rise of the Guidebook', *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory*, 7/2–3 (1996), 213–26 (at pp. 216–17).

²³ Mariana Starke, *Travels on the Continent*, 5th edn (London: John Murray, 1824), p. iv.

²⁴ Gillian Kenny, "'Our Travellers" out there on the Road: *Lonely Planet* and its Readers, 1973–1981', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 26/72 (2002), 111–19 (at pp. 115–16); Allen, 'Money and the Little Red Books', pp. 213–14.

²⁵ Barber, 'English Language Guide Book', pp. 103–4.

²⁶ *Paris: How to See it for Five Guineas* (1863), *Holland and Belgium: How to See them for Seven Guineas* (1864), and *North Italy and Venetia: How to See them for Fifteen Guineas* (1864).

for supremacy in the guidebook market by the 1880s.²⁷ Here was the fully-fledged guidebook stereotype, commanding, bland, anonymous, prescriptive, packed with detailed directions. To find oneself 'in Santa Croce with no Baedeker', as E. M. Forster's Lucy Honeychurch did, was meant to mark one's independence and openness to the unexpected.²⁸

'Travellers' and scholars alike often assume that tourists, trapped within a 'circle of representation', blindly followed guidebooks: that, lacking cultural capital, they only saw what they were told to see.²⁹ However, tourists varied: some perhaps were unquestioning but others were critical.³⁰ Indeed producers of guidebooks themselves liked to denigrate their predecessors from commercial self-interest.³¹ Most tourists, like most travel writers, enjoyed the frisson between the expected and the unexpected. Tourists claimed distinctiveness for their own experience, which literary travel writers often considered their own prerogative.

The stereotype of the tourist totally dependent on guidebooks also overlooks their rationale: to liberate readers from the 'guided tour' and the industry's many functionaries, making them more *independent* travellers.³² Indeed the term 'independent traveller' – so often associated with Lonely Planet's readership in the 1970s – was coined by Thomas Cook to describe travellers using their guidebooks and offices but not a courier or guide. That these tourists followed – independently – in the footsteps of many others did not diminish their personal sense of adventure. Many also preferred the more sociable collective experience;³³ travel writers' fetishising of solitary experience, while sneering at tourist 'hordes', could appear curmudgeonly.

Further we must not forget that tourists, 'mere' tourists, wrote voluminously: writing was always an essential part of leisure travel.³⁴ Much was self-published, but tourists' writing also extended to private letters and diaries, and later photograph captions, scripts for slide shows, and blogs.

²⁷ Jan Palmowski, 'Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England', in Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 105–31; Tissot, 'How did the British Conquer Switzerland?', pp. 26–7.

²⁸ E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 21.

²⁹ Olivia Jenkins, 'Photography and Travel Brochures: The Circle of Representation', *Tourism Geographies*, 5/3 (2003), 305–28 (at pp. 307–8).

³⁰ Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol: Channel View, 2016), pp. 43–4, 132ff.

³¹ Pieter François, 'If it's 1815, This Must be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide', *Book History*, 15 (2012), 71–92 (at pp. 71–2, 86–7).

³² Buzard, *Beaten Track*, pp. 72–5; Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), pp. 2, 9.

³³ Kinsley, 'Travellers and Tourists', p. 238.

³⁴ Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, p. 19.

The guidebook could be a stimulus to writing: the scribble in the margin that disagreed ('I wouldn't even give it one star!') or the write-up of a site, a restaurant, a hotel that the guidebook overlooked. The proliferation of the postcard after 1871, when a tourist first sent a souvenir postcard from Vienna, was another commodification of the tourist experience that stimulated a certain kind of writing; the message as likely to subvert as confirm expectations. In creating those expectations, the various manifestations of the tourist industry also produced 'travel writing' – using words to evoke place. Brochures and posters churned through the same language of travel; terms like 'picturesque' and 'sublime' lost all meaning.

