

The Habsburg Empire Under Foreign Eyes:
Experiences and Encounters of Nineteenth-Century
Travellers, c. 1815-1869

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
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Abstract

In his seminal 1994 study *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Larry Wolff argued that Eastern Europe was created in the Enlightenment era and conceptualised along a dividing line stretching from Szczecin at the Baltic to Trieste at the Adriatic. This line would have divided the Habsburg Empire in eastern and western halves.

This thesis asks how British and German travellers perceived the Habsburg Empire in the period between 1815 and 1869, when, according to Wolff, the division must have already been established.

By analysing published travelogues it is possible to gain a better understanding of where these travellers located ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern Europe’ but also to examine the existence of other spatial concepts such as ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern Europe.’ Methodologically, this study ties together the concepts of transnational history since the travellers under examination ventured abroad, and comparative history due to the focus on two distinct groups, as well as spatial history in the form of mental maps.

The thesis argues that based on the analysis of travelogues it seems that there was no coherent view on the Habsburg Empire as being situated in ‘Eastern Europe.’ Rather, the travellers seemed to have applied a ‘fragmented view’, singling out and assessing various regions of the Empire differently. Yet, for most travellers the ‘East’ was not found within the Habsburg Empire but rather beyond its frontiers, particularly at the border to the Ottoman Empire. Simultaneously, it seems that the European division between ‘North’ and ‘South’ was far from over and particularly emphasised by those who engaged with the concept of Germany. Based on these results, the thesis argues that instead of assuming that the division of Europe changed from North-South to East-West, we should regard both spatial discourses in parallel, but with varying intensity.

Preliminary notes

Over the course of the last two centuries the political map of Europe changed considerably. New independent political entities were formed while others vanished. While territories could expand or decrease considerably, the importance of language added another arena of dispute. The name of a place is never an innocent, objective denominator but expresses power relations. The historian is in a delicate situation. On the one hand anachronisms need to be avoided but on the other hand today's situation cannot be disregarded. By far most of the sources analysed for this study in both languages, English and German, employed German nomenclature – Brünn instead of Brno, Agram instead of Zagreb. Therefore, the German designations are used throughout the following pages. But, in order to account for today's situation and to ease orientation, their modern names and geopolitical locations are added in brackets. In the examples above: Brünn [Brno, Czech Republic], Agram [Zagreb, Croatia]. However, in order to not overburden the text, I have excluded places where an established English name exists, such as Prague and Krakow or where the German name is still in use, as in most of modern-day Austria. For the same reason, I refer to Budapest instead of Ofen [Buda, Hungary], Pest or Óbuda – the three cities that merged into that city in 1873 – and to Constantinople rather than Istanbul.

Similar complications arise in regard to the name of the territories under Habsburg sway. Terming them 'Austrian Empire' might be technically correct; after all the title was created in 1804. But its usage would disguise internal debates, for instance if the Kingdom of Hungary formed part of this Empire. Examining the sources does not reveal an uncontested solution either, since the term was used in at least three distinct ways. Besides referring to the whole entity, often used in discussions of foreign policy issues, 'Austria' could also denominate the crownlands of Upper and Lower Austria, sometimes but by no means always, signified with the affix 'proper.' Not very common, but in a few instances observable, it was used to describe the predominantly German-speaking parts. A last implication are the term's modern associations with a German-speaking, alpine country at the centre of Europe – associations that hardly fit the entirety of

the realm. ‘Austria-Hungary’ and the unofficial appellations of the then separate halves, ‘Trans- and Cisleithania’, only fit the post-1867 situation at the very end of the period this study addresses. Given these considerations I have opted to mainly utilise the term ‘Habsburg Empire.’ Although this can be problematised as well, it is, in my view, the best option to highlight its entirety, without favouring any part. This is also in line with very recent scholarship. Pieter M. Judson, for instance, called his general history *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*.¹

The main source of this study are published travel accounts by British and German-speaking travellers from outside the Habsburg Empire. On the following pages I will mainly refer to the latter group as ‘German travellers.’ Although I am aware of the ambiguities that come with this term, I am also convinced that the text is thus less unwieldy and easier to follow. If not stated otherwise, the traveller’s biographical background is either obtained from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* or the *Deutsche Biographie*.

¹ Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, 2016).

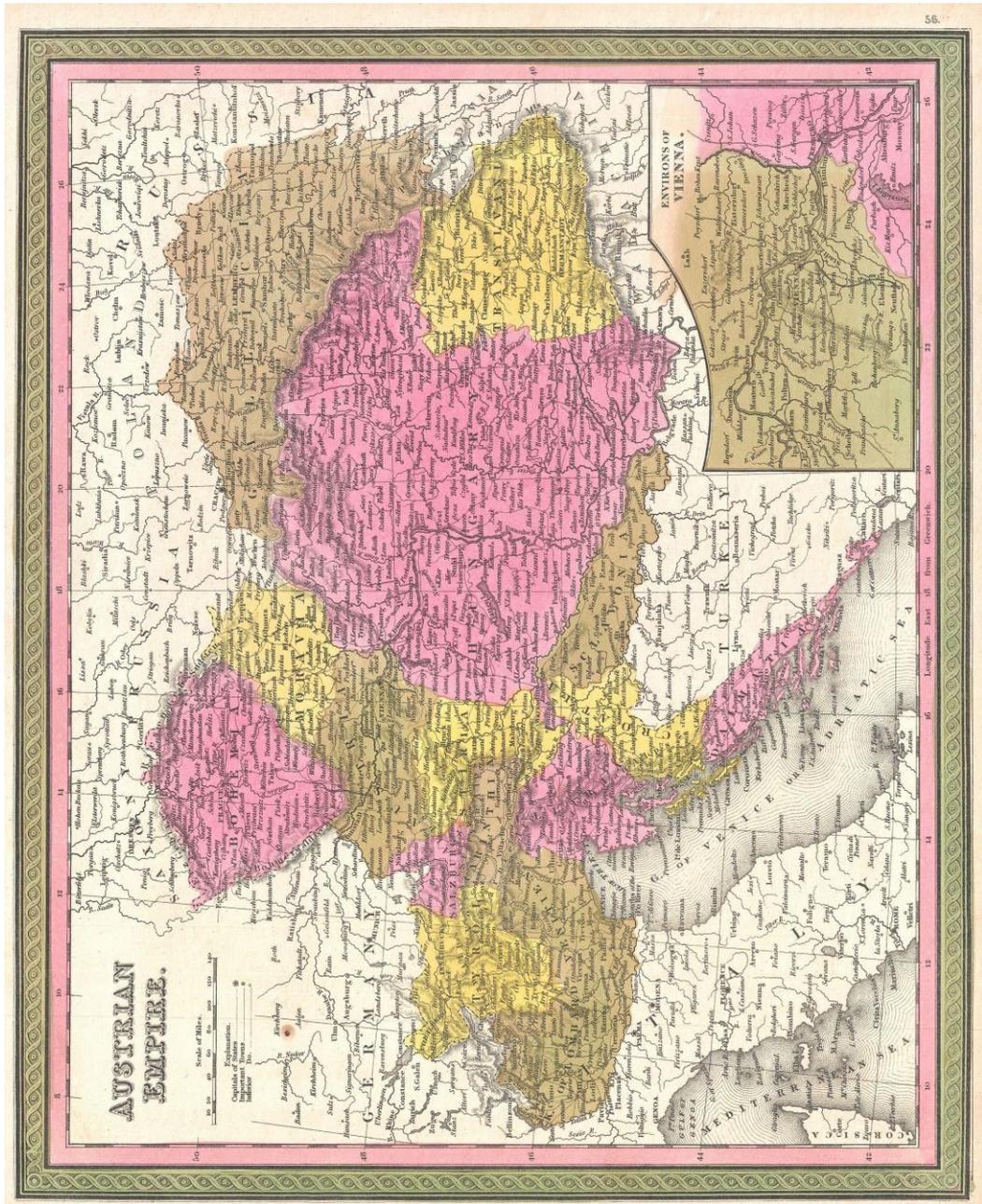


Figure 1 The Habsburg Empire in 1849

Source: Samuel Augustus Mitchell, 'A new Universal Atlas Containing Maps of the Various Empires, Kingdoms, States and Republics of the World' (Philadelphia, 1849), [https://www.loc.gov/item/map46000376/\[18/02/17\]](https://www.loc.gov/item/map46000376/[18/02/17].).

Introduction

I cannot deny the personal component of this study. About ten years ago I decided to venture on my first self-organised trip abroad. A group of friends was promptly convinced and the destination of choice soon found: Prague, the Golden City, capital of the Czech Republic. From a geographical point of view the itinerary was clear. I sallied forth from a small town on the Bavarian-Upper Austrian border, travelled eastward to Linz and met up with a fellow traveller to board the train up north. Unknowingly to us, we retraced the itinerary of a few of the travellers I would research for this thesis. The other half of our group started out from Vienna, following, unbeknownst to them, the beaten track of early nineteenth-century travellers to this corner of Europe by moving northwest. Yet, when we finally met each other at Prague's main railway station, we all arrived in the 'East.'

It took several years of study to vaguely grasp what happened back then. My mental map showed severe discrepancies to Europe's actual, geographic outline. The fuel that drives this study is the desire to explore this tension further by applying an historical angle to nineteenth-century travellers. This means in particular to examine the dynamic behind the evolution of the European East-West division and thus gain a deeper understanding of modern Europe. However, as it soon turned out, this was not the sole European dividing line travellers encountered. Little by little complexities became clearer.

It became evident that in the early-nineteenth century, thinking in terms of North-South relations all but vanished. This is in line with recent research that increasingly focuses on conceptualised spaces beyond Eastern Europe.²

² Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, 'The Theory of Climate and the North in Anglophone Literatures', in Sverrir Jakobsson (ed.), *Images of the North: Histories-Identities-Ideas* (Amsterdam and New York, 2009), pp. 25-49. Riccardo Bavaj and Martina Steber (eds.), *Germany and 'the West': The History of a Modern Concept* (New York and Oxford, 2015). Patricia Hertel, Martin Baumeister and Roberto Sala, 'Zwischen Zentren und Peripherien: Vorstellung von Westeuropa in Expertendiskursen der Nachkriegszeit', *Comparativ*, 25 (2015), pp. 7-17. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk and Martina Winkler (eds.), *Der Süden: Neue Perspektiven auf eine europäische Geschichtsregion* (Frankfurt/Main, 2007). Peter Fjågesund, *The Dream of the North: A Cultural History to 1920* (Amsterdam, 2014). Roberto M. Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)* (Durham and London, 2007). Philipp Ther, *Die neue Ordnung auf dem alten Kontinent: eine Geschichte des neoliberalen Europa*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 2016), pp. 257-283.

Space, politics, time – all of these issues were on the travellers' minds and therefore had an impact on their perceptions. In the following sections the guiding research questions and methodological considerations that serve as the base for this study are outlined, followed by a brief overview of the thesis' chapters.

1.1 Space and Mental Maps

This study's underlying research question is how British and German-speaking travellers, from outside the Habsburg Empire, perceived it in the period between 1815 and 1869. Perception is hereby understood as “[t]he mental product or result of perceiving something.”³ What travellers experienced, observed, saw or heard was turned into a travelogue, but it was also the basis for further engagement. This is where the main interest of this study lies.

But why the Habsburg Empire? Why the nineteenth century? Why travellers? A crucial element regarding the research question is found in the concept of mental mapping. Thus, before expounding the necessary qualifications, this concept needs to be addressed.

The term mental map was first introduced by psychologist E. C. Tolman in 1948, but was developed in the 1970s, particularly in a study by geographer Roger M. Downs and psychologist David Stea.⁴ They defined it as “a person's organised representation of some part of the spatial environment...It reflects the world as some person believes it to be; it need not be correct.”⁵ The authors emphasised that a mental map is “something that stands for the environment, that portrays it, that is both a likeness and a simplified model, above all a mental image in a person's brain.”⁶ In other words, mental maps allow us to deal with the complex reality by means of generating a simplified image, just as maps simplify geographic reality to visualise it.

³ Oxford English Dictionary Online, ‘Perception’, 09.2005,

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/140560?redirectedFrom=perception-eid>[20/01/17].

⁴ Roger M. Downs and David Stea, *Maps in Minds: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping* (New York, 1977). Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, ‘Mental Maps. Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 28 (2002), p. 494. Downs and Stea use the term ‘cognitive map’ synonymously.

⁵ Downs and Stea, *Maps*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

While first studies focused on urban areas and personal mental maps,⁷ humanities-based approaches in a variety of fields have shifted the focus to social groups. The main interest is therefore “die imaginierte Unterteilung von Räumen, die den wenigsten Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaft aus eigener Anschauung vertraut sind.”⁸ Thus, group perception of conceptualised spaces such as the ‘Orient’ or ‘Eastern Europe’ were increasingly questioned and discussed.⁹

The publication of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* in 1978 was a pivotal moment in terms of new perspectives on spaces. Its influence can hardly be overstated. His analysis, based on Michel Foucault’s ideas of discourse analysis, examined in particular British and French attitudes towards ‘the Orient.’¹⁰ The backdrop of his analysis was the acknowledgement of a binary opposition of ‘the West’ and ‘the Orient’, whereupon the former adopts positive connotations, such as civilisation and progress, while oppositional terms, such as barbarism and backwardness, are attached to the latter. In his introduction Said wrote: “The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, hunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.”¹¹ From there he expanded: “Therefore as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other.”¹²

Said faced fierce responses and criticism. On the one hand, imprecision in the delimitation of the space ‘Orient’ was remarked. While his geographical focus

⁷ David Ley, ‘Mental Maps/Cognitive Maps’, in Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts and Sarah Whatmore (eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed. (Oxford, 2009), p. 455.

⁸ Schenk, ‘Mental Maps’, p. 495.

⁹ It must be stressed, however, that the constructed nature of spaces was not universally accepted. In the late 1990s an intensive discussion between Holm Sundhaussen and Maria Todorova targeted the question if ‘the Balkans’ can be defined along empirical features. Holm Sundhaussen, ‘Europa balcanica: Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 25 (1999), pp. 626-653. Maria Todorova, Jürgen Scheunemann and Stephanie Warnke, ‘Der Balkan als Analyse-kategorie: Grenzen, Raum, Zeit’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 28 (2002), pp. 470-492. Holm Sundhaussen, ‘Der Balkan: Ein Plädoyer für Differenz’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 29 (2003), pp. 608-624. Maria Todorova, ‘Spacing Europe: What is a Historical Region?’, *East Central Europe*, 32 (2005), pp. 59-78.

¹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp. 1, 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

was on the Levant and Islam as well as Judaism denoting a religious boundary, the term's meaning expanded over time, eventually incorporating even Southeast Asia.¹³ On the other hand, he was criticised for inconsistencies. For instance, although he mentions Orientalists who advanced nuanced interpretations, these voices do not fit into his homogenising understanding of the Orientalist discourse.¹⁴

Arguably, the gravest problem arises from his monolithic and homogeneous understanding of both 'Orient' and 'Occident' that does not allow for nuances and inconsistencies within the dominant discourses.¹⁵ As Lisa Lowe argued: "The binary opposition of Occident and Orient is thus a misleading perception which serves to suppress the specific heterogeneities, inconsistencies, and slippages of each individual notion."¹⁶ Nevertheless, his publication sparked an intense debate and engagement.

Edward Said never used the terms mental or cognitive maps and instead called it 'imaginative geography', but since he was focussing on spatial terms his work can be interpreted within the framework of mental maps.¹⁷ On the one hand, his goal was to unmask the 'Orient' as a construction. On the other hand, this artifice is imbued with a moral dimension, present in connotations, imagery and stereotypes. Said did not observe a 'neutral' Orient but a backward, mystic, pre-modern Orient. This takes the original impetus of mental maps, namely to understand how spaces are constructed, a step further by stressing the moral dimension attached to them.

¹³ Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), p. 47. Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca and London, 1991), p. 7.

¹⁴ Bart Moore-Gilbert, Gareth Stanton and Willy Maley, 'Introduction', in Bart Moore-Gilbert, Gareth Stanton and Willy Maley (eds.), *Postcolonial Criticism* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 24-25.

¹⁵ Lowe, *Terrains*, pp. 1-9. Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle and London, 2007), pp. 48-56.

¹⁶ Lowe, *Terrains*, p. 7.

¹⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 49.

Inspired by Said's work, the divisions within Europe increasingly came under scrutiny. Attention focused in particular on the concepts 'Eastern Europe'¹⁸ and 'the Balkans.'¹⁹ But also the Habsburg Empire was examined in another light.²⁰

One work that received particular attention was Larry Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe*. Published in 1994, it facilitated considerable debate and remains standard reading for students of Eastern European history. Wolff was more explicit about mental maps but nonetheless used the term in only very few instances.²¹

In his argument, Said's influence is clearly distinguishable:

It was Western Europe that invented Eastern Europe as its complementary other half in the eighteenth century, the age of Enlightenment. It was also the Enlightenment, with its intellectual centers in Western Europe, that cultivated and appropriated to itself the new notion of 'civilization', an eighteenth-century neologism, and civilization discovered its complement, within the same continent, in shadowed lands of backwardness, even barbarism.²²

Just like Said's 'Orient', Wolff's 'Eastern Europe' is one half of a pair of binaries; its counterpart being Western Europe. The core of his argument is that in the Enlightenment era the dividing line within Europe shifted from North-South to East-West. Consequently the (Western European) intellectual elite constructed Eastern Europe as Western Europe's negative, oppositional counterpart. As Wolff explained: "The Enlightenment had to invent Western Europe and Eastern Europe together, as complementary concepts, defining each other by opposition and adjacency."²³ Thus both spaces are constructed in a unified, coherent and homogenous manner.

¹⁸ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).

¹⁹ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford, 2009). Milica Bakić-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia', *Slavic Review*, 54 (1995), pp. 917-931.

²⁰ Robert Lemon, *Imperial Messages: Orientalism as Self-critique in the Habsburg Fin de Siècle* (Rochester, 2011). Johannes Feichtinger (ed.), *Habsburg postcolonial: Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (Innsbruck, 2003). Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (eds.), *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa: Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld, 2014).

²¹ Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 4, 6, 14, 15, 195, 261.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

However, Wolff did not focus on the term 'Eastern Europe', which hardly appears in contemporary sources, but instead utilised 'civilisation' and its counterpart 'barbarism' as the verbal designation of Eastern Europe.²⁴ Put hyperbolically, the term 'Eastern Europe' is substituted by 'barbarism.' This, however, is problematic. His main argument is most convincing if 'civilisation' is only found in the 'West' while its counterpart 'barbarism' only in the 'East.' Due to the lack of a comparative element it remains unclear if 'barbarians' might have been found in Western Europe as well, as other studies suggest.²⁵ Jürgen Osterhammel points at another issue regarding the term. 'Civilisation' is fundamentally without a locality and therefore not traceable on a map.²⁶ If, however, the lack of 'civilisation' is not the exclusive marker of Eastern Europe, then it has to be questioned whether this region was indeed constructed as the 'Other.' The result is, as critics were quick to point out, an inversion of the very mechanics Wolff sought to expose, leading to the essentialisation of Eastern Europe, a criticism also advanced against Edward Said's study.²⁷

Interestingly, Larry Wolff is very clear on where Enlightenment thinkers drew the dividing line between Eastern and Western Europe. According to his introduction, it followed the same line Winston Churchill outlined in his famous speech 'The Sinews of Peace', better known as the Iron Curtain speech, delivered on 5 March 1946 in Fulton, Missouri.²⁸ Churchill drew the dividing line of Europe between Stettin [Szczecin, Poland], a city located at the Baltic Sea and Trieste, the port

²⁴ Hans Lemberg, 'Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert: Vom 'Norden' zum 'Osten' Europas', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 33 (1985), p. 64. Ezequiel Adamovsky, 'Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810-1880', *The Journal of Modern History*, 77 (2005), p. 599.

²⁵ Adamovsky, for instance, sees primarily class relations at work. Adamovsky, 'Euro-orientalism', pp. 622-625.

²⁶ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 2009), p. 144. For an alternative interpretation that firmly locates civilisation in Great Britain and France see Peter Bugge "'Shatter Zones": The Creation and Re-creation of Europe's East', in Menno Spiering and Michael Wintle (eds.), *Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 51.

²⁷ Guido Franzinetti, 'The Idea and the Reality of Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth-Century', *History of European Ideas*, 34 (2008), p. 364. Lowe, *Terrains*, p. 7. Lewis and Wigen, *Myth*, p. 81.

²⁸ Published in Randolph S. Churchill (ed.), *The Sinews of Peace: Post-war Speeches by Winston S. Churchill* (London, 1948), pp. 93-105.

town on the Adriatic.²⁹ This line cut right through the territories of the former Habsburg Empire, thus separating cities such as Vienna or Budapest from Innsbruck or Salzburg (Prague itself would be divided by this hypothetical line). Yet, if the North-South division of Europe is considered, another fault line ran through the Habsburg Empire. Early nineteenth-century theorists such as the Swiss writer Charles Victor de Bonstetten, who sought to analyse the impact of different climates on people in a book published in 1824, saw the Alps as the barrier between ‘North’ and ‘South.’³⁰ Following this argument, Prussian traveller Willibald Alexis wrote in the 1830s: “Eine ungeheure Gebirgsmauer trennt den Norden Europa’s von dessen Süden...die Mauer selbst mit ihren Zacken in’s Land hinein heißt Schweiz, Tirol, Salzburg, Steiermark.”³¹ The mountainous regions of today’s Austria would form a wall, separating for instance Bohemia and Galicia from Trieste and the Banat.

Perhaps nowhere else in Europe did a state’s territory clash more with conceptualised spaces than here. Taken as a whole the Habsburg Empire neither belonged to ‘Eastern Europe’ nor to ‘Western Europe.’ It was neither incorporated into ‘Northern Europe’ nor into ‘Southern Europe.’ The different imagined dividing lines ran through it, thus making it an excellent case in point to analyse how these spaces were conceived.

Larry Wolff identified the Enlightenment era as pivotal in the invention of ‘Eastern Europe.’ Others have pointed at an even earlier period.³² But this means in turn that the construction of different European spaces must have been well underway or already established in the nineteenth century. By researching travellers in that later period these arguments can be tested.

There are more practical reasons as well. The outcomes of the Congress of Vienna consolidated the Habsburg Empire geographically and its boundaries remained relatively stable throughout the century.³³ Of course that does not preclude border changes. Krakow and its surroundings were annexed in 1846. Bosnia,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³⁰ Charles Victor de Bonstetten, *L’Homme du Midi et L’Homme du Nord, ou l’Influence du Climat* (Geneva and Paris, 1824).

³¹ Willibald Alexis, *Schattenrisse aus Süddeutschland* (Berlin, 1834), p. 168.

³² Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004).

Herzegovina and the Sandjak of Novi Pazar occupied in 1878 and, except for the latter, annexed in 1908. Lombardy and Venetia, however, were lost in 1859 and 1866, respectively.³⁴ A number of territories were occupied for a short period, as for instance, the Danube principalities between 1854 and 1857.³⁵

Periodisation is mostly an arbitrary matter. Different arguments and assumptions can easily lead to different dates. This is also the case for this study, which is situated between 1815 and 1869. The importance of the territorial changes during the Congress of Vienna was already mentioned. Furthermore, during the Napoleonic Wars the number of travellers decreased considerably and increased remarkably as soon as peace was restored.³⁶ The choice of 1869 crystallised during the work on this study. As will be outlined in more detail in the next chapter, much more relevant material has been identified than the literature initially indicated. Thus, the time span under investigation had to be condensed due to the restrictions of time and space.

Finally, the choice of sources needs to be qualified. Larry Wolff argued on the importance of travellers: "Travelers were essential to this work of orientation...The lands of Eastern Europe were sufficiently unfamiliar in the eighteenth century, still such unusual destinations, that each traveler carried a mental map to be freely annotated, embellished, refined, or refolded along the way."³⁷ If Wolff is right, the mental map of nineteenth-century travellers must have been sufficiently changed for spatial differentiations to be palpable. This stresses the importance of travellers' publications for public debates, which is also mirrored in their commercial success and popularity.³⁸ By focussing on published travelogues of foreign travellers, it is therefore possible to examine the outsider's view on an entity, or the Habsburg Empire under foreign eyes, as it were.

There is one constraint, however. This study excludes travellers who followed the Grand Tour and were therefore mainly interested in the Habsburg's Italian

³³ Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 113.

³⁴ Erich Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs*, 6th ed. (Vienna, 1979), pp. 353, 403, 410, 421, 437-438.

³⁵ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War: 1853-1856* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 102-106.

³⁶ See Chapter 2.

³⁷ Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, p. 6.

³⁸ E.g. the French Revolution. Bernhard Struck, *Nicht West - nicht Ost: Frankreich und Polen in der Wahrnehmung deutscher Reisender zwischen 1750 und 1850* (Göttingen, 2006), pp. 358-360.

possessions. The main reason is the extensive research this phenomenon received, while other travellers received far less attention, as the next chapter will show.³⁹

Following the guiding research question, two main methodological fields are of particular relevance to this study. Both have their strengths and weaknesses that will be discussed in the following section.

1.2 Transnational History

An essential element of travelling is to leave the familiar environment.⁴⁰ This is even more evident when venturing abroad, when borders are crossed. Transnational history is specifically concerned with such cross-border processes and thus provides the methodological backdrop for historical research in this area. Due to the comparatively recent emergence of the field, lively discussions about its theoretical underpinnings and methodological definitions are still in progress. Thus, not *one* accepted definition can be given nor is it even agreed on that transnational history should be comprehended as a concept as such. As Kiran Klaus Patel pointed out: “Transnational history stands not for one specific conceptual approach, theory or field of research, nor can it be identified solely with cultural or social history.”⁴¹ He rather sees it as a perspective on history.⁴² Not all scholars appreciate this point of view, however. Hence, when reviewing the growing literature, a variety of definitions can be found. If a closer look is taken, two main strands of interpreting transnational history can be differentiated.

³⁹ Recent publications include: John Brewer, *The Pleasures of Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997). Attilio Brilli, *Als Reisen eine Kunst war: Vom Beginn des modernen Tourismus. Die ‘Grand Tour’* (Berlin, 1997). Joseph Imorde and Erik Wegerhoff (eds.), *Dreckige Laken: die Kehrseite der ‘Grand Tour’* (Berlin, 2012). Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge, 2012). Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, 2003).

⁴⁰ Majorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 10.

⁴¹ Kiran Klaus Patel, “‘Transnations’ Among ‘Transnations’?: The Debate on Transnational History in the United States and Germany”, 2008, https://ces.fas.harvard.edu/uploads/files/Working-Papers/CES_159.pdf[20/01/17], p. 4.

⁴² A comprehensive overview offers: C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed, ‘AHR Conversation: On Transnational History’, *The American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), pp. 1441-1464. Clavin incorporated the etymology of ‘transnational history’ in her article. Patricia Clavin, ‘Defining Transnationalism’, *Contemporary European History*, 14 (2005), pp. 433-436.

Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, who edited and published *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* in 2009, provide a rather abstract and almost intangible definition: “We are interested in links and flows, and want to track people, ideas, products, processes and patterns that operate over, across, through, beyond, above, under, or in-between polities and societies.”⁴³ Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther argued in a similar vein: “Transnational History concentrates on the relations between cultures and societies, deliberately eschewing concentration on any one culture or country.”⁴⁴ These rather broad and open definitions are closer to the idea of a perspective on history, but nonetheless try to elaborate a working definition. It is notable that these definitions try to avoid the nation state as a unit of analysis. As Kiran Klaus Patel summarised elsewhere, “the novelty of Transnational History is really the idea of offering an alternative to the dominance of a historiography structured around the nation.”⁴⁵

There is, however, a second, slightly different line of argument as well. Ian Tyrrell, for example, who attempted a re-examination of the history of the United States by applying transnational history, sees it as “the movement of peoples, ideas, technologies and institutions across national boundaries.”⁴⁶ Although there is agreement that transnational history can provide a tool to overcome the ‘nation-state paradigm’ in history, such a definition seeks to keep this ‘typical’ unit of historical analysis, which is not surprising. After all, nation states still dominate the political world. Particularly scholars who have their background in the United

⁴³ Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. xviii. In view of this definition it is surprising and contradictory that Pierre-Yves Saunier argued a few years later, that transnational history “limits itself to the last 200-250 years broadly understood.” Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History: Theory and History* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 11.

⁴⁴ Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther, ‘Introduction’, in Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther (eds.), *A Laboratory of Transnational History: Ukraine and recent Ukrainian Historiography* (Budapest and New York, 2009), p. 3.

⁴⁵ Kiran Klaus Patel, ‘Transnational History’, 12.03.2010, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/transnational-history>[20/01/17].

⁴⁶ Ian R. Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 3. Curthoys and Lake use nearly the same definition: “Transnational history seeks to understand ideas, things, people, and practices which have crossed national boundaries.” Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, ‘Introduction’, in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra, 2005), p. 5. Similar Jürgen Osterhammel and Sebastian Conrad, ‘Einleitung’, in Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), *Das Kaiserreich Transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914* (Göttingen, 2004), p. 14.

States or in Germany are active in the debate about transnational history, since in both states national history was and is (to some extent) grounded in the perception of historical anomaly – American exceptionalism and the German *Sonderweg*.⁴⁷ In this context, transnational history rather serves as a means to challenge dominant interpretations and to enhance national history. As Pierre-Yves Saunier has argued: “The transnational perspective enhances its [national historiography’s] capacity by adding the history of entanglements between countries to the checklist of national history writing.”⁴⁸

The main criticism of transnational history concentrates on two flanks. Firstly, as Sven Beckert summarised: “[W]hy does it seem that more printed pages have been dedicated to discussions on the need for and methodology of transnational history than to empirical research?”⁴⁹ This is also owing to the multitude of terms that circumscribe a similar goal, though differ in terminology. Thus, Beckert pointed at the similarities between global, world, transnational and international history.⁵⁰ Akira Iriye openly declared that he comprehends the terms global and transnational history as mutually interchangeable due to their common roots in international history.⁵¹ The tangle of terminology paired with a lack of tangible definitions has led some scholars to argue that this was an unresolvable discussion lacking empirical grounding. Though it is true that still a lot of energy is put into theoretical debates, this must not belie the appearance of empirical works embracing this perspective.⁵²

Secondly, scholars have criticised the objective of these empirical works. It has been argued that transnational history is biased towards ‘positive’ aspects, while leaving negative issues such as transnational drug and weapon trade unconsidered. The resulting picture is thus distorted, emphasising only ‘good’ transnational

⁴⁷ Patel, *Transnations*, pp. 5-7.

⁴⁸ Saunier, *Transnational History*, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Bayly, Beckert, Connelly, Hofmeyr, Kozol and Seed, ‘AHR Conversation’, p. 1446.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1445-1446. Similar Saunier, *Transnational History*, p. 3.

⁵¹ Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: the Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 11. Saunier, however, indicates a fundamental difference to global history because transnational history is not confined to global questions. Saunier, *Transnational History*, pp. 3-4.

⁵² Iriye offers a comprehensive bibliography. Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, pp. 37-64.

histories.⁵³ Although empirical works on the so-called ‘dark side’ of transnationalism are still lacking, it has been identified as a desideratum.⁵⁴

The shared core, however, of these theoretical debates is an understanding of border crossings – regardless if regional, state, national or cultural – as fundamental to the research interest in transnational history.⁵⁵ Since border crossings are inherent to the act of travelling – if it is only to cross the borders of everyday life – transnational history provides the means to analyse these processes.⁵⁶ As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters the analysed travellers ventured across frontiers. They beheld the black-yellow border pole and experienced examination by customs officers. They overcame religious and linguistic borders. Some even crossed the limitation of their own time and imagined themselves in a distant past.

Yet, in terms of this study, there is one important constraint. The crossed borders were not necessarily ‘national’ borders. An extension of *one* national historiography, as Pierre-Yves Saunier suggested, would limit the analysis of perceptions of an inherently diverse Empire in the phase of evolving nationalisms. The disintegration of the Habsburg Empire was a key moment for the independent existence of Central European nation states, on which the grand narratives are still based. This creates the rather paradoxical situation that today’s nation states are projected back in time, highlighting one’s own titular nation.⁵⁷ Applying a transnational perspective, however, “implies adjusting the space of our research to the questions we tackle, instead of squeezing our questions into national

⁵³ Ann-Christina L. Knudsen and Karen Gram-Skjoldager, ‘Historiography and Narration in Transnational History’, *Journal of Global History*, 9 (2014), pp. 151-155.

⁵⁴ Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck and Jakob Vogel, ‘Introduction’, in Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck and Jakob Vogel (eds.), *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s* (New York and Oxford, 2014), p. 11. Knudsen and Gram-Skjoldager, ‘Historiography’, pp. 156-157.

⁵⁵ But even on this general level objections can be found. Clavin stresses, “the sheer variety of encounters is dazzling” hence leading to a vagueness of the term. Moreover, she argues, “the expression also carries with it the implication that, through these crossings, borders break down.” Clavin, ‘Defining Transnationalism’, p. 423.

⁵⁶ Maura O’Connor, ‘Cross-national Travelers: Rethinking Comparisons and Representations’, in Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor (eds.), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2004), p. 137.

⁵⁷ Exemplified on Ukraine: Philipp Ther, ‘The Transnational Paradigm of Historiography and its Potential for Ukrainian History’, in Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther (eds.), *A Laboratory of*

containers.”⁵⁸ Therefore we can gain an understanding of how different groups examined and assessed other entities that were not necessarily framed in national terms.

1.3 Comparative History

Comparisons can provide important correctives to challenge dominant historical narratives. And yet comparative studies are still rarely undertaken. As outlined above, the lack of a comparative element has been identified as a main problem with Larry Wolff’s *Inventing Eastern Europe*. Had he applied the same methodology on travellers within Western Europe, signs of backwardness and barbarism might have been traceable there as well, thus challenging his conclusions. Edward Said was also criticised for excluding German, Italian and Russian perspectives from his study.⁵⁹

For this study British and German travellers from outside the Habsburg Empire are examined. Although limited to these two groups, it allows nevertheless for an evaluation of the ‘outsider’s view.’ Both groups were chosen for different reasons. As will be further elaborated in the next chapter, Britons were by far the most active travellers on the European continent and thus left a wealth of relevant material. The views of German travellers are particularly interesting since it remains unclear to what extent the Habsburg Empire was regarded as foreign territory. By countervailing the views of both groups a nuanced picture of their perceptions will arise.

Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka described the objective of comparative history as follows: “Two or more historical phenomena are systematically studied for similarities and differences in order to contribute to their better description, explanation, and interpretation.”⁶⁰ Hartmut Kaelble employed nearly the same

Transnational History: Ukraine and recent Ukrainian Historiography (Budapest and New York, 2009), pp. 82-86.

⁵⁸ Saunier, *Transnational History*, p. 120.

⁵⁹ Particularly Said’s exclusion of German Orientalism has been widely debated. Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Washington, Cambridge and New York, 2009), pp. xviii-xix.

⁶⁰ Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, ‘Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspectives of Comparative History’, in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York and Oxford, 2009), p. 2.

wording, though confined the reach to the comparison of historical societies, therefore restricting its applicability.⁶¹ A very similar definition was suggested by Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor: "Comparative history is concerned with similarities and differences; in explaining a given phenomenon, it asks which conditions, or factors, were broadly shared, and which were distinctive."⁶²

However, it is possible to apprehend these definitions as nuances of a general attitude to history, in which the explicit comparison of two or more well-defined units in order to analyse similarities or differences forms the central research interest. It has been argued that such an attitude is ingrained in the historical method but only comparative history explicitly states what is all too often left unmentioned, implicit or unrecognised.⁶³

Comparison can be deployed to serve different functions. Haupt and Kocka developed several, as they call them, 'plots' which can be utilised asymmetrically to enable a better understanding of a single phenomenon. This function is frequently observed in '*en passant*' comparisons. For example, the thesis of a German *Sonderweg* can logically only be forged in comparison to a norm. Comparisons are also necessary to develop typologies or stage theories. Finally, Haupt and Kocka propose comparisons as part of comprehensive arguments: "This refers to comprehensive, empirically based, theoretically oriented, historical-systematic analyses with a comparative core, which are aimed at a broad but spatially, chronologically, and thematically limited subject."⁶⁴ In other words, comparison serves not as a means for generalisation but to explain observable phenomena, utilising other approaches whenever necessary or beneficial. It is this last 'plot' that influences this study. Comparison is seen as a means to deepen the understanding but also to resist generalisations developed from single case studies.

⁶¹ Hartmut Kaelble, *Der historische Vergleich: Eine Einführung zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main and New York, 1999), pp. 12-13.

⁶² Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, 'Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History – Definitions', in Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (eds.), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2004), p. xi.

⁶³ Kocka and Haupt, 'Comparison', p. 2. Philippa Levine, 'Is Comparative History Possible?', *History and Theory*, 53 (2014), p. 346.

⁶⁴ Kocka and Haupt, 'Comparison', pp. 5-10. Here p. 9.

Other scholars have highlighted the strength of comparative history to challenge categories that are often taken for granted. Such reasoning dates back to the 1920s, when Marc Bloch and Henri Pirenne introduced comparisons into historical studies. Bloch argued in favour of a European history guided by the principle of comparative history, because this would allow for the identification of European-wide processes. He styled himself as a witness in his famous speech, delivered in 1928 at the sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, when he described how he was able to trace the phenomenon of enclosures in the south of France by applying the works of British historians, therefore opening up the European significance of this process.⁶⁵ Thus, it is not surprising that he bestowed the title of “that most effective of all magician’s wands” upon “the comparative method.”⁶⁶

What Bloch proposed almost a century ago developed into the main line of criticism in recent debates. Marc Bloch was convinced that a comparison of national histories, as he had exemplified with British and French history, would lead to a deeper understanding of European history. But he did not question the national framework of his comparisons. It was exactly this feature that French scholar Michel Espagne attacked in an influential article published in 1994. He argued that instead of overcoming national borders, comparative history was reinforcing them. He wrote: “Les comparaisons s’opèrent toujours d’un point de vue national. La multiplication des comparaisons ne peut que conforter le concept de nation.”⁶⁷ This is certainly true for asymmetrical comparisons, which, for instance, the German Bielefeld School used to explain the *Sonderweg* thesis.⁶⁸ Philippa Levine recently observed that the belief that comparative history must be

⁶⁵ Marc Bloch, ‘A Contribution Towards a Comparative History of European Societies’, in Marc Bloch, *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers: translated by J. E. Anderson* (London, 1967), pp. 44-81.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁷ Michel Espagne, ‘Sur les Limites du Comparatisme en Histoire Culturelle’, *Genèses* 17 (1994), p. 120. However, *Histoire croisée* was criticised for lack of empirical grounding. Hartmut Kaelble, ‘Between Comparison and Transfers – and What Now?: A French-German Debate’, in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and new Perspectives* (New York and Oxford, 2009), pp. 33-38.

⁶⁸ Philip Ther, ‘Comparisons, Cultural Transfers, and the Study of Networks: Toward a Transnational History of Europe’, in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and new Perspectives* (New York and Oxford, 2009), pp. 205-206.

based on comparing nations, “has more to do with the profession’s continued understanding of history as nationally organised than it does with what is actually going on in today’s comparative studies.”⁶⁹ Comparing nations is only one variant of comparative history, not necessarily its core objective.

If examined closely, the main argument against comparative history targets the units of comparison. The opposition of two phenomena always contains a certain degree of artificiality in the sense that the design of such studies is constructed. This can lead to doubts about the validity and outreach of the conclusions. But as Haupt and Kocka argued: “Comparative historians know that they construct, not in a vacuum, of course, but with due regard for the importance of the particular truth they seek. They construct, then, not in the sense of invention, but nevertheless aware that their findings are not mere depictions of past realities.”⁷⁰ After all, there is no ‘natural’ frame for historical inquiries, and the main driver of such criticism is probably found in the ‘History of History as a scientific institution.’⁷¹

These arguments, however, foster and emphasise one important question, a question every comparative study needs to consider meticulously: What are the units of comparison? As a corollary to this question considerations of the unit’s comparability are necessary. Indeed, there are also rare voices that argue, even urge, scholars to compare the incomparable.⁷²

Therefore: What are the units of comparison for this study? At the core of this project lies a comparison of expressed views on the Habsburg Empire articulated by foreign travellers. What British travellers saw, described and interpreted is contrasted with travelogues by authors from the German lands. The units of comparison are therefore not applied to the sources but developed from the sources. This means that the travellers themselves provide the units of

⁶⁹ Levine, ‘Comparative History’, pp. 333, 342.