Once we include the full range of 'travel writing', from literary travelogues to a line in a visitors' book or a slogan on a poster, the distinction between 'literary' travel writing and writing by and for tourists becomes rather porous. Contradictions abound. Both Charles Dickens and Henry James said harsh things about tourists and their guidebooks but both used Murray's guides. Australian travel writers Frank Clune and Colin Simpson subverted the literary genre by writing as tourists rather than travellers.³⁵ Early national tourism authorities commissioned some of the most lyrical travel writing.³⁶

And the guidebook itself was changing. Just when it reached its consummate form with Baedeker – satirised by 'traveller' writers – it became a more complex and variegated phenomenon. While the standard guidebook remained pre-eminent, other more specialised and more personalised works appeared. First, alongside the national handbooks, some guides catered for more geographically specific places – cities and regions – and for specialist interests.³⁷ Guides to nightlife, such as the 1871 *Gentlemen's Night Guide: The Gay Women of Paris and Brussels, etc.*, filled a particularly long-established niche. In the 1920s, Piper Verlag's series covering major European cities, *Was nicht im Baedeker steht*, specialised in what did *not* appear in Baedeker, while *The Negro Motorist Green Book* catered for African American tourists in the Jim Crow era from 1936. These still followed the conventions of the guidebook but, even in the late nineteenth century, standardisation had given way to considerable segmentation.

³⁵ Richard White, 'Armchair Tourism: The Popularity of Australian Travel Writing', in Toni Johnson-Woods and Amit Sarwal (eds.), *Sold by the Millions: Australia's Bestsellers* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), pp. 182–202.

³⁶ Richard White and Justine Greenwood, 'Australia', in Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 404–14 (at p. 408).

³⁷ Tissot, 'How did the British Conquer Switzerland?', p. 27.

Secondly, some guidebooks, while remaining true to the creed of utility and reliability, developed an idiosyncratic personality behind the advice, in contrast to Baedeker's anonymous objectivity. Hungarian Eugene Fodor enlivened the stuffiness of the stereotypical guide with humour and cultural comment in *On the Continent – The Entertaining Travel Annual* (1936), the first offspring of what became another travel empire. An especially distinctive guidebook voice was American Temple Fielding. *Fielding's Travel Guide to Europe* first appeared in 1948, downplaying sightseeing – 'most travelers don't give a damn about the sights' – in favour of hotel comfort, restaurants, and shopping. Refusing to overestimate his readership, he catered for 'routine American tourists' who 'didn't know where they were going or what they were going to do when they got there'.³⁸ He summed up Poland in 1952, for example, as 'No place for American tourists'; as for France, 'For thirteen centuries the French have offered the world a puzzling, provocative personality, as multiple and unpredictable as a psychiatric patient'.³⁹

Like most travel writing, guidebooks readily profess to sum up other cultures. By the nineteenth century, with the nation-state established as the dominant social organism, guidebooks were particularly adept at constructing and communicating national stereotypes. They produced the nation as a collectivity and alerted the tourist to its signs. If a guidebook encompassed several nations, each usually had a chapter to itself; if a guidebook considered regional differences, they were variations on an imagined national character.⁴⁰ It was as if at each border, the new nation appeared fully fledged.

Nations were also fashioned by guidebooks targeting the domestic market, sometimes overlooked by postcolonial tourism histories. In Britain, internal tours – and accompanying guidebooks – became popular when the French Revolution complicated Continental travel after 1789. William Gilpin published *Observations* on various regions of Britain between 1782 and 1804, teaching travellers to appreciate the picturesque. William Wordsworth popularised the Lakes District in his poetry and his 1810 guidebook. Elsewhere Guides Joanne, Baedeker and, in the USA from 1848, Daniel Appleton also

³⁸ Edwin McDowell, Obituary, 'Temple H. Fielding is Dead at 69: Wrote Guides on Travel in Europe', *New York Times*, 19 May 1983.

³⁹ 1952 edition, p. 297, cited in 'Fielding's Travel Guide to Europe (1952) – History, Culture and "Mad Men" Personified', <https://vintagebookfairy.wordpress.com/2013/03/16/fieldings-travel-guide-to-europe-1952-history-culture-and-mad-men-personified>.