⁷⁰ Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, ‘Comparative History: Methods, Aims, Problems’, in Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor (eds.), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2004), p. 27.

⁷¹ Jürgen Osterhammel, ‘A ‘transnational’ History of Society: Continuity or New Departure?’, in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and new Perspectives* (New York and Oxford, 2009), p. 46.

comparison. What they compare implicitly in their works – their familiar environments, their beliefs and opinions, with observations made in foreign regions – also constitutes what is compared in this study. This way, the grade of artificiality is decreased to its lowest possible degree. It is therefore also not an asymmetric comparison or a comparison in order to support typologies or stage theories, as described above. The study seeks to understand why foreigners had a specific perception of the Habsburg Empire, thus differences are as important as similarities between British and German views. By putting sources and research interest first, the danger of overcomplicating a comparative project is diminished without harming the weight of the conclusions.⁷³

1.4 Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into four thematically arranged chapters. The focus of the next chapter is an examination of the sources. Travel literature is a comparatively ambiguous source for historical analysis due to the breadth of its contents, the diversity in travellers' personal backgrounds and goals and the difference in intended audiences. Thus, this chapter will be analysing the source itself, rather than the source content. It takes a closer look at the pitfalls but also benefits of travelogues. The social background of authors will be examined as well as the main travel routes within the Habsburg Empire.

Space is the dominant theme of chapter two. The guiding hypothesis is that the Habsburg Empire was not seen as one unified entity but rather that travellers applied a 'fragmented view', focussing on parts instead of the whole. The chapter sets off with the process of crossing the border into the Habsburg Empire. Contemporary travellers subsumed large parts, also regions with no German-speaking majority such as Bohemia, Carniola or Trieste under the appellation 'Germany', thus urging further exploration. At the same time religion, especially

⁷² Detienne argues that comparing the incomparable yields the most fruitful because unexpected insights. Marcel Detienne, *Comparing the Incomparable* (Stanford, 2008). Similar O'Connor, 'Cross-national travelers', p. 137.

⁷³ On the dangers of an overcomplicated comparative project see the thought-provoking essay: Jakob Hort, 'Vergleichen, Verflechten, Verwirren: Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Methodendiskussion in der wissenschaftlichen Praxis, ein Erfahrungsbericht', in Agnes Arndt, Joachim C. Häberlen and Christiane Reinecke (eds.), *Vergleichen, verflechten, verwirren?: Europäische Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Theorie und Praxis* (Göttingen, 2011), pp. 319-342.

the antagonism between Protestants and Catholics, still played a marked role. Finally, the chapter closes with the question of why the 'East' or 'Eastern Europe' seemed to play only a limited role, which is exemplified by travellers' views of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Chapter three focuses on the spatial dimension of political terms. Differences between the political systems of the United Kingdom, the German lands and the Habsburg Empire were expressed by using terms such as 'despotism', 'paternalism', 'democracy' or 'liberty.' But there is also a spatial dimension to these terms. Since Montesquieu, for instance, despotism was associated with the 'Orient.' This chapter seeks to analyse how such spatial terms were used and understood by contemporary travellers in the context of the Habsburg Empire. Although the guiding hypothesis suggests that due to the absolute nature of its political system travellers must have placed it amongst the 'Eastern' powers, a surprisingly large number of travellers judged it positively. After analysing the views of British and German travellers separately, the focus moves to a particularly contested territory: The Kingdom of Hungary. It could be seen as the most oppressed country under Habsburg rule (due to the situation of the peasants) or the most liberal (due to its Diet and the 'constitutional' *Bulla Aurea*).

The final chapter examines the space-time relationship of travellers to the Habsburg Empire. Important elements in the analysis of constructed spaces are 'asymmetric counterconcepts', as Reinhart Koselleck called them, where, for instance, backwardness is opposed to progress, and barbarism to civilisation. Not always acknowledged is the temporal significance of these terms. Backwardness can also mean 'being back in time.' By focussing on the temporal dimension, 'past' and 'future' as these travellers saw it can be examined. A few sources support the guiding hypothesis, that the Habsburg Empire was assessed as being backward, and some regions did indeed inspire authors to 'travel back in time.' But the majority of travellers emphasised the transitory state of the Habsburg Empire. Finally, a closer look is taken at the symbolism that transformed the Danube steamer into an imaginary reservoir of a better future.

Chapter 2 Hither and Thither – Travelling the Habsburg Empire

When the influential literary magazine *The Athenaeum* reviewed the published account of a journey within the Habsburg Empire in 1838, the anonymous critic questioned the contemporary state of travel literature in general. In former times, “[w]hen literature was confined to the learned and the tasteful, - when readers were few, and an author was ‘one man out of ten thousand’,” a writer had to serve the refined tastes of the limited readership in order to be successful. However, now “that literature has become a staple article of consumption with ‘the general’”, quality has decreased considerably. Nowadays, travelogues, the critic argued, are nothing more than “descriptions, anecdotes, twaddling [sic] sentiments, and trite maxims, which are plain and level to the commonest understandings.”⁷⁴ This short and admittedly incidental episode illustrates the inherent tensions that shape travel writing. While fairly popular with contemporary readers, it was subject to harsh criticism from intellectual circles about the quality of writing, supposed subjectivity and the scarceness or abundance of information provided.

These arguments have not been confined to the nineteenth century. It has been suggested that the genre’s popularity hampered academic engagement until recently.⁷⁵ The novelty of scholarly interest is attested to in the introduction of *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, published in 2002: “The absence within the academy of a tradition of critical attention to travel writing means that this Companion...has to bring its subject into focus in order to ‘accompany’ it.”⁷⁶ Nevertheless, continuous research activities since the 1980s have turned a small stream of publications into a veritable river.

Travel literature is part of a phenomenon that might be labelled ‘travel movement.’ Literary historian James Buzard, who was one of the first to engage critically with tourism as a historical phenomenon, wrote: “By effectively closing

⁷⁴ *The Athenaeum*, 17.02.1838, p. 113.

⁷⁵ Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 7.

the Continent to British travellers for twenty years, the Napoleonic Wars both frustrated and nourished a demand for foreign travel; after 1815 Britons seemed to explode across the Channel.⁷⁷ British travellers were so numerous on the European Continent that mocking them became a staple even in a comparatively less visited region such as the Habsburg Empire. A German traveller, for instance, wrote: “[D]er Engländer wird von den meisten Völkern ausgelacht, weil er eigensinnig seine Manieren beibehält, obwohl er in die mannigfachste Berührung mit allen Völkern kommt.”⁷⁸

British travellers were nevertheless well aware of their own image but deliberately stuck to some of their manners. Thus, they could read in *A Guide Along the Danube* published in 1837: “Notwithstanding Kotzebue’s affirmation, that the English carry their prejudices and tea-kettles every where, the traveller may dispossess himself as far as he can of the former, but he is strongly advised not to forget the latter,” since good tea could be obtained in Vienna and Trieste.⁷⁹ Despite the *Guide’s* recommendation, cultural tensions surfaced frequently. A telling episode happened, according to the British mountaineering enthusiast Elizabeth Tuckett, in a small Tyrolean inn. She and her fellow travellers demanded meat although it was Friday, on which, according to local Catholic tradition, no meat shall be consumed. “[W]e are Protestants and English, and very hungry, and, according to our religion, when we are hungry we are to eat,” she said.⁸⁰

This chapter brings together the different threads outlined above to give a comprehensive understanding of the historical actors but also of the sources analysed in this study. First, the insights gained by the latest research into the

⁷⁶ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, ‘Introduction’, in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 1.

⁷⁷ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1993), p. 19.

⁷⁸ Heinrich Laube, *Reisenovellen* (Vol. III; Mannheim, 1836), p. 77. Similar August Kahlert, *Reiseschilderungen aus Deutschland und der Schweiz, entworfen auf einer Reise im Sommer 1843 durch Böhmen, Baiern, die Schweiz, das Elsaß, die Rheingegenden, Thüringen und Sachsen* (Breslau, 1845), p. 184. Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder*, 2nd ed. (Vol. II; Hamburg, 1834), pp. 53-54.

⁷⁹ Richard Tappin Claridge, *A Guide Along the Danube: from Vienna to Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens, the Morea, the Ionian Islands, and Venice: from the Notes of a Journey made in the Year 1836* (London, 1837), p. 2.

⁸⁰ [Elizabeth Tuckett], *Pictures in Tyrol and Elsewhere: from a Family Sketch-Book* (London, 1867), p. 30.

history of travel and travel writing will be critically examined. In order to precisely analyse historical travelogues, it is of the utmost importance to raise awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of this challenging yet versatile source. Furthermore, definitions of what is understood by the term ‘travel account’ will be presented. This, however, is only a first step.

The second section revolves around the main question of who was travelling to and writing about the Habsburg Empire. In order to contextualise and interpret the views manifested in the sources, it is essential to understand the authors’ social backgrounds. What was the educational and professional background of those who ventured into the Habsburg Empire? Was the group of British and German travellers composed similarly in terms of social and cultural background? It is also important to take gender aspects into account by examining the small but nevertheless important contributions of women travellers in the Habsburg Empire. Finally, travelling also requires certain prerequisites. The ‘explosion’, as James Buzard described it, is unthinkable without certain technological innovations and large-scale investments in infrastructure. The Habsburg Empire, although often regarded as backward in economical regards, was no exception. The guiding question is which travellers took which routes for what reasons? Why the Habsburg Empire, which could not boast similar attractions as Switzerland or the Apennine Peninsula, was chosen as a destination remains unclear. Thus, the final section of this chapter analyses the intertwining of a developing infrastructure with travelling habits.

2.1 Travel Literature as a Source for Historical Research

In 1832, Leitch Ritchie, a Scotsman who swapped his post in the paternal trading company for professional writing, travelled through northern Italy, Tyrol and along the Rhine. The first pages of his account contain a reflection upon what it meant to travel *and* write. He remarked:

But to travel for the express purpose of writing your travels - to look about you, as it were, of malice prepense [sic] - and feel, every step you move, as if you had an ink-bottle dangling at your button, and a

pen stuck behind your ear, is surely the most awkward thing in the world!⁸¹

From his description it is easily deduced that his understanding of travelling deviates from today's main meaning. He described himself as an attentive observer of the world, his pen always ready, his mind occupied with writing and seeing. Put in historical perspective, it is indeed an awkward thing that this statement was written at the dawn of mass tourism, only years before Thomas Cook would bring 165,000 people to the Great Exhibition in London.⁸² Instead, Ritchie's eagerness to observe and record rather resembles the attitudes of Enlightenment travellers. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, who travelled in the mid-eighteenth century, for instance, "invented a miniature writing board, which he could carry in his pocket, enabling him to write on it without showing the process of recording."⁸³ While undertaking a journey in southern Germany in 1781, the German writer Friedrich Nicolai equipped himself with a newly developed pen that allowed him to immediately take note of the slightest peculiarity while travelling in his customised carriage. These travellers show striking similarities to Ritchie, who wrote half a century later.⁸⁴ Yet, as the tourism industry gained momentum in the nineteenth century, travel writing never vanished; instead it transformed. This section not only provides the underlying definition of 'travel literature' utilised for this study, but also traces the dynamic interplay within the genre as well as reviewing the insights gained by decades of research into travel writing. Thus the understanding of the source and its validity for the research interest will be deepened.

⁸¹ Leitch Ritchie, *Travelling Sketches in the North of Italy, the Tyrol, and the Rhine* (London, 1832), p. 1.

⁸² Lynn Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (London, 1997), pp. 139-142.

⁸³ Hagen Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin: Authenticity, Modernity, and the Metropolis in Urban Travel Writing from 1851 to 1939* (Brussels, 2006), p. 96.

⁸⁴ Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz* (Vol. I; Berlin and Stettin, 1783), p. 22.

This study follows the classic definition of Peter J. Brenner, who described travelogues as linguistic representations of factual journeys.⁸⁵ The emphasis on undertaken journeys excludes blatantly fictional accounts as well as satirical works. This definition, however, raises a number of questions. What does this mean in terms of artistic freedom? What are the implications for the hazy line between fact and fiction? After all, many travel writers were also novelists.⁸⁶ Brenner concedes that there is a considerable margin that enables the author to float freely. An emphasis on the factuality of a journey nevertheless allows for variations in its written form. Additionally, there is the problem of anonymously published travel accounts that describe journeys never taken but were not discernible as fictional for contemporaries. Should these works be excluded although they were read and discussed by those who, in contrast to the historian, did not have the means to unravel forgery?

This study opts for a broad approach that allows for the inclusion of such works if there is no sign that contemporaries dismissed them. The genre itself almost forces breadth upon the researcher. As historian Hagen Schulz-Forberg has argued: “The objects of description [within travel literature] do not need to be real in order to be credible. A truth effect appears to be more important.”⁸⁷ Historian Reinhold Schiffer, whose focus is on nineteenth-century British travellers to the Ottoman Empire, outlined a similar methodological framework: “I assume that travellers did indeed fictionalise, that is to say, attempt to write coherent accounts of the incoherent reality they thought they saw.”⁸⁸ Such imprecisions are part and parcel when working with this challenging yet rewarding source.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ “die sprachliche Darstellung authentischer Reisen” Peter J. Brenner (ed.), *Der Reisebericht: die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1989), p. 9. Similar Christoph Hennig, *Reiselust: Touristen, Tourismus und Urlaubskultur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1997), p. 57. Hulme and Youngs’ definition: “[T]ravel writing consists of predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator.” Hulme and Youngs, ‘Introduction’, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction*, p. 38. Several travellers to the Habsburg Empire also published novels set in the visited regions.

⁸⁷ Hagen Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction: European Travel and Travel Writing. Cultural Practice and the Idea of Europe’, in Hagen Schulz-Forberg, *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing* (Brussels, 2005), p. 14.

⁸⁸ Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1999), p. 3. Some nineteenth-century travel writers were aware of that. Georg Reinbeck, for instance, argued that since a travelogue is based on idealised memories it can only be both: “Wahrheit und Dichtung.” Georg Reinbeck, *Reise-Plaudereien über Ausflüge nach Wien*

Although the potential of travel literature was not always acknowledged, the last three decades have seen a considerable rise in scholarly interest that has led to an almost unmanageable stream of publications.⁹⁰ While older approaches sought to ‘rectify’ the content in search of an objective kernel of truth, more recent approaches apply a completely different angle. Michael Harbsmeier, one of the first scholars who stressed the potential in travelogues, interpreted travelogues as “unfreiwillig[e] kulturell[e] Selbstdarstellung der Ausgangskultur.”⁹¹ Since he observed a lack of studies that engaged with more than one author’s travelogue he suggested applying a ‘serial analysis’ in which a larger number of travelogues are subjected to the same research questions.⁹² Harbsmeier argued that a set of different authors of a similar cultural background over a certain period would allow for a comprehensive analysis of the visited entity’s image in this culture.⁹³ Research in subfields such as postcolonial studies⁹⁴ and gender studies⁹⁵ has

(1811), *Salzburg und dem Salzkammergut in Ober-Oesterreich* (1834), *Weimar* (1806), in *die Württembergische Alb* (1824) und nach den Vor-Cantonen der Schweiz und dem Rigi (1818) (Vol. I; Stuttgart, 1837), p. 219.

⁸⁹ Recent studies have successfully applied a similarly broad definition of travel writing. E.g. Sarah Lemmen, ‘Tschechen auf Reisen: Repräsentationen der außereuropäischen Welt und nationale Identität in der tschechischen Gesellschaft, 1890 – 1938’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 2015).

⁹⁰ The most recent publications include: Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (eds.), *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies* (Basingstoke, 2015). Tim Youngs and Charles Forsdick, *Travel Writing: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies* (London, 2012). Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London, 2011). Carmen Andras (eds.), *New Directions in Travel Writing and Travel Studies* (Aachen, 2010).

⁹¹ Michael Harbsmeier, ‘Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen’, in Antoni Maćzak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (eds.), *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte: Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1982), p. 2. Similar Marguerite Helmers and Tilar Mazzeo, *The Traveling and Writing Self* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2007), p. 1.

⁹² Literary scholar Moretti argues similarly. He claims that only 0.5 per cent of all published novels are subject to research, whereas “the great unread” is disregarded. Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London, 2013), p. 66.

⁹³ Schiffer similarly argues: “It seems, however, possible to lessen the impact of extreme distortions...by weighing a large number of contemporary opinions to each other.” Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, p. 3.

⁹⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992). Steven H. Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London, 1999). Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (eds.), *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (Basingstoke, 2011).

⁹⁵ Kirsti Siegel (ed.), *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women’s Travel Writing* (New York, 2004). Thomas Thurnell-Read and Mark Casey (eds.), *Men, Masculinities, Travel and Tourism* (Basingstoke, 2014).

followed this approach, and historical studies have applied the angle of spatial history.⁹⁶

This study analyses works written by British and German travellers. Thus, the possibility arises of examining perceptions of the Habsburg Empire within Great Britain and the German lands over time – the view from the outside, as it were. While many studies focus on the perceptions of one region by one group, comparing the views of two groups on a larger entity adds a layer that allows the results to be set in a wider European context.

This is how travel writing will be approached in this study, but how did travel writing develop over time, and what were the genre characteristics that acted as guidelines for nineteenth-century writers?

Of course, the link between travelling and writing is no particular feature of modern times. Journeys were the natural ingredient of ancient tales like “humanity’s oldest broadly coherent work of literature”,⁹⁷ the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epos. Although epics are explicitly excluded from travel accounts following the definition set out above, they show how deeply ingrained travelling is in the human experience.⁹⁸ Besides, a number of ancient texts, particularly Herodotus’ *The Histories*, claim to be based on a factual journey.⁹⁹ Interest in writing about travelling was also evident in the Roman world. Otherwise it would not have been possible for Tacitus to compose his *Germania* from a variety of sources despite, most probably, never crossing the Alps.¹⁰⁰ During medieval times, European pilgrims (and crusaders) continued to visit the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean, and left a startling large number of accounts.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Struck, *Nicht West*.

⁹⁷ Vybarr Cregan-Reid, *Discovering Gilgamesh: Geology, Narrative and the Historical Sublime in Victorian Culture* (Manchester, 2013), p. 27. Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction*, pp. 19-20.

⁹⁸ Eric Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London, 2015), pp. 1-4.

⁹⁹ These claims are not universally accepted. Detlev Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot: Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots* (Berlin and New York, 1971), pp. 179-182.

¹⁰⁰ Christopher Krebs, *A most Dangerous Book: Tacitus’s Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York and London, 2011), p. 49.

¹⁰¹ Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 8. Gerhard Wolf, ‘Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters’, in Peter J. Brenner (ed.), *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1989), pp. 81-116.

During the ‘Age of Discovery’ novel features appeared within the genre. Some scholars claim that Columbus’ writings introduced a previously unknown emphasis on establishing facts through eyewitnesses – and thus subjectivity.¹⁰² It has also been highlighted that early modern accounts, although relying on and citing late-medieval journeys of (the fictional character) Mandeville and Marco Polo, provided means to participate in the debates of the time.¹⁰³ Simultaneously, travels within Europe became an essential component of the education of young nobles, especially during the seventeenth century, when a spell abroad was considered necessary to acquire skills deemed useful for their prospective careers.¹⁰⁴ Thus, touring the continent was increasingly construed as a means to acquire and transfer knowledge.¹⁰⁵ A tutor, who usually came from a much less wealthy background, often accompanied such tours, offering the possibility of travel to scholars like Thomas Hobbes or Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.¹⁰⁶ Primarily a privilege of the nobility, in the eighteenth century this habit attracted evermore imitators and eventually developed into the so-called Grand Tour. This predominantly but not exclusively British phenomenon denotes visiting the classical sites of the Apennine Peninsula.¹⁰⁷ The main intention was educational, but it was also a rite of passage.¹⁰⁸

Related is another aspect of travelling in the Enlightenment era, which morphed into the *ars apodemica*, the art of travel that almost attained scientific status.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 40.

¹⁰³ Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁴ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ‘Die Kavalierstour im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, in Peter J. Brenner (ed.), *Der Reisebericht: die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1989), pp. 197-223. Karin Hlavin-Schulze, ‘“Man reist ja nicht, um anzukommen”’: *Reisen als kulturelle Praxis* (Frankfurt/Main, 1998), pp. 35-36. Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁵ Hans Erich Bödeker, ‘Reisebeschreibungen im historischen Diskurs der Aufklärung’, in Hans Erich Bödeker, Georg G. Iggers, Jonathan B. Knudsen and Peter H. Reill (eds.), *Aufklärung und Geschichte: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1986), p. 279.

¹⁰⁶ Hlavin-Schulze, *Man reist*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Sutton, 1997), p. 3. Some scholars reject an overtly Anglo-centric view. Ridder-Symoens argues that relative to population size north Dutch outnumbered British travellers. Ridder-Symoens, ‘Kavalierstour’, p. 204. Zuelow criticises the Anglo-centric accounts of the rise of tourism. Eric Zuelow, ‘The Necessity of Touring Beyond the Nation: An Introduction’, in Eric Zuelow (ed.), *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 1-4.

¹⁰⁸ Brilli, *Reisen*, pp. 25-27, Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁹ Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (Chur, 1995).

Especially arranged guides prepared the scientific traveller, whose main aim was not education but empirical observation. The results were turned into voluminous publications. For instance, the mentioned traveller Friedrich Nicolai published 5,000 pages on his journey to southern Germany between 1783 and 1796. He recorded almost every detail including the number of steps he took on the journey, measured by a customised apparatus.¹¹⁰

What was observed, recorded and finally published was not simply read, but fed into a broader discourse in which the contained remarks were put into context, reflected upon and re-used as examples in other works. Montesquieu, to name but one, utilised travel accounts to develop and underpin his own thoughts on different forms of government.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, using travelogues as evidence was prone to criticism. Samuel Johnson, for instance, once said: “[W]henever he [Montesquieu] wants to support a strange opinion, he quotes you the practice of Japan or of some other distant country, of which he knows nothing.”¹¹²

Yet, there was plenty of material to draw from. Already in the second half of the eighteenth century, travel literature was one of the genres in high demand in the literary market, surpassed only by the novel.¹¹³ The sheer number of publications posed new problems. As early as 1738 it was lamented that books “are grown too numerous, not only to procure and read, but to see, learn the names of, or even number.”¹¹⁴ A German observer wrote 75 years later: “Der Roman und die Reisebeschreibung ringen jetzt auf dem großen Schauplatze der lesenden Welt um den Preis.”¹¹⁵

While the late-eighteenth century was an era of increased scientific travel and exploration, the continued popularity of the Grand Tour planted a seed that would grow considerably during the nineteenth century: tourism. The scholarly interest

¹¹⁰ Nicolai, *Beschreibung*, Vol. I, pp. 4-22.

¹¹¹ Robert Shackleton, *Montesquieu: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1961), p. 313. Similar early geographic works such as Friedrich Anton Büsching's *Neue Weltbeschreibung* drew heavily on travelogues. Struck, *Nicht West*, p. 96.

¹¹² Shef Rogers, ‘Enlarging the Prospects of Happiness: Travel Reading and Travel Writing’, in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Vol. V; Cambridge, 2009), p. 789.

¹¹³ Bödeker, ‘Reisebeschreibungen’, p. 277.

¹¹⁴ Chambers's Cyclopaedia cited in Brewer, *Pleasures*, p. 158.

in tourism developed even later than the renewed interest in travel literature mentioned above.¹¹⁶ One reason is the appealing yet constructed distinction between the superficial tourist who followed ‘the beaten track’ and the high-minded traveller who sought “a distinctly meaningful and lasting contact with the visited place.”¹¹⁷ This differentiation, at least in the British case, dates back to the late-eighteenth century.¹¹⁸ German scholar Christoph Hennig stressed that the scepticism, sometimes even disdain, against tourists was also grounded in the contemporary social structure. The bourgeois, parvenu tourist challenged the aristocracy’s privilege to travel.¹¹⁹

The rise of tourism was nurtured by numerous streams, which must be seen in interaction. Growing numbers of travellers along the Grand Tour led to the development of travel infrastructure.¹²⁰ Industrialisation provided the financial means for bourgeois travellers to undertake leisure trips, but they had less time and money at their disposal than earlier generations of travellers.¹²¹ Thus, they were forced to be more efficient, to see and experience more in less time. Consequently, the time spent abroad varied considerably between a traveller in the late-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century.¹²² Technological innovation – the construction of railway lines throughout Europe and the creation of steamship lines on seas and rivers – helped to minimise both costs and time. Bourgeois tourists were in most cases shaped by urban life and thus sought the opposite of the industrialised world to which they were accustomed.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Cited in Thomas Grosser, ‘Der mediengeschichtliche Funktionswandel der Reiseliteratur in den Berichten deutscher Reisender aus dem Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts’, in Hans-Wolf Jäger (ed.), *Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Heidelberg, 1992), p. 283.

¹¹⁶ Several recent publications emphasise this aspect. Rudolf Jaworski, ‘Einführung in Fragestellungen und Themenfelder’, in Peter Stachel and Martina Thomsen (eds.), *Zwischen Exotik und Vertrautem: Zum Tourismus in der Habsburgermonarchie und ihren Nachfolgestaaten* (Bielefeld, 2014), pp. 11-30. Zuelow, *Modern Tourism*, p. x.

¹¹⁷ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 28.

¹¹⁸ Withey, however, argues that there is no clear period in which the distinction between traveller and tourist took hold. It rather resembles a moving target that refers to whichever period is seen as the golden age of travel. Withey, *Grand Tours*, pp. viii-x.

¹¹⁹ Hennig, *Reiselust*, p. 18.

¹²⁰ Withey, *Grand Tours*, pp. 8-9.

¹²¹ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 48.

¹²² One traveller described this as “the great migration annually made by our country-people into every quarter of Europe.” Anonymous, *Travels in Bohemia with a Walk through the Highlands of Saxony* (Vol. I; London, 1857), p. 277.

¹²³ Bödeker, ‘Reisebeschreibungen’, p. 285.

Romanticism and a changing perception of nature influenced the choice of destinations.¹²⁴ Indeed the very perception of space was in itself a phenomenon of modernity. Axel Gotthard summarised the attitudes of early modern travellers, who “hatten das nächste Wirtshaus im Kopf, keine Landschaft im Blick.”¹²⁵ In contrast, the ‘picturesque travellers’ of the nineteenth century were specifically looking for landscapes. John Brewer noted: “Tourism was the modern form of the flight from modernity.”¹²⁶ But, as historian Susanne Müller summarised: “Dass sich mit der ‘Befreiung’ von der industriellen Welt selbst zahlreiche Industrien etablieren, ist nur eines von vielen Paradoxa der Technikgeschichte.”¹²⁷ Contemporaries also sensed this paradox as can be shown by this remark by Scottish priest George Robert Gleig, written in 1837:

I have invariably found that an influx of English travellers into any country, is sure to create in the tastes and habits of its occupants a change as complete as it is deplorable. The keepers of hotels grow forthwith exorbitant in their charges...the peasantry become rude and mercenary; while from the dwellings of the upper ranks hospitality is banished. What a pity is it that we, - not so much by our vices, as by our folly...should thus spread around us, wherever we go, the very opposite of moral improvement.¹²⁸

Gleig criticised the impact of large numbers of visitors on the area, since what he saw as virtues – low prices and hospitality – would vanish. Having first-hand experience, he had good reason to do so. During an earlier pedestrian tour in Bohemia he and his son ran into financial troubles. They had left the rest of the family, and thus the larger part of their resources, in the Saxon spa town of Spandau. In their despair they approached “a well-dressed man, evidently a traveller like ourselves” and explained their situation, to which the conversant simply replied: “Don’t let people know that you are Englishmen; for the most

¹²⁴ Brewer, *Pleasures*, p. 510.

¹²⁵ Axel Gotthard, *In der Ferne: Die Wahrnehmung des Raums in der Vormoderne* (Frankfurt/Main, 2007), p. 117.

¹²⁶ Brewer, *Pleasures*, p. 514.

¹²⁷ Susanne Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker: Eine Medienkulturgeschichte des Reiseführers 1830-1945* (Frankfurt/Main, 2012), p. 89.

¹²⁸ George Robert Gleig, *Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, visited in 1837* (Vol. I; London, 1839), pp. 274-275. Similar Henry David Inglis, *The Tyrol; With a Glance at Bavaria* (Vol. II; London, 1833), p. 282.

honest man among us considers it quite fair to charge an Englishman at least one-third more for everything than he charges a German.”¹²⁹ After disguising themselves as Russians, they were surprised by how inexpensive their journey suddenly became.¹³⁰

Of course the appearance of ‘mass tourism’ – mass is always relative and the numbers of travellers in the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth century would hardly earn this label today – did affect how the experience of travel was transformed into text. A contemporary traveller melancholically claimed: “Wenn nicht bald ein sechster Welttheil entdeckt wird, hört die ganze Reiseliteratur ohnehin auf.”¹³¹ As German historian Hans Erich Bödeker summarised: “Die aufklärerischen Reisebeschreibungen boten immer weniger ein Panorama als vielmehr eine reflektierte Perspektive...eine erhebliche Subjektivierung des Mitgeteilten.”¹³² In Heinrich Heine’s *Reisebilder* the description of the journey itself became the foil on which subjective reflections were elaborated. The travel account thus developed into a mirror conveying a particular message, crafted by the author’s own artistic skills, making the journey itself less the prime objective of the text but a means to attain this end.¹³³ Yet, not all found increased objectivity or more information in older accounts. One German traveller argued in 1835: “[W]ie wenig man den Berichten der Reisenden in frühern [sic] Zeiten trauen durfte, als das Reisen noch nicht so allgemein war wie jetzt, und die süsse Gewohnheit eine partiische und unempfängliche Stimmung für das Fremde so gern hervorrief.”¹³⁴ Thus, in this view, an increase of travel activity could also increase objectivity.

¹²⁹ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 186, 188.

¹³⁰ Similar remarks about the price level: August Lewald, *Tyrol: vom Glockner zum Orteles, und vom Garda- zum Bodensee* (Vol. I; Munich, 1835), pp. 36-37. Simultaneously travellers were aware about fees to see sights. Walter White, for instance, argued: “[T]he picturesque is burdened with a tariff in Bohemia as it is in certain parts of England, Scotland, and Wales.” Walter White, *A July Holiday in Saxony, Bohemia, and Silesia* (London, 1857), p. 237.

¹³¹ Ignaz I. Jeitteles, *Eine Reise nach Rom* (Siegen and Wiesbaden, 1844), p. 1.

¹³² Bödeker, ‘Reisebeschreibungen’, p. 293.

¹³³ Wulf Wülfing, ‘Reiseberichte im Vormärz: Die Paradigmen Heinrich Heine und Ida Hahn-Hahn’, in Peter J. Brenner (ed.), *Der Reisebericht: die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt/Main, 1989), pp. 333-344. Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, pp. 99-100.

¹³⁴ Lewald, *Tyrol*, Vol. I, p. 24.

Simultaneously, another development was slowly taking shape within travel literature. Up until the early-nineteenth century, travel accounts were used as a source of information to prepare for one's own journey. British traveller John Aiton summarised this as follows in 1842: "Since the desire to travel has now-a-days obtained so much, it follows as a natural consequence that every information which may tend to promote the comfort of tourists is greedily sought after."¹³⁵ Publishers soon recognised this demand for information to ease travelling. The first modern guidebook is seen as Mariana Starke's *Travels on the Continent*, published by John Murray in 1820.¹³⁶ It should be stressed that this book nevertheless differed considerably from modern guidebooks. For instance, she described the villages in mountainous Carinthia as "spoil[ing] the beauty of the scene" because "nothing can be more uncouth than the wooden buildings which compose them," while the women inhabiting them are "said to be depraved in their morals."¹³⁷ Not precisely the sober and descriptive style expected nowadays. Karl Baedeker's venture into publishing guidebooks took a similar shape. Due to the bankruptcy of another publisher he acquired the rights to a travelogue and consequently published the revised second edition of the *Rheinreise* in 1832.¹³⁸ The success of these early publications encouraged both publishers to continue on this path, which developed the standard for guidebooks for generations to come.¹³⁹ Yet, there are also strong interlinks between both innovators. The third edition of Baedeker's *Rheinreise* (1839) in particular was modelled on an outline first introduced by Murray's guidebooks.¹⁴⁰ This is not surprising since the two publishers had good relations, shared information and cooperated as distribution partners.¹⁴¹ Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did their relationship

¹³⁵ [John Aiton], *Eight Weeks in Germany: Comprising Narratives, Descriptions, and Directions for economical Tourists* (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 2.

¹³⁶ Withey, *Grand Tours*, pp. 69-70.

¹³⁷ Mariana Starke, *Travels on the Continent written for the use and Particular Information of Travellers* (London, 1820), p. 522.

¹³⁸ Müller, *Baedeker*, p. 34.

¹³⁹ Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁰ Müller, *Baedeker*, p. 34.

¹⁴¹ Barbara Schaff, 'Mobile Diskurse. Der Alltagsmythos Reiseführer im medialen Wandel seit 1836', in Julia Danielczyk, Murray G. Hall, Christine Hermann and Sandra Vlaste (eds.), *Zurück in die Zukunft – Digitale Medien, historische Buchforschung und andere komparatistische Abenteuer. Festschrift für Norbert Bachleitner zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2016), p. 286.

deteriorate, and both tried to enter into the other's main market.¹⁴² Eventually, the guidebook took over the task of advising future travellers from travelogues. This was part of a larger development in which more and more specialised publications on themes like statistics, geography or history appeared, making the travel account less relevant for readers who sought information in these areas.¹⁴³

It would be inaccurate, however, to comprehend the development of travel literature as solely teleological – from all-encompassing, voluminous descriptions that record any peculiarity to an account in which the author ventures onto centre stage while the description of the journey takes the backseat.¹⁴⁴ Heinrich Heine's *Reisebilder* may have been established as a turning point by literary studies, but this does not necessarily mean that contemporaries renounced other traditional forms of travel writing immediately. In fact, the sources utilised for this study speak to an adherence to older principles of travel writing well into the nineteenth century. Most of the accounts were packed with information and were valued by reviewers for exactly that.¹⁴⁵ Peter Evan Turnbull, for example, who travelled the Habsburg Empire extensively in 1840, published two volumes. While the first contained the narrative of his journey, he arranged information on highly differing topics – “religion, education, morality, jurisprudence, feudal and municipal institutions, civil and military administrations, and domestic and foreign policy”¹⁴⁶ – in a separate volume. German traveller Johann Georg Kohl arranged his narrative across five volumes and more than 2,000 pages. The detail is striking and impressive, and yet at the same time displays local knowledge. This does not necessarily mean that these accounts were always faithful, but it shows that the authors wanted to provide as much information as they could.

The prime reason seems to be found in the lower scale of the travel activities in the Habsburg Empire compared to the ‘tourist magnets’ of the time – the

¹⁴² Müller, *Baedeker*, pp. 34-37.

¹⁴³ Buzard argues that the emergence of the guide book also “sharp[en]d the definition and purpose of their text's opposites” which could now “specialise in recording an individual traveller's distinctive reactions to the stimuli of a tour.” James Buzard, ‘The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)’, in Peter Hulmes and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 48-49.

¹⁴⁴ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York, 2002).

¹⁴⁵ Although there are also voices emphasising the virtues of less detailed accounts. See Karl Gutzkow, *Soireen* (Vol. I, Frankfurt/Main, 1835), pp. 75-77.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Evan Turnbull, *Austria* (Vol. I; London, 1840), p. vii.

Apennine Peninsula, France, Switzerland or the Rhine region.¹⁴⁷ One bibliography of travel writing on Italy counts almost 450 publications by British authors in the period between 1815 and 1860.¹⁴⁸ A more recent inquiry into the period between 1813 and 1818 identified 203 publications that cover a ‘Continental Tour’ of which 86 concern France, 40 the Italian States but only six the Habsburg Empire.¹⁴⁹ Literary scholar Nigel Leask argued that in the period between 1770 and 1840, “the popularity of travel books...although universally acknowledged, is hard to quantify.”¹⁵⁰ Therefore, less weight should be attached to the absolute numbers; instead the proportions should be emphasised. The format of the late Enlightenment travelogue might have been simply more suitable since traveller and intended audience did not necessarily share the same base of knowledge, which was different to more frequently visited regions.¹⁵¹ A telling episode sheds some light on the state of information about the Habsburg Empire in Britain. Frances Trollope claimed in her travelogue that she had been shown an article published in the (Whig-leaning) *Edinburgh Review* that described Prague as the Hungarian capital.¹⁵² The anonymous reviewer of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, its conservative rival, seized upon this opportunity and forced the *Edinburgh Review* to emphasise in a later article that the “statement is wholly destitute of foundation.”¹⁵³ It is of less importance here if the geographic misplacement really took place, but that it was possible to uphold such a claim without losing credibility. The political-geographical knowledge of this part of

¹⁴⁷ Withey, *Grand Tours*, pp. 60-63.

¹⁴⁸ R. S. Pine-Coffin, *Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy* (Florence, 1974), pp. 165-274.

¹⁴⁹ Benjamin Colbert, ‘Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840: The European Tour, 1814–1818 (excluding Britain and Ireland)’, *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840*, 13 (2004), [http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc13_n01/\[20/01/17\]](http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc13_n01/[20/01/17]).

¹⁵⁰ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: From an Antique Land* (Oxford, 2002), p. 11.

¹⁵¹ Struck makes a similar observation in regard to Poland and France. Schulz-Forberg emphasises that intertextuality pressured travel writers to present known images in new light. Struck, *Nicht West*, pp. 95-113. Schulz-Forberg, *London–Berlin*, p. 94.

¹⁵² Frances Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians, with some Account of a Journey through Swabia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Salzbourg* (Vol. II; London, 1838), p. 143.

¹⁵³ ‘Châteaubriand on the Congress of Verona’, *The Edinburgh Review* 68 (July 1838), p. 540. ‘Mrs. Trollope’s Vienna and the Austrians’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 43 (April 1838), p. 495.

Europe must have been sufficiently uncertain, that such a misconception was at least regarded as possible.

The ‘rift’ between travel literature and guidebooks was not yet discernible. Many a traveller named the chosen hotel and commented upon its quality. Some accounts specifically incorporated practical advice for future travellers. Moritz von Haacke, for example, who published his account in 1840, explained that each traveller should carry a journal outlining the intended route and a diary to not only preserve the most memorable experiences – a sort of mental photography – but also to have “einen Schatz von Erfahrungen, deren Benutzung auf spätern [sic] Reisen oft von der höchsten Wichtigkeit ist.”¹⁵⁴ This is clearly reminiscent of the instructions given to Enlightenment travellers. John Aiton, a Scottish priest, even included “Directions for Economical Tourists” as a chapter in his book and over 61 pages elaborated on every practicality imaginable. In short, well into the nineteenth century travelogues were published that adhered to much older models. This shows that the travelogue’s Enlightenment roots must be taken into account. Understanding the different streams that influenced the conventions to which the source was subjected is key in order to allow for a thorough analysis. But this can only be one side of the coin. It is equally important to gain an understanding of the different authors’ social backgrounds.

2.2 Writing about the Habsburg Empire – Who Ventured there?

Until recently, even modern scholarship was dominated by the view that only very few travellers visited and wrote about the Habsburg Empire. As late as 1991, it was possible to unreflectively cite sources of the early-twentieth century that claimed: “[B]etween 1836 and 1889 there had only been two books published in English on the Austro-Hungarian Empire.”¹⁵⁵ The encyclopaedia *Literature of*

¹⁵⁴ Moritz von Haacke, *Erinnerungen aus einer Reise durch das südliche Deutschland, Österreich, die Schweiz in das mittägliche Frankreich und nach Algier* (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1840), p. 310.

¹⁵⁵ Steven Beller, ‘The British View of Bohemia Before 1914’, in Eva Schmidt-Hartmann and Stanley B. Winters (eds.), *Großbritannien, die USA und die böhmischen Länder 1848–1938/Great Britain, the United States, and the Bohemian Lands 1848–1938* (Munich, 1991), pp. 75–85. The quote is based on James Baker, *Austria; her People and their Homelands* (London, 1913), p. vii.