⁴⁰ Koshar, 'What Ought to be Seen', p. 339. On national identity, travel, and guidebooks, note also Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Emilia Ljungberg, "'We Are a Travelling People': Tourism, Travel Journalism and the Construction of a Modern National Identity in Sweden', *Journeys*, 18/1 (2017), 107–25; and Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*.

produced often frankly patriotic and celebratory guidebooks for domestic tourists. Their patriotism morphed into 'See America First' and similar campaigns elsewhere from the 1920s.⁴¹

The emergence of the tourist guidebook liberated more literary travel writers from the need to cater for less experienced travellers following in their wake.⁴² They could focus instead on themselves. Self-consciously literary travel writing increasingly posited a Romantic traveller, travelling alone, needing no guide, communing with the 'authentic' other and pondering a uniquely individual response. Satirising the tourist helped define travel writers as superior travellers: Kimberley Healey even suggests that distinguishing themselves from tourists took priority over distinguishing themselves from foreigners.⁴³ The tourist as a butt of humour became a fixture.

But the tourist arguably exerted an even more potent influence on travel writing when absent. While many writers mocked tourists, others ignored them. Just as travellers avoided tourists in their photographs, travel writers portrayed their travels devoid of mundane reminders of home, modernity, and the mechanics of travel. Tourists were reminders of all three. The act of travel for many serious writers became an otherworldly immersion in the exotic, cut off from modern life. Heroically avoiding the increasingly insistent tourist presence, Robert Louis Stevenson was a crucial figure for literary travel. In 1876, long after steamships had created the day-tripper, he paddled around Belgium in a canoe; in 1878, as railways revolutionised tourism throughout Europe, he famously travelled with a donkey; in 1880, when grand tourist hotels mushroomed, he spent his honeymoon squatting in a derelict Californian mining camp.⁴⁴ Literary travel writing increasingly eliminated anything that smacked of tourism. If, as Dean MacCannell put it, the tourist stood for 'modern-man-in-general', emblematic of modernity's massification, inauthenticity, and commercialism,⁴⁵ then most travel writers looked backwards, valorising the premodern in a quest for authenticity.

⁴¹ Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 7–8.

⁴² Buzard, *Beaten Track*, pp. 48–50. François, 'If it's 1815, This Must be Belgium', pp. 79–80, suggests this was 'forced' on them but given Romantic sensibilities it was more likely a happy release.

⁴³ Kimberley J. Healey, *The Modernist Traveler: French Detours, 1900–1930* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), p. 20.

⁴⁴ Robert Louis Stevenson, *An Inland Voyage* (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1878); *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1879); *The Silverado Squatters: Sketches from a Californian Mountain* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883).

⁴⁵ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976; New York: Schocken, 1989), p. 1.

By the middle of the twentieth century they wondered if it was futile: 'we are all tourists now'.⁴⁶

The Age of Mass Tourism

The post-World War II period ushered in a new age of mobility. Air travel became faster and more affordable. First business, then leisure travellers benefited as airlines introduced cheaper 'tourist'-class services from the 1950s. The Jumbo Jet, introduced in 1970, led a surge in overseas travel: from 25 million international journeys made in 1950 to 277 million in 1980, to over a billion in 2015.⁴⁷

The acceleration in tourist travel meant that even exotic sites became conspicuously touristed. Frommer, Fodor, Michelin, Guide Bleu, along with Baedeker, were now big companies with wide reach, joined, from 1960, by the Let's Go series, produced by young Harvard students and aimed at younger travellers. Critics now raged against guidebooks as part of a broader cultural backlash against consumerism. Roland Barthes called them 'agents of blindness', presenting a homogeneous caricature of a culture rather than the complex whole.⁴⁸ (Barthes neglected the wider question of whether literary travel writing did this, too.) In 1961 American historian Daniel Boorstin lamented the disappearance of 'travellers in the old sense of the word . . . the tourist seldom likes the authentic (to him often unintelligible) products of the foreign culture; he prefers his own provincial expectations'. Even worse, guidebooks had 'provided the natives – from Kaiser Wilhelm down to the villagers of Chichcastenango – with a detailed and itemised list of what is expected of them and when. These are the up-to-date scripts for actors on the tourists' stage.'⁴⁹ By the 1960s, the proliferation of tourists and guidebooks served as a sign of modernity's threat to cultural authenticity.