Travel and Exploration, published in 2003, does not allude to any of the successor states separately. Austria is simply subsumed under Germany, while the entry on ‘Central Europe’ is strongly influenced by the differentiation between Western and Eastern Europe, and the entry under the heading ‘Eastern Europe’ is mainly about Hungary and Romania.¹⁵⁶ Although the Habsburg Empire was less visited than other European regions, the claim that only two travelogues were published in the greater part of the nineteenth century grossly underestimates the publication history. Several indicators support this observation.

One is the increasing demand for guidebooks on this region. John Murray, who dominated the British market, published *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany* as early as 1837. This guide did not only cover the German-speaking areas of the Habsburg Empire but also followed the Danube into Hungary. Until its final edition in 1890, the book appeared in fifteen editions, only slightly fewer than his book on northern Germany, which appeared in twenty editions until 1886.¹⁵⁷ Baedeker, the most popular guidebook publisher in the German-speaking area, started publishing on this region at about the same time in 1842.¹⁵⁸ Another indicator is the grouping of reviews in magazines, one of the main means to get acquainted with the newest publications. If several independent works covered the same region, reviewers tended to group them together in omnibus reviews. With regard to the Habsburg Empire, this was the case in the late 1830s when up to five publications were reviewed together.¹⁵⁹

Yet, the strongest evidence is the sheer amount of published travel accounts in the period between 1815 and 1869. This study is based on 66 British and 54 German travelogues published during this time, without claiming completeness. Not all of these publications are exclusively concerned with the territories of the Habsburg

Bugge also refers to that citation. Peter Bugge, “‘Something in the View Which Makes You Linger’: Bohemia and Bohemians in British Travel Writing, 1836–1857”, *Central Europe*, 7 (2009), p. 7.

¹⁵⁶ The author of ‘Eastern Europe’, however, reflects on the historical delimitation of his topic. Jennifer Speake (ed.), *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia* (3 Vols.; New York, 2002).

¹⁵⁷ W.B.C Lister, ‘A Bibliography of Murray’s Handbook for Travellers’, 1993, http://cisupa.proquest.com/ksc_assets/catalog/3520.pdf[20/01/17].

¹⁵⁸ [Karl Baedeker], *Handbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland und den Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaat* (Koblenz, 1842).

¹⁵⁹ E.g. ‘Travellers in Austria and Hungary’, *Quarterly Review*, 65 (December 1839), pp. 234-272.

Empire, since travellers tended to link their tours within the Empire with visits to nearby regions, but about a fourth nevertheless do.

As outlined above, travel accounts were (and still are) a popular genre, which meant that the literary market place was contested. Publishers had to anticipate what potential customers wanted to read in order to be economically successful. To give some indication about times of particular strong interest, Figure 2 shows the distribution over time of published travel accounts on the Habsburg Empire between 1815 and 1869. The grey columns represent the number of publications by British authors divided in five-year intervals, while the yellow columns depict the same for German authors.

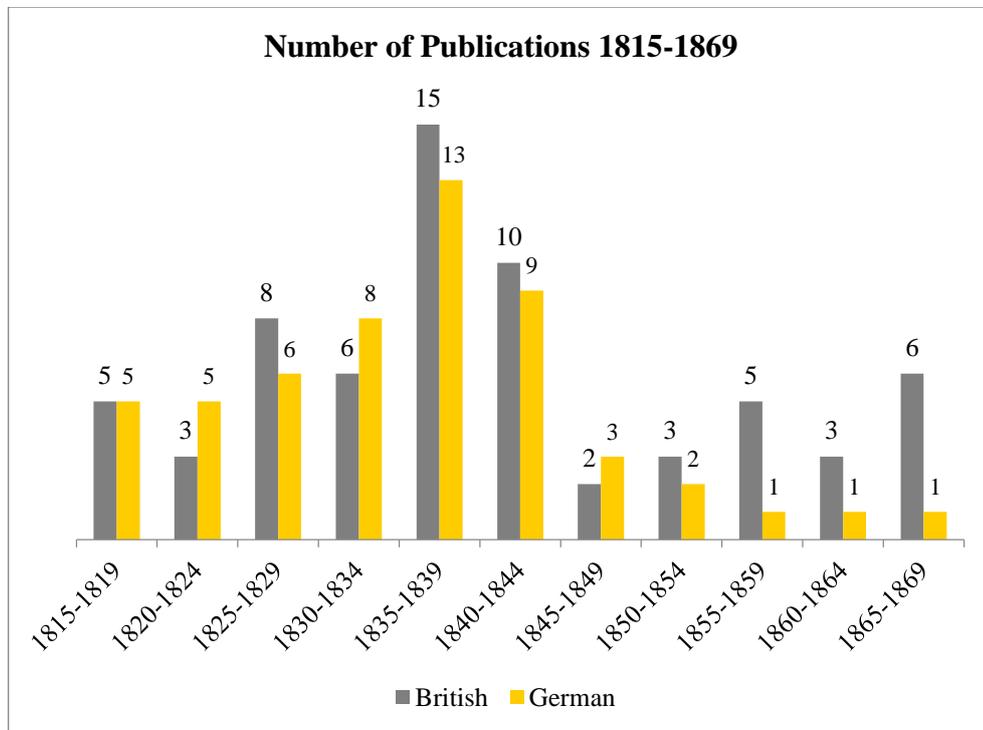


Figure 2 Number of Publications 1815-1869

This figure leads to a striking observation, since more than a third were published in the decade between 1835 and 1844. Thus, perhaps surprisingly, it was at the end of the so-called *Vormärz*-era that interest in the Habsburg Empire peaked. In the following years, publication activity slowed down considerably, especially in the case of German authors. There are a number of factors contributing to this abatement. On the one hand, as outlined above, publications became more

specialised.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, better infrastructure meant, as one traveller wrote in the mid-1850s, that “these are the days of the million,”¹⁶¹ meaning more and more people travelled this region on their own. Additionally, the attractive effects of newly introduced technologies wore out. While one of the first travelogues containing a steamship journey on the Danube undertaken in 1834 read: “The hope of accomplishing my object [a journey to Constantinople] by a route so novel, so attractive in itself, and so convenient in every respect, was too tempting to be resisted”,¹⁶² decades later travelling on the Danube had lost the appeal of novelty. Thus, interest shifted to more remote areas than Central Europe.¹⁶³ Finally, travelogues on the Habsburg Empire were still published, but mainly by native authors.¹⁶⁴

The mechanisms around publishing travel literature varied considerably between Great Britain and the German lands. While the British market was much more centralised and only a minority of sources were published outside of London, the opposite was the case for the German lands. Although Leipzig and Berlin stood out, accounting for about a third, all other publications appeared scattered around the German-speaking world, including rather obscure places such as Bunzlau [Bolesławiec, Poland] and Gumbinnen [Gusev, Russia] in Eastern Prussia or Freiberg in Saxony. Thus, the outreach of German-speaking accounts was in general smaller, often only local.¹⁶⁵

Since it is the goal of this study to examine the outside view comprehensively these works are nevertheless included. Although it is impossible to quantify the publications’ readership, it must be assumed that English publications had a larger reach. One observation underpinning this assumption is the fact that well-established publishing houses ranked prominently amongst the publishers of the

¹⁶⁰ This becomes evident when the *Bibliotheca Geographica*, a bibliography that collected recent publications on geography, is reviewed. The share of travel writings continuously decreased over time, while statistical works increased considerably.

¹⁶¹ Cited in Withey, *Grand Tours*, p. 145.

¹⁶² Michael John Quin, *A Steam Voyage down the Danube: With Sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, and Turkey, &c.*, 2nd ed. (Vol. I; London, 1835), pp. 1-2.

¹⁶³ Withey highlights Egypt and Palestine as new destinations. Withey, *Grand Tours*, pp. 232-235.

¹⁶⁴ This becomes evident when the catalogue of the Austrian National Library is researched.

¹⁶⁵ Very few travelogues included list of subscribers (*Subscribenten-Verzeichnis*). An analysis of Kahlert, *Reiseschilderungen*, pp. xiii-xvi shows that most of the 200 subscribers resided in an half-circle of about 160 km south of Breslau [Wrocław, Poland]. Only a handful lived outside Prussia.

researched travelogues. Henry Colburn, Richard Bentley and John Murray, whose portfolios included works of Benjamin Disraeli, Charles Darwin and Lord Byron, accounted for about a fourth.¹⁶⁶ There is no similar concentration among German publications, since no publishing house accounted for more than three travelogues.

So far one crucial question remains untouched: Who was writing? The research interest of this study is the perceptions of British and German travellers from outside the Habsburg Empire. Although the inside view would certainly be highly instructive, for reasons of space it is not possible to follow this lead further in the framework of this study. Therefore, the historical actors can be classified into two main groups – British and German. As obvious as both categories seem at first glance, more profound analysis quickly shows that not every biography fits this narrow definition. A number of accounts have been published anonymously and it is not always possible to establish the author. Even if the author could have been tracked down, contemporaries did not have this information at their disposal. What about émigrés, whose socialisation and education might have taken place in their native land, but as authors identified with their adopted land? To account for such impreciseness, a third category needs to be introduced: ‘Intermediaries.’ These are either authors who published anonymously but were born and socialised within the Habsburg Empire, authors who published in the English language but were from the German lands or the Habsburg Empire, or authors who wrote in German and were born in the Habsburg Empire but moved away at an early age. These are not numerous – only seven authors fall within this category – but their accounts are nevertheless important contributions.

A division into these three categories can only be a preliminary step. The much more promising question concerns the groups’ internal sociocultural compositions. What are the travellers’ social and professional backgrounds? Are certain regions overrepresented? What about female travellers? In the following

¹⁶⁶ On Colburn: Veronica Melnyk, ‘Half fashion and half passion’: The Life of Publisher Henry Colburn’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2002). On Bentley: Royal A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge, 1960). On Murray:

section, these questions are discussed separately for British and German travellers, in order to gain a comparative overview.

For this study 53 British authors were identified. The discrepancy in the number of accounts arises from the fact that some authored multiple accounts. The sample contains 23 English authors¹⁶⁷ but, besides three Irish, a surprising fifteen were Scottish.¹⁶⁸ Given that by the end of the 1830s, Scotland's population was at about 2.5 million, while England's was at around fourteen million, Scottish authors are clearly overrepresented.¹⁶⁹ This, however, fits a general observation. As historian Tom Devine argued, in the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century "Scottish educators, physicians, soldiers, administrators, missionaries, engineers, scientists and merchants relentlessly penetrated every corner of the [British] Empire and beyond so that when the statistical record for virtually any area of professional employment is examined the Scots were over-represented."¹⁷⁰

This view can be corroborated when the travellers' social background is taken into account. Only a tiny fraction originated from the lower or the highest strata of society. William Duthie, for example, was a goldsmith, who spent three and a half years on the continent in the 1850s.¹⁷¹ On the other end of the social ladder are Charles William Vane, third Marquess of Londonderry, and his wife Frances Anne Vane, Marchioness of Londonderry, who published two separate travel accounts of the same journey to Constantinople, as well as Emily Anne Smythe, Viscountess Strangford. Their travels were linked to diplomatic missions. The Marquess of Londonderry was the ambassador in Vienna between 1814 and 1823 and Viscountess Strangford's husband served at the British embassy in Constantinople in the 1840s and 1850s. Although Londonderry and Strangford

Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859* (Chicago and London, 2015).

¹⁶⁷ Four authors are excluded, because they are most probably from England, but this could not be verified. For five travellers no information was obtainable. Three travellers fall in the category 'intermediaries' outlined above.

¹⁶⁸ Place of birth or self-descriptions are used to identify Scottish travellers.

¹⁶⁹ Neil L. Tranter, 'Population and Demographics', in Gerald Newman and Leslie Ellen Brown (eds.), *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 1997), pp. 559-560.

¹⁷⁰ Tom Devine, 'Imperial Scotland', in Tom Devine (ed.), *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007* (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 110.

¹⁷¹ William Duthie, *A Tramp's Wallet; Stored by an English Goldsmith During his Wanderings in Germany and France* (London, 1858), p. v.

earned their titles due to the death of their respective elder brothers, they were nevertheless part of the British high aristocracy.¹⁷² The bulk of travel writers, however, originated from a social setting in between these two strata and is best described by the epithet ‘upper-middle class.’ They practiced professions that generated enough financial means to spend a limited time abroad while having enough spare time to do so.¹⁷³

Moreover, a growing number of writers were travelling with the intent to turn their experiences into publications. Writing to make a living was nothing new, of course. In Britain at least, it dated back to the eighteenth century, when an increasing number of writers entered a growing literary market and provoked fierce responses from those who understood receiving money as derogating their work.¹⁷⁴ As Dustin Griffin outlined: “Even by the end of the eighteenth century, the ‘author by profession’ was simply someone who wrote for money in a steady and public way as...an ‘occupation’ or ‘known employment.’”¹⁷⁵ During the nineteenth century, the dynamics of a wider readership, less costly printing and thus a larger market for publications accelerated.¹⁷⁶ Since travel writing was a very popular genre, as outlined above, an increasing number of writers could live off their travelogues.

Apart from professional writers, most travellers’ backgrounds can be classified within four fields: military service, clergy, physicians and practitioners of law. The requirement to work in these areas was an advanced education, often at university level. Thus, graduates from Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and St Andrews are found amongst them. Despite the differing professions, the group of travel writers can be regarded as fairly homogeneous, sharing similar interests and outlooks. Aside from professional writers and a few couriers, who turned their

¹⁷² Werner Mosse, ‘Nobility and the Middle Classes in Nineteenth-Century Europe: A Comparative Study’, in Jürgen Kocka and Allen Mitchell (eds.), *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 79-80.

¹⁷³ Similar to the audience of Cook’s first European tours organised in the 1860s. Withey, *Grand Tours*, p. 158.

¹⁷⁴ Dustin Griffin, ‘The Rise of the Professional Author?’, in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Vol. V; Cambridge, 2009), pp. 138-139.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁷⁶ Josephine M. Guy and Ian Small, *The Routledge Concise History of Nineteenth-Century Literature* (London, 2011), p. 205.

journeys into publications,¹⁷⁷ most of them travelled for leisure or personal interest, and their education was helpful at times.

When the above-mentioned George Robert Gleig, who, at the time, was chaplain to the Royal Hospital Chelsea, made his walking tour through Bohemia he conversed with a local colleague in “horrid Latin.” Later, when invited to dine with the Bishop of Neusohl [Banská Bystrica, Slovakia], the “if not very intellectual...[but] abundantly animated conversation” was held “partly in German, partly in Latin.”¹⁷⁸ A main reason for the use of Latin was that the Kingdom of Hungary retained it as the administrative language until 1844.¹⁷⁹

Nevertheless, it seems that English was fairly well understood. Another cleric from Scotland wrote “the keepers of the hotels on all the main roads, down to Vienna at least...find it to be their interest to employ as their chamberlain a person who speaks the English language with fluency.”¹⁸⁰ As well-educated members of the upper-middle class, travellers were fluent in the lingua franca of the time, French.¹⁸¹ German, or indeed any other local language except for Italian, was not widely spoken by those who travelled to the Habsburg Empire. Some overcame this drawback by simply hiring a servant fluent in local languages.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Thomas Lumsden, *A Journey from Merut in India to London, through Arabia, Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Russia, Austria, Switzerland, and France, during the years 1819 and 1820; with a map and itinerary of the route* (London, 1822).

¹⁷⁸ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. II, p. 62. Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. III, pp. 195, 255. David Thomas Ansted, *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring of 1862* (London, 1862), p. 15. Richard Bright, *Travels from Vienna Through Lower Hungary; with some Remarks on the State of Vienna During the Congress, in the Year 1814* (Edinburgh, 1818), p. 100. Aiton reported that in Salzburg his accent forced him to revert to Latin to make himself understood. [Aiton], *Eight Weeks*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁹ Joseph II decreed in 1784 that German should be the sole administrative language in all parts except the Austrian Netherlands, the Italian possessions and Galicia. This provoked fierce response in Hungary resulting in the reintroduction of Latin after his death. T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (Harlow, 1994), pp. 70-72. In 1844, Hungarian finally superseded Latin. George Barany, ‘The Age of Royal Absolutism; 1790-1848’, in Peter F. Sugar, Peter Hanák and Tibor Frank (eds.), *A History of Hungary* (London and New York, 1990), p. 201.

¹⁸⁰ [Aiton], *Eight Weeks*, p. 57.

¹⁸¹ Von Haacke, *Erinnerungen*, p. 309.

¹⁸² However, this was not always without difficulties. Viscountess Strangford added that the interpreter was “totally useless to us in every way.” Emily Anne Smythe, *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in 1863: with a Visit to Montenegro* (London, 1864), p. 132. Paget dismissed two servants during his voyage before finding one that fulfilled his expectations. John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania; with Remarks on their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical* (Vol. II; London, 1839), pp. 339-340.

The language barrier did not impede getting acquainted with locals. Some even sought to eschew their compatriots. Scottish traveller John Aiton wrote in the introduction about his approach in the third person:

When abroad, he makes it a point, as much as may be, to avoid any thing [sic] like the continued society of his countrymen. Knowing well, that if he does not, he may travel the whole of Germany, and yet never be out of England. So extremely particular is he on this point, that if he happens to be seen by half a dozen of his countrymen, speeding it along on a path so narrow that he cannot diverge, rather than be entangled in their company, and thus become harnessed to the customs he meant to leave at home, he manages to escape the annoyance, as if by putting on an invisible coat.¹⁸³

Those who wanted to stay in the company of their compatriots were sometimes forced to mingle with locals by basic necessities of travelling such as inquiring after a room in inns or spending quite some time in coaches.¹⁸⁴ Letters of introduction opened doors, even in remote areas. One traveller who visited Galicia in 1824, for example, described that such letters not only created a way to gather information but also permitted “the most eligible mode of travelling.”¹⁸⁵ Even some forty years later travellers were still equipped with these ‘door-openers.’¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, there is also evidence that travellers were well-received at the British embassy in Vienna, where a meeting with the ambassador could also serve as a key to otherwise locked doors.¹⁸⁷

How do German travellers compare to their British counterparts? For this study 49 German authors have been researched. The discrepancy with the number of travel accounts again arises from multiple publications by some. In the German case, it is more difficult to establish the regional distribution. The travellers’ average age

¹⁸³ [Aiton], *Eight Weeks*, p. vii.

¹⁸⁴ Schivelbusch argues that conversation was an essential part of coach travelling, but was replaced by reading on trains. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century; Translated by Anselm Hollo* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 66-72.

¹⁸⁵ John Moore, *A Journey from London to Odessa; with Notices of New Russia, etc* (Paris, 1833), p. 70.

¹⁸⁶ Ansted, *Short Trip*, p. 223. Schulz-Forberg mentions a traveller who used this technique as late as 1935. Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction’, p. 32.

¹⁸⁷ James Holman, *Travels through Russia, Siberia, Poland, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, Hannover, &c.: undertaken during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, while suffering from total blindness, and comprising an account of the author being conducted a state prisoner from the Eastern parts of Siberia* (Vol. II; London, 1825), p. 266. Trollope, *Vienna*, Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

at publication of roughly forty years attests to the majority being born while the Holy Roman Empire was still in existence, and thus before the consolidation of territories took place. Besides, upheavals during the Revolutionary Wars, but also professional necessities, meant that a certain degree of mobility was given. In order to arrive at the best possible estimate these factors need to be taken into account. The analysis is therefore not only based on the place of birth but also on a person's biography. Nevertheless, this can only be an approximation due to the scarcity of self-descriptions, which would allow us to establish their viewpoints. Given these limitations, the following picture emerges.

The largest group – thirteen travellers – are Prussians, followed by Bavarian and Saxon authors – eight each. That Prussians would be interested in the Habsburg Empire is hardly surprising. In terms of population, Prussia was the largest of the German states, accounting for about 16.5 million inhabitants in 1850.¹⁸⁸ The Hohenzollern were the Habsburgs' main political rivals in the German Confederation. Rather surprising is the comparatively large number of Saxons, since it was a considerably smaller state, with about two million inhabitants, than both Prussia and Bavaria – the latter having roughly four and a half million inhabitants in 1850.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the size of the population can only be one explanation. Another is the geographic proximity of these three states. All of them were neighbours of the Habsburg Empire and, as will be shown in more detail in the next section, were well connected in terms of infrastructure, making it easier and less expensive to travel there.

When a closer look is taken at the sociocultural composition, similarities to the British case arise. Although members of the high aristocracy and the lower social strata are missing, the bulk of authors display strong similarities. Quite a few were literary figures, able to live off their writings. Among them were well-established authors such as Heinrich Heine or Willibald Alexis. Another fraction was employed in the educational sector as teachers or university professors. There are also priests and military personnel, though at a lower level than in the British case, as well as physicians. Many of them also held degrees from a variety of German

¹⁸⁸ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Vol. III; Munich, 2008), p. 9.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 9.

universities. As in the British case the term ‘upper-middle class’ might best describe this social group.

A final question concerns the role of female travellers. Women in travel writing have received attention since the 1970s, but as Tamara S. Wagner emphasised: “Current critical scholarship on women’s travel writing...warns against the dangers of an essentialist approach that does a disservice to the wide range of women’s experience, attitudes, and writing styles.”¹⁹⁰ As Jan Fergus argued, since the mid-eighteenth century, “[p]ublishing was one of the few means by which a woman of the middling or upper classes could earn cash.”¹⁹¹ Thus it is not surprising that travel and writing were combined in order to enter the literary market. Seven British – Julia Pardoe, Frances M. Trollope, the Marquess of Londonderry, the Viscountess Strangford, Elizabeth Tuckett, Mary Shelley and Lizzie Selina Eden¹⁹² – and two German – Josephine von Drouin and Therese von Lützow – female travel writers were identified. To some extent they reflect the social composition outlined above. Members of the high aristocracy are found amongst them, as are literary figures. But there are also relatively unknown personalities who seemed to have been publishing for a very limited circle only. Their itineraries were no less adventurous than those of their male colleagues. Frances Trollope, for example, travelled down the Danube before the introduction of steamboats, leading a German traveller to comment that “ein gebildeter Mann” hardly chose that mode of transport “viel weniger eine Dame aus den höhern Ständen.”¹⁹³ Viscountess Strangford’s journey in the eastern Mediterranean included a visit to Montenegro, hardly visited at the time, while, Julia Pardoe took the toilsome land route from Constantinople to Vienna that included ten days of quarantine.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Tamara S. Wagner, ‘Travel Writing’, in Linda H. Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women’s Writing* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 176. Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, p. 199.

¹⁹¹ Jan Fergus, ‘The Professional Woman Writer’, in Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2011), p. 6.

¹⁹² Anonymous, *Travels in Bohemia*, Vol. I, p. 221 indicates that the unidentified author is most probably a woman. However, this cannot be confirmed, thus this publication was not counted.

¹⁹³ Friedrich Karl von Strombeck, *Darstellungen aus einer Reise von Niedersachsen nach Wien im Sommer des Jahres 1838* (Brunswick, 1839), p. 140.

¹⁹⁴ Julia Pardoe, *City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, 2nd ed. (Vol. III; London, 1838), p. 283.

Accounts of women travellers seem to have been as widely read as those written by men. In 1839, an anonymous author described Frances Trollope: “Certainly no other author of the present day has been at once so much read, so much admired, and so much abused.”¹⁹⁵ This, however, indicates differences in the acceptance of their accounts, especially by more conservative reviewers. The *Church of England Quarterly Review*, for example, objurgated Julia Pardoe, whose travelogue exhibited liberal tendencies, by reminding “the fair writer, that *liberalism*, though it may look philosophical, is not really so; and that *conservatism* is not only the more correct, but the more ladylike political creed.”¹⁹⁶ Such comments, however, were rather seldom, and the works of women on the Habsburg Empire seem to have been widely accepted even though traditional ideas influenced their judgement.¹⁹⁷ Thus, these authors are not treated separately but instead seen as part of the same social group.

After focusing on travelogues, the main source of this study, as well as the social background of those who wrote them, the emphasis is now shifted to the question of which routes travellers took and how they moved from one place of interest to another.

2.3 Where to Travel

The question of why British and German travellers ventured into the Habsburg Empire in the first place is more complex than perhaps expected. Without a doubt a variety of reasons for travelling, be they professional, commercial or simply personal interest in that particular region, influenced their decisions. Nevertheless, it is possible to outline a number of general factors.

There is one fundamental difference between travelling Britons and Germans. While the former were venturing abroad, this is not as evident for the latter, who were touring ‘Germany.’ This implies a much closer relationship to the visited region. One Prussian traveller, for instance, wrote in 1843: “Sonderbar, aber

¹⁹⁵ ‘Memoir of Mrs. Trollope’, *The New Monthly Magazine*, 55 (1839), p. 417.

¹⁹⁶ ‘The City of Magyar, or Hungary and her Institutions. By Miss Parode’, *Church of England Quarterly Review*, 9 (1841), p. 243. Italics in original.

¹⁹⁷ Schiffer offers an excellent overview of reviewer’s attitudes towards women travellers that also holds true for the Habsburg Empire. Women were imagined as drawn to domestic issues,

bezeichnend genug ist es, daß man in Wien z.B. sagen hört: Ich werde nach Deutschland reisen, gleichsam als ob Wien nicht in Deutschland läge.”¹⁹⁸ Most of those Germans who travelled the territories of the German Confederation emphasised a wish to learn more about the less well-known parts of ‘their country’, despite the crossing of a state border. The Kingdom of Hungary, however, was regarded as a separate entity, unconnected to any concept of ‘Germany.’¹⁹⁹

As seen above, travel literature was amongst the most popular genres of the time, but this also meant that the literary market place was contested. One way to beat other writers was to venture off the beaten track. Thus, one British traveller argued in 1836, after accepting an invitation to Styria: “I often sigh for some hit of ground to tread upon which has not been ploughed up by the merciless pens of preceding travellers...But your account of Styria does stir up my ink-horn; and if I don’t make a quarto out of it, the fault is mine.”²⁰⁰ The regions under Habsburg sway could be styled as little visited, although, as outlined above, the sheer amount of travel literature tells a rather different story. At least in the British case, the mixture of relatively little general knowledge as well as the numerous ruins and gothic churches contributed to its ‘exotic’ appeal.²⁰¹ Furthermore, the British reading public demanded information driven by recent political and economic developments, as one anonymous reviewer wrote in 1835:

It is impossible not to have remarked the strong interest which has been excited in England within the last two years by everything relating to the present condition of the Austrian empire. The opening of stream-navigation on the Danube; the growing interest of English

emotional, instinct rather than knowledge driven but they also had access to social spaces men could not visit. Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, pp. 351-353.

¹⁹⁸ Kahlert, *Reiseschilderungen*, p. 44. Similar Scherer, *Oestreich*, p. 82.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 3.

²⁰⁰ Basil Hall, *Schloss Hainfeld or a Winter in Lower Styria* (Paris, 1836), p. 13.

²⁰¹ Several Vampire fiction stories were set in the Habsburg territories (Styria, Transylvania). Since, as Ludmilla Kostova argued, “[t]he Gothic setting usually gives the impression of being far removed from the world of the audience, which by contrast must appear orderly, well organised, and rational” these properties must have applied in the eyes of contemporaries. Ludmilla Kostova, ‘A Gateway To Europe’s Orient(s): Austria in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Writing and Vampire Fiction’, in Wolfgang Görtschacher and Holger Klein (eds.), *Austria and Austrians: Images in World Literature* (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 99-103. Here p. 100. Her analysis of travel writing is, however, less convincing and follows Wolff’s argument closely. It must be stressed that these Vampire stories were published only in the last third of the nineteenth century.

travellers with the rude but energetic inhabitants of Hungary; the symptoms of a more generous policy in the affairs of the empire and especially of Italy.²⁰²

This meant that both authors and publishers could expect the public to take up such works and thus reduce their financial risk.

Political stability is a precondition for tourism.²⁰³ The era between the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna and the outbreak of the revolutions of 1848 can be described as stable and peaceful. Despite unrest in 1830 and a peasant uprising in Galicia in 1846 that resulted in the annexation of Krakow, most of its territories remained calm.²⁰⁴

The cost of living during the stay was comparatively cheap. One British traveller emphasised in his account published in 1842 that he spent a mere 40 pounds during his eight weeks abroad.²⁰⁵ Of course it was possible to spend much more: Frances Trollope, who stayed in Vienna for a longer period in 1836, claimed that she had spent 700 pounds there.²⁰⁶ But compared to more expensive destinations, such as Switzerland, one could obtain good value for money.

In short, travelling the Habsburg Empire was comparatively safe and relatively affordable, while a developing general interest in its political and economic state increased the chances that the literary market would receive publications positively. However, there was another key ingredient: The infrastructure had been improved steadily, especially with the introduction and constant improvement of Danube steamers and railways in the 1830s. It is worthwhile to review this development closer, since travellers willing to visit the Habsburg

²⁰² 'The Austrian Commercial Treaty', *British and Foreign Review*, 8 (January 1839), p. 96.

²⁰³ Cynthia Enloe, 'Political Stability', in Jafar Jafari (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Tourism* (London, 2002), p. 453.

²⁰⁴ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 157-158. According to Clewing armed uprisings against conscription in Cataro [Kotor, Montenegro] in 1869 and 1881/82 were the sole incidences after 1848/49 within the Empire. Konrad Clewing, 'Der begrenzte Wert strategischen Wertes: Dalmatien als habsburgische Randprovinz', in Hans-Christian Maner (ed.), *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens* (Münster, 2005), pp. 225-226.

²⁰⁵ What is regarded as affordable is necessarily relative. Economic historian Clark calculated the annual average salary in 1840 at about 56 pounds. Thus, this trip would have been too expensive for most of the population. Gregory Clark, 'Average Earnings and Retail Prices, UK; 1209-2010', 30.10.2011, <https://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/ukenncpi/earnstudynw.pdf>[22/01/17].

Empire benefited from an ever-increasing and tightening net of modern transport. But how did they travel?

Contemporaries estimated that in 1785 about 40,000 British compatriots were travelling the European continent.²⁰⁷ Given the popularity of the Grand Tour in other European societies and the rise of interest in destinations within Great Britain, particularly the Lake District, Wales and Scotland,²⁰⁸ this number represents only a fraction of travellers at the time. Such soaring numbers in travelling are unthinkable without corresponding investments in infrastructure that allowed for more efficient movement. Due to the strong emphasis on the large-scale introduction of steam-powered vehicles, improvements in road construction are often overlooked. Corresponding activities are observable across all of Europe. France in particular stood at the forefront and put road building on novel footing.²⁰⁹ Its *Chaussées* eased travelling considerably. Some scholars even argue that it was the increased activities in road and railroad building that forged the French nation, since the centralisation and standardisation of language depended on such measures.²¹⁰ But only after John Loudon McAdam's innovations in the early-nineteenth century was the horse's capacity fully realised.²¹¹ The importance of this innovation can be seen in the newly introduced term 'macadamized road', which travellers used extensively to comment on road quality.

Just as in other European states, increased construction activities were undertaken during the eighteenth century in the Habsburg Empire, and a number of important road building projects were completed in that era.²¹² For instance, the construction

²⁰⁶ Helen Heineman, *Mrs. Trollope: The Triumphant Feminine in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, 1979), p. 142.

²⁰⁷ Withey, *Grand Tours*, p. 6.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-54.

²⁰⁹ Maxwell Lay, *Die Geschichte der Straße: Vom Trampelpfad zur Autobahn; Translated by Thomas Pampuch and Timothy Slater* (Frankfurt/Main and New York, 1994), pp. 95-96.

²¹⁰ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (London, 1977), pp. 217-220. Christoph Maria Merki, *Verkehrsgeschichte und Mobilität* (Stuttgart, 2008), pp. 10, 31.

²¹¹ Lay, *Straße*, pp. 99-102. Ralf Roth, 'Verkehrsrevolutionen', in Reinhard Sieder and Ernst Langthaler (eds.), *Globalgeschichte 1800-2010* (Vienna, 2010), p. 474. He recognised that a thin layer of condensed, finely crushed rock was the perfect surface for carriages, if the underground was properly drained.

²¹² Herbert Knittler, 'Das Verkehrswesen als Ausgangspunkt einer staatlichen Infrastrukturpolitik', in Herbert Matis and Leonhard Bauer (eds.), *Von der Glückseligkeit des Staates: Staat, Wirtschaft*

of a *Chaussée* from Vienna to Trieste, as well as the improvement of other routes leading to the latter city in the early-eighteenth century, contributed largely to its rise as a commercial hub, in addition to the declaration of a free port status.²¹³ During this time, more remote regions were also connected to the Adriatic. For instance, a new road linked Karlstadt [Karlovac, Croatia] to the Adriatic port of Fiume [Rijeka, Croatia], at the time part of Hungary. The road's worsening conditions led to its rebuilding under the name 'Ludovica' – the only major road built by a public company in the early-nineteenth century. Completed in 1812, it was the first modern road to connect Hungary and the sea.²¹⁴

Although rather critical contemporaries, like the above-mentioned Prussian traveller and author of the late Enlightenment era Friedrich Nicolai, pointed out the good state of the roads,²¹⁵ the quality differed widely. In Hungary, for instance, forced labour (*Robot*) was used to construct and maintain roads, resulting in poor repair. Nonetheless the roads tightened communication between the Habsburg Empire's different parts, and travellers benefited from that development. The post ran daily between Vienna and Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] and once a week between Vienna and Budapest, providing swift communication since overnight transport was also introduced.²¹⁶ Commencing towards the end of the eighteenth century once every four weeks a public stagecoach ran between Budapest, Temeschwar [Timișoara, Romania] and Hermannstadt [Sibiu, Romania], which connected the Transylvanian part.²¹⁷ One of the privileges of the Hungarian nobility that travellers could also utilise was the so-called *Vorspann*, the obligation of peasants to provide transport – a practice that remained in place until 1848. Although some monetary compensation had to be paid, travelling was much cheaper, albeit also slower.

und Gesellschaft in Österreich im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus (Berlin, 1981), pp. 137-161.

²¹³ Andreas Helmedach, *Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor: Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter* (Munich, 2002), pp. 76-79, 118-119.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 135.

²¹⁵ Nicolai, *Beschreibung*, Vol. I, p. 8.

²¹⁶ Gyula Antalfy, *So reisten wir einst...*, Translated by Corvina Kiadó (Budapest, 1981), pp. 207-210.

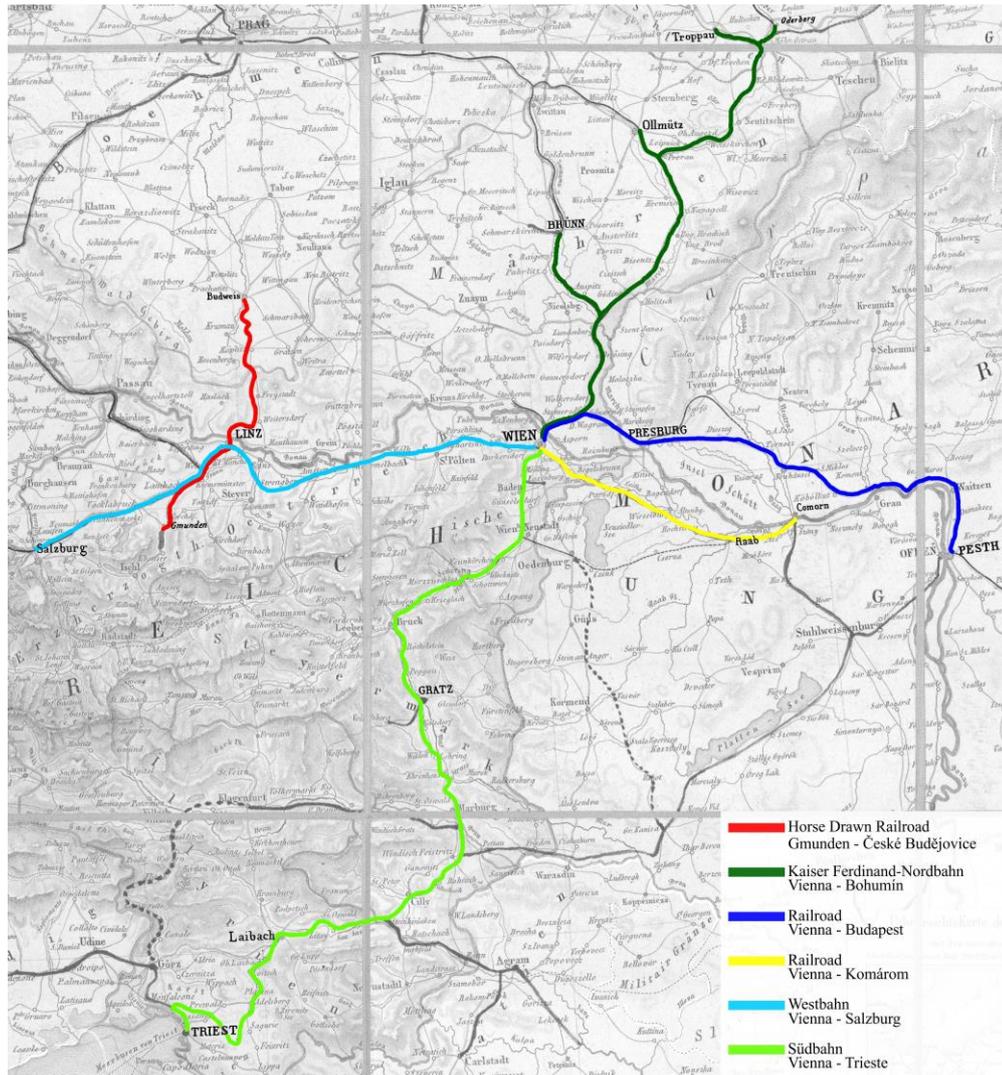


Figure 3 Selected Mid-Nineteenth Century Railroad Lines of the Habsburg Empire

Source: Map is based on J. G. Mayr, *Reise- und Übersichts-Karte von Deutschland nebst den angränzenden Ländern ausgedehnt* (Munich, 1853).

While road building continued throughout the nineteenth century,²¹⁸ the length of railways increased as well. The prime objective was not the transport of people but of goods such as coal, as in the case of the first steam-powered railway

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-194, 203.

²¹⁸ Between 1815-1848 some 48,000 kilometres of road were built, financed by private investors and the state. Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490-1848: Attributes of Empire* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 115. This included rather spectacular technological deeds like a road over the alpine pass Stilfser Joch [Passo dello Stelvio, Italy] completed in 1825 that connected Tyrol and Lombardy. Hans Heiss, ‘Grenzen und Transhumanzen: Politische, administrative, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Übergangszonen in Tirol zwischen 1780 und 1848’, in Hans-Christian Maner (ed.), *Grenzregionen der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion aus der Perspektive Wiens* (Münster, 2005), p. 180.

between Stockton and Darlington, inaugurated in 1825. But this soon changed and the rise of tourism is not imaginable without the ever-tightening net of railroads during the nineteenth century. Although the continent lagged behind Britain, considerable efforts were nevertheless undertaken. Figure 3 shows the railroad lines that will be mentioned in the following section.

Often overlooked is the fact that, at the beginning of the railway era, these were not necessarily steam-powered. Travellers did not differentiate between horse-drawn and steam-powered railroads. Nowadays sometimes interpreted as yet another sign for the technological and economic backwardness of the Habsburg Empire, its first railroad was indeed horse-drawn.²¹⁹ It was, nevertheless, one of the first long-distance railroads on the European continent.²²⁰ Since 1832 it connected Linz and Budweis [České Budějovice, Czech Republic]. Although an extension southward to Gmunden was intended from the beginning, it took until 1842 to finalise this section.²²¹ Nevertheless, due to the rapid technological progress, the railway quickly became outdated. One German traveller thus called it, in the year it finally reached Gmunden, the “Großmutter aller Eisenbahnen auf dem europäischen Continente.”²²² Economic interest was at the foreground, as the railroad linked the rivers Danube and Vltava with the salt producing regions in the Alps. Indeed, the transportation of passengers was not even included in preliminary studies of its earning power. Yet, this soon changed, and in 1841 already more than 12,000 passengers per year were transported between Linz and

²¹⁹ Burkhard Köster, *Militär und Eisenbahn in der Habsburgermonarchie 1825-1859* (Munich, 1999), pp. 54-55. Hlavačka emphasises a central paradox: While the technology was based on older predecessors, its financing was fairly modern (stock company). Milan Hlavačka, ‘Vier Thesen über die Pferdeeisenbahn Budweis-Linz und Notizen zum Transithandel zwischen Böhmen und Oberösterreich’, in Thomas Winkelbauer (ed.), *Kontakte und Konflikte: Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich: Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte; Referate des Symposiums “Verbindendes und Trennendes an der Grenze III” vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 1992 in Zwettl* (Horn, 1993), pp. 297-298.