The critique of tourism held a special place within the 1960s counter-culture. Travel – and continuing debates about right and wrong ways of encountering cultural difference – helped define the younger generation. The iconic Hippie Trail cut through Turkey and the Middle East to India

⁴⁶ Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ World Tourism Organization, *Tourism Highlights Edition 2010* (Madrid: UNWTO, 2010), p. 2; World Tourism Organization, *Tourism Highlights Edition 2015* (Madrid: UNWTO, 2015).

⁴⁸ Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower, and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1979).

⁴⁹ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image, or, What Happened to the American Dream* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), pp. 77, 117.

and Nepal, and onwards to Thailand and Bali. For the counterculture, it promised an authenticity that had vanished in the West and was rapidly disappearing elsewhere. Australian countercultural enfant terrible Richard Neville saw it as a 'final inspection of the bits between encroaching petrol stations, Wimpy bars and Hiltons; a last look at tribal and kinship communities before they are uprooted from cheerful complacency, and their members re-planted beside the conveyor belt'.⁵⁰

Their quest was defined as much by a rejection of the stereotyped tourist as of home. Yet ironically, many novice overlanders depended on guidebooks, which directed them to the most 'authentic' experiences. Guidebooks to the Hippie Trail became prized commodities. Cheap university booklets or roneoed manuscripts were the first to proffer advice on the best crash pads and cheapest bhang in Kabul, but the 1973 release of a flimsy, cardboard-bound manual called *Across Asia on the Cheap* heralded the arrival of the alternative guidebook. Self-published by Tony and Maureen Wheeler, Britons who settled in Australia after travelling the Hippie Trail, the booklet quickly sold through its initial 1,000-copy run and further editions in 1975, 1977, and 1979. By 1985, Lonely Planet had a stable of thirty-three titles and, by catering for 'travellers not tourists', became the world's biggest-selling guidebook publisher.⁵¹ Other purportedly 'alternative' publishers also appeared: Le Guide Routard (founded in 1973), Bradt (1974), and Rough Guides (1982).

'Alternative travel' was now a market segment, defined largely by travellers' insistence on their independence. 'Alternative' guidebooks co-opted literary travel writers' heroic conceits and adventurous style, tutoring readers to avoid tourists and seek out the unexpected. Two additional defining characteristics are important. First, from Let's Go on, these guidebooks were aimed at the young. In 1800 Starke had shifted the emphasis from the young aristocrat to the middle-aged traveller, but now there was a return to youth as young Westerners embarked on their own Grand Tours. Secondly, while Let's Go remained Eurocentric (it only reached Mexico in 1985 and India in 1997), Lonely Planet and others made a decisive break in the 1970s, defining 'real' travel as finding ever more out-of-the-way and unexpected destinations.

Alternative publishers competed to publish the first guidebooks to new, 'undiscovered' (hence more 'authentic') tourist destinations. The whole world was opened to the 'tourist gaze'. As John Urry suggests, guidebook

⁵⁰ Richard Neville, *Play Power* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970).

⁵¹ Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *Once While Travelling: The Lonely Planet Story* (Camberwell, Vic.: Viking Press, 2005), p. 196.

authors were among the most influential 'professional experts' constructing tourists' expectations of a destination, which then alchemise into their experience.⁵² Lonely Planet took on the role of cultural broker, a silent but omnipresent mediator making the unknown knowable.⁵³

Yet alternative guidebooks were surprisingly similar in content (if not tone) to the Baedekers and Frommers they mocked. Sections on bargaining in *Across Asia on the Cheap* matched those in Baedeker, discussing general laws ('the less sophisticated the seller and the goods, the lower should be your starting price') and what fraction of the opening price should be offered (and accepted) in various nations. As in Fielding's guides to postwar Europe, a detailed survey of the black market gave legally dubious advice on what to smuggle and who to bribe (for Fielding it was business; for Lonely Planet's readers, smuggling helped fund their travels). Less conventional was Lonely Planet's section on 'dope', which was longer than the section on food.⁵⁴

Moreover, the status economy of alternative travel, privileging tight budgets and underdeveloped destinations, left many novices engaging with the same philosophical dilemmas that literary travel had pondered for a century. What, for example, were the ethics of bargaining or the most authentic mode of travel? Guidebooks stepped in with advice, not only on what to see, but on how to behave. *Across Asia on the Cheap* instructed readers that they owed it to fellow travellers to bargain hard, and declared public transport 'the most genuine way to travel'.⁵⁵ Ironically, despite the rhetoric about independence and non-conformity, the countercultural cool associated with alternative travel meant that many 'alternative' travellers, readier than most to question conventional guidebooks, happily called Lonely Planet guidebooks their 'bible'.

Unlike the Baedeker stereotype, authors' subjectivities were an essential part of the alternative guidebook formula. Lonely Planet authors often acquired a cult following. Following the house style, they used a casual, wry, and world-weary tone, directly addressed to readers who eagerly identified as 'travellers not tourists'. They were not objective narrators but shoestring gurus who held the secret to authentic travel. They inspired a close, almost emotional, identification among their readers, who relied

⁵² John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2002), p. 1.

⁵³ Deborah P. Bhattacharyya, 'Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24/2 (1997), 371–89.

⁵⁴ Tony Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap: A Complete Guide to Making the Overland Trip with Minimum Cost and Hassles* (Sydney: Lonely Planet, 1973), pp. 14–15.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

on them not only to guide the way but to validate their personae as ‘real’ travellers. Thousands of letters written to Lonely Planet during the 1980s and 1990s echoed the house style and addressed the authors as old friends.⁵⁶

In Lonely Planet’s eyes at least, ‘real’ travellers were men. Women did not fit easily into the rough and ready culture of the road, which borrowed from Romantic and colonial-era models of masculine adventure. One of the overlanders’ mottos ran ‘Leave the Chicks at Istanbul’. Although many alternative travellers were women, guidebooks routinely addressed a male readership. That doesn’t mean that women weren’t travelling. Many were, and their journeys were often as exciting and ‘authentic’ as those of their male counterparts.⁵⁷ However, their journeys rarely made it into guidebooks: it is telling that *Across Asia on the Cheap*, written by Tony and Maureen Wheeler following a shared journey, appeared under Tony’s name alone.

Shifting the Gaze

Much of this chapter has concerned two centuries when Westerners dominated the tourism market. As the twentieth century ended however, the locus of tourist power moved steadily east. Japanese tourists began to explore the world in large numbers in the 1980s; thirty years later, the Chinese government relaxed its regulations on outbound tourism and by 2012, the Chinese had become the world’s top tourism spenders, with 100 million travelling overseas.⁵⁸ Publishers have been eyeing the market, but the question remains whether Chinese travellers will accept Western guidebooks, produce their own, or spell the death of the guidebook altogether. At the heart of this lies a further question, whether the literary explorations of travel and tourism described in this chapter can accommodate the meanings Chinese tourists ascribe to their journeys.

Emerging from its own distinct genealogy, Chinese travel can take a different tone from Western-centric tourism, which flows on to travel writing and guidebooks.⁵⁹ Many first-time tourists prefer the predictability

⁵⁶ See Records of Lonely Planet Publications, 1980–1991, National Library of Australia, NLA MS 8952.

⁵⁷ Penny Warner-Smith, ‘Dollybirds of Passage: The Rise and Rise of the Independent Woman Traveller’, in Brad West (ed.), *Down the Road: Exploring Backpacker and Independent Travel* (Perth: Curtin University of Technology, 2005), pp. 57–70.