²²⁰ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 116-117. At its completion it was the second horse-drawn railroad on the European continent but only because the railroad from Saint-Étienne-Andrézieux in France was completed earlier.

²²¹ Between 1837 and 1846 another horse-drawn railway was built between Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] and Szered [Szered, Slovakia].

²²² Johann Georg Kohl, *Hundert Tage auf Reisen in den österreichischen Staaten* (Vol. I; Dresden and Leipzig, 1842), p. 331.

Budweis [České Budějovice, Czech Republic], while a decade later about 170,000 people used the railroad to travel the extended line between Linz and Gmunden.²²³ The first steam-powered railroad was the so-called *Kaiser Ferdinand-Nordbahn*. Financed by banker Salomon Rothschild, the idea of connecting the iron works in Vítkovice near Ostrau [Ostrava, Czech Republic] and the salt mines of Wieliczka near Krakow with Vienna became a reality in the 1830s. The first regular passenger train left Floridsdorf, at the time a Viennese suburb, for Deutsch-Wagram in January 1838.²²⁴ A year later Brünn [Brno, Czech Republic] was connected, reducing travel time from twelve to about four hours. In 1841, Olmütz [Olomouc, Czech Republic] was reached, where a state-financed railroad connected Prague in 1845. Finally, two years later a connection to the Prussian railway system was finished, stressing the European dimension of such construction projects. In that period further projects were either under construction or completed. At about the same time, in 1846, the steam locomotive was introduced in the Kingdom of Hungary connecting Budapest and Waitzen [Vác, Hungary]²²⁵ and only five years later it was possible to travel from Vienna via Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] to Budapest in a railroad coach.²²⁶ Nevertheless, internal conditions remained difficult. It took until 1855 to sign a treaty, which settled a railway line crossing the Hungarian border to Raab [Győr, Hungary].²²⁷ In 1858, the line Vienna-Linz was opened while it took an additional two years to inaugurate its extension to Salzburg.²²⁸ It must be stressed, however, that the introduction of new technologies did not necessarily produce immediate effects. One British traveller, for example, complained as late as 1861: “And now on again by the creeping train. The express [post] used to run from Vienna to

²²³ Hlavačka, ‘Vier Thesen’, p. 300. Roman Sandgruber, ‘Drei Wege nach Böhmen’, in Roman Leitner (ed.), *Alte Spuren, Neue Wege, Oberösterreichische Landesausstellung 2013* (Vol. I; Linz, 2013), p. 95.

²²⁴ Susanne Dressler, ‘Der österreichische Eisenbahnbau von den Anfängen bis zur Wirtschaftskrise des Jahres 1873’, in Karl Gutkas (ed.), *Verkehrswege und Eisenbahnen: Beiträge zur Verkehrsgeschichte Österreichs aus Anlaß des Jubiläums „150 Jahre Dampfeisenbahn in Österreich“* (Vienna, 1989), p. 76.

²²⁵ Antalffy, *So reisten wir*, pp. 346-351.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

²²⁷ Dressler, ‘Eisenbahnbau’, p. 78.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

Trieste in about sixteen hours; the time now is twenty-four!”,²²⁹ thus cautioning us of too overtly positive interpretations of the developing railways.

From a geographic point of view, the supposedly easiest way to travel through the Habsburg Empire was on the Danube. Although surprisingly early, namely in the 1780s, a regular line of communication on the Danube to Constantinople was introduced (and failed briefly afterwards),²³⁰ a number of obstacles delayed the widespread use of this travel option. A journey upstream was much slower than overland travel, since ships had to be towed using horses. Those boats that sailed from Ulm in Bavaria to Vienna and sometimes even further into the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary were neither intended nor equipped for travellers.²³¹ This, however, did not prevent some particularly courageous travellers from exploring the Danube in this way.²³²

The introduction of steam-powered ships eventually turned the river into a tourist attraction in its own right. Hungarians took the lead in introducing steamship navigation on the Danube: the first steamship, “Carolina,” was built by Anton Bernhard of Fünfkirchen [Pécs, Hungary]. Although he obtained the right to establish a steamship line on the Danube his enterprise enjoyed only limited success, since the ship only sailed in the Budapest region during the summer of 1820.²³³ The formation of a steamship company in the late 1820s and the swift introduction of steamers – by 1836, seven ships not only connected Vienna with Constantinople, but also sailed the Black Sea – finally changed the situation.²³⁴ From 1835 onwards, a newly formed Bavarian steamship company served the section between Ulm and Linz, making it possible to travel from Bavaria to the capital of the Ottoman Empire by steamer.²³⁵ In the 1840s, routes on several other

²²⁹ John Mason Neale, *Notes, Ecclesiological and Picturesque on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a visit to Montenegro* (London, 1861), p. 34.

²³⁰ Gustav Otruba, ‘Das Verkehrswesen Österreichs in der Neuzeit (16.-18. Jahrhundert)’, in Karl Gutkas (ed.), *Verkehrswege und Eisenbahnen: Beiträge zur Verkehrsgeschichte Österreichs aus Anlaß des Jubiläums „150 Jahre Dampfeisenbahn in Österreich“* (Vienna, 1989), p. 33.

²³¹ Adalbert Müller, *Die Donau, vom Ursprunge bis zu den Mündungen* (Regensburg, 1839), pp. xlix-l.

²³² E.g. James Robinson Planché in 1827 or Frances Trollope in 1836 and about a century earlier Mary Wortley Montague.

²³³ Antalffy, *So reisten wir*, p. 321.

²³⁴ See Chapter 5.

²³⁵ Hans Georg Müller, ‘Die deutsche Donauschiffahrt in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft’, *Der Donaauraum*, 4 (1972), p. 228.

rivers were opened while steamboats were introduced on a number of lakes as well.²³⁶

The first steamships did not necessarily save time. One German traveller complained that the ship took eight days to reach the frontier of the Ottoman Empire, while it would be possible to arrive there using *Vorspann* in five days.²³⁷ But constant improvements and the replacement of older ships rendered a journey on the river evermore predictable and comfortable.

The Habsburg Empire's infrastructure was extended and improved considerably in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, travellers' options doubled, while the required efforts diminished. But where did travellers actually go within the Empire? What were the great magnets of the time and what can we learn from an analysis of travel routes?

Due to the geographic location on the European continent, travel routes within the Habsburg Empire are not easily outlined. An island or peninsula limits the choice of entry points, whereas on the continent the set of possible routes is much greater. Therefore, while almost standardised tours developed during the eighteenth century, for instance in Italy, this was not the case within the Habsburg Empire.²³⁸ The general directions of travel differed widely. Some were touring the German Confederation; others were on their way southwards to the Apennine peninsula. Some were returning from or on their way to the Ottoman Empire; others sought to reach Russia. Scholars like Attilio Brilli, a specialist on the Grand Tour, even argued that it is virtually impossible to outline the routes from the German lands to Italy.²³⁹ Too numerous were the options for travellers to journey up north or down south. Thus, this analysis focuses on the frequency of visited spots. In this way it is not only possible to find those localities that attracted most visitors, but also to approximate the most frequently utilised travel routes. Subsequently, deeper understanding of the most popular routes is gained, while it allows identifying travellers who went off the beaten track.

²³⁶ Antalffy, *So reisten wir*, pp. 334, 341.

²³⁷ [Adalbert Ladenberg], *Reise durch Oesterreich nach Constantinopel und Triest* (Hamburg, 1839), p. 42.

²³⁸ Brilli, *Reisen*, pp. 84-86.

²³⁹ On travel routes *Ibid.*, pp. 71-110. Here p. 106.

The underlying data is extrapolated from the travelogues under investigation. If within the source the same location appears more than once, because, for example, the traveller made an excursion, this location is counted solely once. If, as some authors did, the start of an account is at a particular place within the Habsburg Empire, the omitted outward journey is also absent from the dataset because it does not appear in the source. Since more British than German sources constitute the base for this study, the former’s number is generally higher.

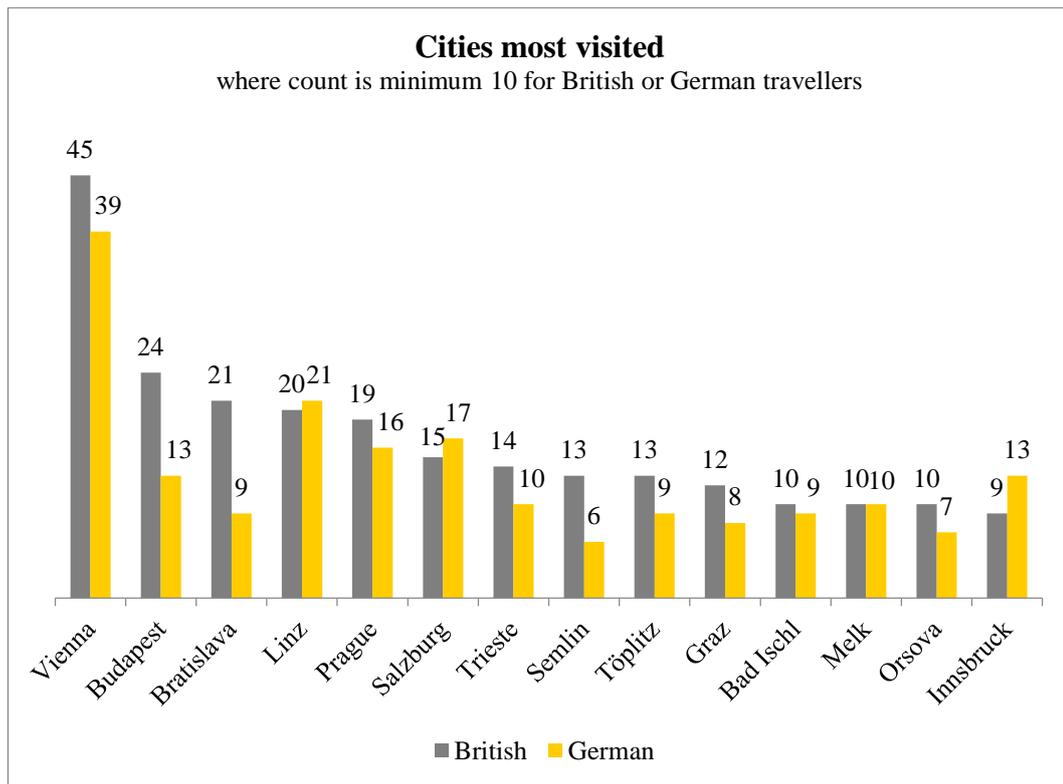


Figure 4 Most visited Cities

Figure 4 shows the places within the Habsburg Empire that appear in at least ten travelogues. Grey columns represent British, while yellow ones depict German travellers.

Unsurprisingly, Vienna ranks as the most ‘attractive’ city within the Habsburg Empire. The *Kaiserstadt* was seen as one of the great cities on the European continent and was thus rarely missing from itineraries. As the capital of an increasingly centralised state, it was also the intersection where the different communication networks met. Much more interesting is the fact that about half of the most visited places are along the Danube, from Linz in Upper Austria to Orsova [Orşova, Romania] – the last larger settlement before the Danube entered

the territories of the Ottoman Empire. This is certainly owed to the introduction of steamship travel, which made it easier to reach places like Orsova [Orşova, Romania] or Semlin [Zemun, today part of Belgrade], but even more importantly to swiftly return. About half of those British travellers who visited Budapest did so in the ten years between 1835 and 1844, which coincided with the introduction of regular steamship service to Vienna and the general novelty of that undertaking, underlining that the Danube steamer was an attraction in its own right. Rather unexpected is the gap in the frequencies of British and German travellers coming to Budapest and Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia], at the time the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary. There is no straightforward explanation for this, but it suggests that the German public was less interested in Hungary than in other parts of the Empire. In the case of German travellers, Vienna was thus less a gateway to more eastern regions of Europe but rather the southeastern corner of their tour.

The most frequented city apart from those located on the Danube was Prague. Again, this is not particularly surprising. The city bore historical significance, especially for Protestants, while those seeking to tour ‘Germany’ saw it as an integral part.²⁴⁰ Moreover, its gothic architecture and picturesque setting only added to its attraction. The latter was also a major factor in visiting Salzburg, which had the advantage of being close to the Eastern Alps, particularly the Salzkammergut, where the popular spa town Bad Ischl was situated.

Graz, the capital of Styria, lay on the route to Trieste, which was the main port on the Eastern Adriatic and thus the main entry point for those who wished to travel to the cities on the northeastern coast of Italy, Dalmatia, or to Constantinople. Finally, the appearance of Töplitz [Teplice, Czech Republic] and Bad Ischl bear testimony to the rising importance of spas as tourist attractions. The number for Innsbruck is certainly an underestimation. Since accounts covering solely the Habsburg’s Italian possessions are excluded from this study, travellers visiting this city while on their way to the Apennine Peninsula are omitted as well.

The figure above also allows judging what was not visited. Dalmatia was probably the most remote region of the Habsburg Empire. Only in 1832 was the

²⁴⁰ See Chapter 3.

first substantial road built that connected it to neighbouring crownlands, and a railroad was not introduced in the region until 1877, and even that remained unlinked.²⁴¹ Thus Dalmatia came into focus only after 1850 when regular steamship communication was established. Galicia and Bukovina were also seldom visited, relatively speaking, although this does not mean that those crownlands never saw travellers. But the number of travelogues that mention Lemberg [Lviv, Ukraine] or Tschernowitz [Chernivtsi, Ukraine] was, in comparison, far less frequent.

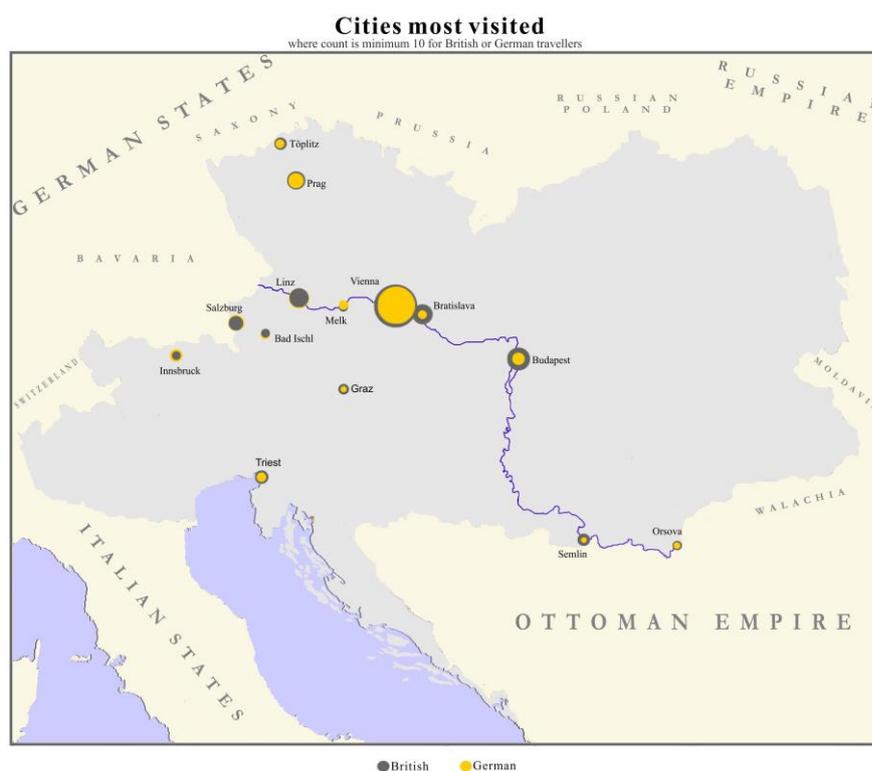


Figure 5 Most Visited Places

Figure 5 shows the geographic location of the most visited places within the Habsburg Empire (in the borders of 1850). Their popularity is indicated by the circles' diameters, whereupon grey circles represent British and yellow circles German travellers. In cases where the same number of British and German

²⁴¹ Peter Stachel, 'Halb-kolonial und halb-orientalisch? Dalmatien als Reiseziel im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert', in Peter Stachel and Martina Thomsen (eds.), *Zwischen Exotik und Vertrautem: Zum Tourismus in der Habsburgermonarchie und ihren Nachfolgestaaten* (Bielefeld, 2014), p. 179. Clewing, 'Wert', pp. 222-223.

travellers visited a particular place, the circles are slightly misaligned in order to depict this fact.

Based on the dataset it is possible to retrace three main travel routes within the Empire. One route running from Dresden in Saxony, via the Bohemian baths of Töplitz [Teplice, Czech Republic] and Carlsbad [Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic] to Prague and via the battlefields of Kolin [Kolín, Czech Republic] as well as Austerlitz [Slavkov u Brna, Czech Republic] and the Moravian capital Brünn [Brno, Czech Republic] to Vienna. A second route connecting Vienna and Trieste via Graz, Laibach [Ljubljana, Slovenia] and Marburg [Maribor, Slovenia] often including a stop at the stalagmite caves of Ellsberg [Postojna, Slovenia] or a detour to the quicksilver mines of Idria [Idrija, Slovenia]. Finally, a third route followed the Danube. Linz, in the Danube's western section, was often used as a hub to visit the mountainous Salzkammergut, particularly the spa town of Bad Ischl often combined with Salzburg, further to the west. In the eastern section British travellers in particular took the opportunity to glance at Belgrade by stopping in Semlin [Zemun, Serbia]²⁴² and they combined their visit to Orsova [Orşova, Romania] with a short trip to the nearby baths of Mehadia [Romania]. Parts of these three routes were combined at will, thus creating fairly standardised tours, although the ultimate destinations of travellers differed. One reason lies in the so-called *gebundene Marschroute*, which was recorded on the passport. That meant that the tour had to be planned beforehand and deviation was not always possible after authorities were informed.²⁴³ In order to make travel as predictable as possible and see the sights of the time, travellers followed each other's footsteps. The idea of venturing off the beaten track within the Empire only came to prominence in the 1860s. Viscountess Strangford, for instance, wrote in 1863 when entering a steamer bound for Venice after touring remote parts of Dalmatia: "I knew that my beautiful journey was over! Even Venice - long-loved and long-

²⁴² Despite the *Cordon Sanitaire* it was possible to make daytrips to that city when accompanied by guards. Charles Boileau Elliott, *Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia and Turkey* (Vol. I; London, 1838), p. 96.

²⁴³ See Chapter 3.

pitied - could not console me for having to plunge into the mass of routine travellers.”²⁴⁴

2.4 Conclusion

In the late-eighteenth century, the German poet Matthias Claudius commenced his poem *Urians Reise um die Welt* with the following lines: “Wenn jemand eine Reise tut,/ So kann er was erzählen; [sic]/ Drum nahm ich meinen Stock und Hut,/ Und tät das Reisen wählen.”²⁴⁵ Claudius’ lines capture the very essence of travelling after the late Enlightenment era. It was no longer triggered by necessity. Instead it slowly developed into a leisure activity. But his poem also included the urge to retell, to share the experience. On the most basic level travel literature is not more than a device to let others partake in one’s experienced adventures. However, as seen above, the relationship between the text describing a journey and its author is more complex, as historian Hagen Schulz-Forberg outlined: “Travel itself is a concept. From the Enlightenment art of travel to today’s Lonely Planet guidebooks the mode of travel was and is an important part of the journey. Travel writing, however, relates to a different cultural context: the literary market and a European audience.”²⁴⁶ More factors than the person and the journey influence the written reproduction of travels in varying intensities. The forces of the literary market, genre conventions, the sociocultural background of travellers but also the modes of transport all have an effect.