⁵⁸ World Tourism Organization, *The China Outbound Travel Market – 2012 Update* (Madrid: UNWTO, 2013).

⁵⁹ Wolfgang Georg Arlt and Peter M. Burns, ‘Chinese Outbound Tourism Market’, *Tourism Planning & Development*, 10/2 (2013), 123–5; Beverley Sparks and Grace

and convenience of a guided tour, and depend more on a human guide than a written guidebook. But increasingly Asian tourists are taking to backpacking and other forms of independent travel, and are as eager as anyone for information about accommodation, sights, eating, and shopping – although globalisation is steadily eradicating some of the novelty of shopping overseas.⁶⁰ Like many others, then, Chinese travellers – more than half according to one study – routinely use guidebooks.⁶¹

The stock figure of Chinese tourists – trailing en masse behind the fitting flag of a Mandarin-speaking tour guide – has become a stereotype, replacing the women or brash colonials of the nineteenth century, or the Japanese tourists of the 1980s. In 2013, a different kind of guidebook, a sixty-four-page etiquette manual aiming to tame Chinese tourists abroad, was released by the Chinese government, worried their citizens' uncouth behaviour could damage national prestige. The guidebook contained generic advice – be polite, don't force people to pose for photographs, don't leave footprints on toilet seats – and specific advice for particular countries: don't touch other people's heads in India, don't click at waiters in Germany, women in Spain should always wear earrings.⁶² While the Chinese were perhaps more cautious about giving offence than their Western counterparts, the guidebook's role in prescribing appropriate behaviour has always been a useful, if occasionally enigmatic, contribution to cross-cultural understanding.

Over three centuries, tourism has attracted the attention – and ire – of professional writers. But the digital age threatens the primacy of the author.⁶³ In online travel portals – in China as in the West – the voices proffering advice and expertise have multiplied exponentially. Rather than a carefully curated selection of hotels and restaurants from a publisher promising reliability and authority, travel websites, particularly those that crowd-source reviews, such as Ctrip and TripAdvisor, are an information bazaar, a free-for-all of clashing opinions and rankings. TripAdvisor started in 2000 and launched a Chinese

Wen Pan, 'Chinese Outbound Tourists: Understanding their Attitudes, Constraints and Use of Information Sources', *Tourism Management*, 30/4 (2009), 483–94.

⁶⁰ See Ganghua Chen, Jigang Bao, and Songshan (Sam) Huang, 'Segmenting Chinese Backpackers by Travel Motivations', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 16/4 (2014), 355–67; Chin-Ee Ong, 'The Post-Mao Gazes: Chinese Backpackers in Macau', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39/2 (2012), 735–54; Peggy Teo and Sandra Leong, 'A Postcolonial Analysis of Backpacking', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33/1 (2006), 109–31.

⁶¹ Sparks and Pan, 'Chinese Outbound Tourists', p. 490.

⁶² 'China's New Guide to "Civilised Tourism"', *Daily Telegraph* (UK), 2 October 2013, www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/10348977/Chinas-new-guide-to-civilised-tourism.html.

⁶³ World Tourism Organization, *China Outbound Travel Market – 2012 Update*, p. xv.

version, daodao.com, in 2009; by 2016, its database boasted 320 million reviews of 6.2 million discrete businesses. While reviewers rarely make claims to status as 'real' travellers or otherwise, it seems that tourists have become increasingly sophisticated in sorting out what they want to believe from what they don't.⁶⁴ And again, tourism has become emblematic of broader debates about culture, particularly the ongoing tension between the elite and the mass. Roland Barthes wrote of the death of the author. Perhaps tourist literature has been the canary in the mine, foretelling a crowd-sourced literary future.

⁶⁴ Raffaele Filieri, Salma Alguezaui, and Fraser McLeay, 'Why do Travellers Trust TripAdvisor? Antecedents of Trust towards Consumer-Generated Media and its Influence on Recommendation Adoption and Word of Mouth', *Tourism Management*, 51 (2015), 174–85.

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