The chapter sought to provide context for these themes. Understanding the development of travel literature, the developing division between travelogues and guidebooks, and the transformation of the Grand Tour into mass tourism during the nineteenth century provide the backdrop for the interpretation of these sources. Examining travellers’ personal backgrounds, particularly in terms of education and profession, emphasises two main conclusions. Although a variety of professions are found amongst those who travelled to the Habsburg Empire, they

²⁴⁴ Smythe, *Eastern Shores*, pp. 223-224. Similar Ansted, *Short Trip*, p. 123. Consistent with more general observations by Withey, *Grand Tours*, pp. 91-92.

²⁴⁵ Matthias Claudius, ‘Urians Reise um die Welt: mit Anmerkungen’, freiburger-anthologie.ub.uni-freiburg.de/fa/fa.pl?cmd=gedichte&sub=show&noheader=1&add=&id=413 [19/01/17].

²⁴⁶ Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction’, p. 13.

nevertheless display a degree of uniformity in terms of their sociocultural background. By far the largest fraction came from a bourgeois setting. The second insight is that this holds true for both British and German travellers. Finally, investigation into travel routes yields that these can be broken down into three main routes with Vienna in their centre – from Saxony via Prague to Vienna, from Trieste via Graz to Vienna and finally along the Danube. The third route in particular was deeply influenced by technological change, since a ride on the Danube was much more appealing when steam-powered.

Claudius' beginning verse is often-cited in the German-speaking world. Much less known is the final line: "Und fand es überall wie hier,/ Fand überall 'n Sparren,/ Die Menschen gradeso wie wir,/ Und eben solche Narren." This emphasises the human dimension Claudius had in mind when versing about travelling. Wherever one goes, we will find other humans, just like ourselves, with the same virtues and follies. Whether early nineteenth-century travellers had a similar, humanistic outlook will be put to test in the next chapter when the perception of space takes the centre stage.

Chapter 3 The Fragmented View of Travellers

According to the German historian of geography Hans-Dietrich Schultz, “spaces do not simply exist, spaces are produced!”²⁴⁷ Schultz worked on the development of larger geographical spaces or historical regions such as Central Europe (*Mitteleuropa*) – conceptualised spaces above the state level. The Habsburg Empire, on the other hand, was a functioning state. It had its own symbols of sovereignty, enforced borders, and an administrative system. Nineteenth-century maps of Europe depicted the Habsburg Empire as a single, unified political entity at the heart of Europe. Yet, taken as a whole, the space it occupied was neither assigned to the ‘West’ nor the ‘East’, nor was it clearly incorporated into the ‘North’ or the ‘South.’ The demarcations of these ideas of conceptualising Europe met somewhere within the borders of the Habsburg Empire.

If spaces were indeed made, then travellers were amongst their architects. It was no coincidence that Edward Said focused on two French travellers, Nerval and Chateaubriand, in the opening lines of his ground-breaking study *Orientalism*.²⁴⁸ Through their popular publications, travellers could shape particular images and expectations. Yet, they did not necessarily construct space deliberately and free from any restrictions. They were embedded in contemporary discourses, thus being simultaneously recipients and creators. Thus the main emphasis of this chapter is on how travellers perceived the space that formed the political entity of the Habsburg Empire. Did they differentiate between ‘Western’, ‘Eastern’, ‘Northern’ or ‘Southern Europe’? If so, when and where did they cross from one space to another? By which elements did they demonstrate that they were entering or leaving a particular space?

As outlined in the introduction, Larry Wolff argued that Enlightenment figures, travellers featuring prominently among them, distinguished clearly between ‘East’ and ‘West.’ According to him they utilised the same dividing line as Winston Churchill would centuries later. In Churchill’s 1946 speech, he maintained that an

²⁴⁷ Hans Dietrich Schultz cited in Stefan Troebst, ‘Introduction: What’s in a Historical Region? A Teutonic Perspective’, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’Histoire*, 10 (2010), pp. 186-187.

²⁴⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 1.

Iron Curtain had descended along a line from Stettin [Szczecin] in Poland to Trieste in Italy.²⁴⁹ This line would have cut straight through the Habsburg Empire. Thus, following nineteenth-century travellers allows us to analyse their views and ask if they indeed perceived such strong differences between ‘East’ and ‘West.’ Nevertheless it must not be assumed that the East-West divide overshadowed other divisions. Did travellers perceive North-South divisions as well? In order to obtain concrete responses to such broad questions choices have to be made. Thus this chapter focuses on four aspects that yield important insights. In the following section qualifications for the choices and guiding questions of the subchapters will be outlined.

First, the focus is on entering the Habsburg Empire. How did travellers experience the crossing of the different borders of the Habsburg Empire? The early nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire is especially suited for an in-depth engagement with the practices of border crossings, because its borders had different ‘qualities.’ While travellers coming from today’s Germany crossed into predominantly German-speaking and Catholic regions, those seeking to enter the Habsburg Empire from the Ottoman-ruled territories were quarantined. But borders were not exclusively external; they were also crossed within the confines of the Habsburg Empire. It took until 1851 for the customs border between Hungary and the other crownlands to be abrogated and until the 1870s for the abolition of all internal customs barriers. Crossing the border also meant a first encounter with state authorities. The Habsburg Empire had a rather ambiguous reputation. The highly critical author Charles Sealsfield emphasised in his 1828 travelogue for instance: “We must not judge of the state of this Empire from the Austrian observers, or tourists, who have gathered their information in some taverns, watched by a dozen spies.”²⁵⁰ The German author Ludwig Börne wrote in 1818, “Oestereich ist das europäische China, ein still stehender ausgewachsener Staat,” emphasising an alleged stagnancy.²⁵¹ Research into the administrative

²⁴⁹ Churchill, *Sinews*, p. 100. Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, p. 1.

²⁵⁰ [Charles Sealsfield], *Austria as it is: or, Sketches of Continental Courts* (London, 1828), p. 130.

²⁵¹ Ludwig Börne, *Sämtliche Schriften: Neu bearb. und hrsg. von Inge und Peter Rippmann* (Vol. I; Düsseldorf, 1977), p. 635.

dimension has questioned the validity of such claims.²⁵² This subchapter argues in a similar vein. By analysing border crossings by both British and German travellers at various entry points it becomes evident that only a small fraction shared such negative impressions and that instead many were rather astonished about the simplicity of entering the lands under Habsburg sway.

The second aspect leads away from state borders. Neither Italy nor Germany or Poland existed as unified nation states in the period under consideration. Although non-existent, travellers linked particular regions of the Habsburg Empire with them. The emphasis of this subchapter lies on the conceptions of Germany drawing on the following guiding question: Where did travellers at the time see the borders of Germany? Perhaps unexpectedly, language played only a minor role. Instead, 'Germany' as a spatial concept was considerably broadened, thus including non-German speakers. A prime reason was the German Confederation. It was comprehended as Germany's framework, which included regions such as Bohemia or Carniola as well as port towns such as Trieste. Until at least the 1860s this administrative framework outweighed ethnic or linguistic differences. However, room for ambiguity was left where two different concepts met, for example 'Germany' and 'Italy' in Tyrol. This created transitory spaces where one entity slowly developed into another, without any clear-cut borders or cultural markers. Finally, conceptualised spaces played a role as well. Travelling in German-speaking areas of the Habsburg Empire thus also meant travelling in the south of Germany. But the 'South' had its own imagery, which was set apart from the 'North.'

'North' and 'South' play an even greater role in the third section, which deals with religion – and Catholicism in particular – since the 'South' was associated with Catholicism by its linkage to Italy. The Habsburg Empire was regarded as a Catholic power, although other denominations and religions existed there as well. How did travellers encounter a Catholic space? How was Catholicism marked spatially? Anti-Catholic sentiments lasted well into the nineteenth century and were frequently employed by travellers, but it must be stressed that views were

²⁵² Alan Sked, *Metternich and Austria: An Evaluation* (New York, 2008), pp. 123-177. Julius Marx, *Die österreichische Zensur im Vormärz* (Vienna, 1959), pp. 5-10.

often nuanced, counteracting simple interpretations. Two types of markers of Catholic space are differentiated for the purposes of this subchapter: Visible, immobile markers like roadside crosses that travellers encountered along their route and mobile markers, meaning Catholic practices such as pilgrimages or the observation of beggary.

Finally, the Kingdom of Hungary will constitute a principal focus. There are two major reasons to single out this entity and discuss it separately. Firstly, contemporary travellers perceived Hungary as a separate territory. This is perhaps not surprising. After all, it retained its own legal system, different language regulations and until 1851 separate customs regulations. Secondly, Hungary's geographic location makes it an ideal object to test if it was indeed perceived as being in Eastern Europe. Without much difference in the perception of British and German travellers, Hungary was not located in the 'East' for them. Only when venturing across the border to the Ottoman Empire did travellers eventually arrive there.

As will be argued, the Habsburg Empire was not regarded as a unified entity, neither by British nor by German travellers. Instead, travellers had a 'fragmented view', observing its parts separately, singling out different aspects. Simultaneously, both 'East-West' and 'North-South' divisions played a role, depending on the subject and the author. Although an idea of 'Eastern Europe' was developing, it was far from dominant.

3.1 The Tales of Border Crossings

Anyone who travels abroad is bound to experience the crossing of borders. In our times, passing from one state to another is a routine affair. We must produce our passports, exhibit proper visas and likely submit our luggage for inspection. And even if these administrative features are not given, as it is the case within the Schengen zone, a traveller will descry attributes such as flags and coats of arms emphasising that another country has been entered. Whereas these procedures are commonplace for us, early modern travellers had a fairly different experience – enforced borders and conscious crossings scarcely existed.²⁵³ The mentioned

²⁵³ Gotthard, *Ferne*.

characteristics have their roots in the modern era. Thus, the question arises of how travellers experienced their admittance into the Habsburg Empire, which after all did not have a very favourable reputation.

3.1.1 Administrative Necessities: Passports and Customs

Regulations

In order to enter another state, the passport is an essential document. Its ability to unlock gates is palpable in the origin of the word itself. It derives from sixteenth-century French and combines *passer*, to pass, and *port* [sic], a gate, entrance.²⁵⁴ Thus, it allowed the bearer to pass a particular portal, in practice that of the early modern town. For nineteenth-century travellers as well as today's the passport could 'unlock' state boundaries, allowing the holder to pass into another political entity. In order to understand and interpret the first encounter of travellers with authorities of the Habsburg Empire, contemporary regulations need to be taken into account.²⁵⁵

The development of the passport as we know it today was not straightforward. Its original purpose was founded less in a need to officially confirm the bearer's identity than to serve as a letter of introduction.²⁵⁶ An increased drive to supervise the movements of subjects, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, gave rise to the passport in its modern sense.²⁵⁷ In fact, restrictions on movement were so deeply associated with the *Ancien Régime* that revolutionary France granted its citizens liberties on an unprecedented scale during the brief period of 1789-1792.²⁵⁸ Soon, however, the new authorities had to backpedal. This sparked the introduction of the hitherto unknown practice, that "all travellers [were obliged] to carry state-issued official identity documents with them all the

²⁵⁴ T. F. Hoad (ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford, 1996), p. 339.

²⁵⁵ States sought to control the movement of all travelling people, thus travellers were not the main targets of these regulations. Due to the restrictions of space, regulations regarding other social groups such as mendicants or migrants are not taken into account.

²⁵⁶ Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 108-119.

²⁵⁷ John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 21-22.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

time²⁵⁹; arguably the nucleus of modern passports. In the following years this practice spread throughout Europe, leading to the introduction of similar legislation in the United Kingdom in 1793 and in the Habsburg Empire in 1793 and 1796.²⁶⁰ While passport regulations remained in place on the continent, the United Kingdom became somewhat of an exception in this development, since the “Alien Office” introduced in 1793 became practically defunct in 1826 when the Aliens Act was not extended. Until the introduction of the Aliens Act of 1905, inhabitants as well as foreigners could not only freely move into but also within the United Kingdom, and authorities had no right to expulse foreigners.²⁶¹ Thus, while the inspection of passports was a common procedure for continental travellers, Britons were not acquainted with the same vigilance.

The document served partly different purposes and thus differed considerably from its modern form.²⁶² As today, a passport contained a minimum of information about a person.²⁶³ But this is where the resemblance ends. Passports then were usually issued per trip, indicating the intended route. This allowed authorities to survey often-frequented routes and handed them a tool to bar people from entering certain places.²⁶⁴ For contemporary travellers, however, this meant intense preparation, but also potential problems if a plan did not unfold as expected or when they wished to divert from the planned route.²⁶⁵ In the Habsburg Empire’s larger cities, travellers had to turn in their passports to local authorities in order to receive another document (so-called *Schein*) in return. To continue a

²⁵⁹ Andreas Fahrmeir, ‘Governments and Forgers: Passports in Nineteenth-Century Europe’, in Jane Caplan and John Torpey (eds.), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), p. 219.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219. Hannelore Burger, ‘Paßwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft’, in Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer (eds.), *Grenze und Staat: Paßwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdengesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750-1867* (Vienna, 2000), pp. 11-12.

²⁶¹ Andreas Fahrmeir, ‘Paßwesen und Staatsbildung im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 271 (2000), p. 63.

²⁶² Fahrmeir, ‘Governments’, pp. 219-220.

²⁶³ Name, occupation and the domicile was the minimum information for Austrian authorities to accept the validity of a foreign passport in 1857. Verordnung der Ministerien des Aeußern, des Innern und des Handels, der obersten Polizeibehörde und des Armee-Ober-Commando vom 15. Februar 1857, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1857&page=183&size=45> [20/01/17].

²⁶⁴ Fahrmeir, ‘Paßwesen’, p. 72.

²⁶⁵ Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert, *Wanderbüchlein eines reisenden Gelehrten nach Salzburg, Tirol und der Lombardey* (Erlangen, 1823), pp. 159-160. Joachim Heinrich Jäck and Joseph

journey the traveller had to recover the passport by returning the *Schein*, thus ensuring that no traveller could immediately leave that place.²⁶⁶ Additionally, inns and hotels had to register their overnight guests. This led to rather comical encounters, as Walter White described in his 1857 published account of a journey through Saxony, Bohemia and Silesia. When he reached his accommodation for the day in the Bohemian town of Buchau [Bochov, Czech Republic] he handed the landlord his British passport.

I spread the document before him on the table; he bent down and examined it curiously, as an antiquary over a wormeaten manuscript, but with a look of utter bewilderment, for he had never before seen an English passport. He turned it upside down, sideways, aslant, back to front, every way, in short, in his endeavour to discover a meaning in it; but in vain. He caught eagerly at the British Minister's eagle, and the German *visas*, yet found nothing to enlighten him therein.²⁶⁷

Eventually, the landlord deciphered a name to put down in his records: William Frederick Villiers, Earl of Clarendon, at the time the British Secretary of State. White protested in vain that this was not his name but the Bohemian landlord only laconically answered: "*Ja, ja*. We are used to that sort of thing. You wish not to travel in your real name. Yes, yes, we know. *Herr Baron*, I give you back your passport."²⁶⁸ The lack of standardisation of documents and the clash of different expectations were a problem, although in this case the confusion did not lead to trouble.

The situation was further complicated because passports did not have to be issued by the authorities of one's native state. Indeed, the British system even encouraged obtaining it abroad, since the Foreign Office charged a considerable fee.²⁶⁹ Thus, travelogues sometimes contained information about "passport-

Heller, *Reise nach Wien, Triest, Venedig, Verona und Innsbruck, unternommen im Sommer und Herbste 1821* (Vol. II; Weimar, 1824), pp. 233-234.

²⁶⁶ Zdenka Stoklásková, 'Fremdsein in Böhmen und Mähren', in Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer (eds.), *Grenze und Staat: Paßwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdengesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750-1867* (Vienna, 2000), pp. 642-645.

²⁶⁷ White, *A July*, p. 83. Italics in original.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84. Italics in original.

²⁶⁹ Fahrmeir, 'Paßwesen', p. 71. Anonymous, *A Scamper through Italy and the Tyrol: Showing the Minimum of Expense and of Time Necessary for a Visit to the Principal Italian Cities* (London, 1842), p. 3. A British passport amounted to 2£ 7s 6d, whereas passports issued by foreign states were free of charge.

hunting,” as an anonymous traveller called it in 1841.²⁷⁰ This author proudly boasted after arriving in France that his two passports had cost him nothing. The counsel can be summarised as follows: One should seek to obtain both, a French *and* a Belgium passport, which are without charge. In this way, one can avoid delays since French passports were in any instance forwarded to Paris, often slowly, whereas this was not the practice for non-French passports.²⁷¹ Yet, even if a passport was obtained without any charge, expenditures were incurred, since visas had to be obtained as well. As the unnamed Brit remarked: “Most men go abroad content on all occasions to employ *commissionaires*, and to them the amount to be paid to the employé is their most requisite information.”²⁷² Obtaining a passport and all the necessary visas and signatures consumed much time and money.

The advent of railways on the continent made the situation of travellers more and more complex and inefficient. Some travellers found themselves in outright unresolvable situations. William Duthie, a London goldsmith who spent three and a half years on the continent in the 1850s, wrote about his attempt to buy a train ticket from Leipzig to Berlin: “The last-named gentlemen [a police officer] would not consent to *vise* my passport till I should produce my railway ticket, as a proof of my intention to go; while the railway officials doubted the propriety of issuing a ticket till I had received the authority of the police for my departure.”²⁷³ The conditions in the Habsburg Empire did not differ much. At times, one had to produce three different documents to make a railway journey from Vienna to Brünn [Brno, Czech Republic] – a distance of only about 150 kilometres.²⁷⁴

Technological progress gave impetus for reform in the end. Within the German lands, this process was undertaken in several steps. An initial effort was the *Paßkartenvertrag* of 1850 (also known as *Dresdner Konvention*).²⁷⁵ The treaty codified that its signatories had to accept so-called *Paßkarten* instead of passports. These were valid for one year, standardised in terms of the contained information,

²⁷⁰ Anonymous, *Scamper*, p. 12.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 7.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 12. Italics in original.

²⁷³ Duthie, *Tramp's Wallet*, p. ix. Italics in original.

²⁷⁴ Burger, ‘Paßwesen’, p. 18. These documents were: passport, confirmation of the *Polizei-Oberdirektion* and a *Linienspass*.

and relieved travellers from the need to disclose their intended route beforehand. This basically meant that surveillance of movement within the signatory states was considerably loosened. The Habsburg Empire took a preliminary step to join the treaty in 1857 by relocating all passport control to the actual border of the realm.²⁷⁶ Two years later it signed and enacted the treaty.²⁷⁷ The passport treaty of 1865 concluded by Saxony, Bavaria, Hannover, and Württemberg finally abolished the obligation to carry a passport within these states – regardless of inhabitant or foreigner – altogether.²⁷⁸ In the same year passport control was abolished within the Habsburg Empire.²⁷⁹ Although travellers still had to prove their identity when asked to do so, this nevertheless meant that Central Europe could be travelled without passports and visas, except for the borders towards the Ottoman and Russian Empires.²⁸⁰

Nonetheless, this did not mean that a ‘Schengen-style’ area of hardly any form of control developed, because travellers were still subject to customs regulations. Although a similar drive to simplify tariffs occurred in the German lands, embodied in the so-called *Deutscher Zollverein* of 1834, the Habsburg Empire never joined.²⁸¹ In fact its internal situation was rather complex. While in Bohemia and Hungary political and customs boundaries coincided as early as the High Middle ages,²⁸² other crownlands had fairly varying internal regulations. It

²⁷⁵ Torpey, *Passport*, p. 76. Burger, ‘Paßwesen’, pp. 22-23.

²⁷⁶ Kaiserliche Verordnung vom 9. Februar 1857 über die Einführung eines neuen Paßsystems, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1857&page=179&size=45> [20/01/17].

²⁷⁷ Verordnung der Ministerien des Aeußern, des Innern, der Finanzen und der Polizei, dann des Armee-Ober-Commando vom 30. October 1859, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1859&page=631&size=45> [20/01/17].

²⁷⁸ Torpey, *Passport*, p. 80.

²⁷⁹ Kaiserliche Verordnung vom 6. November 1865, betreffend die Auflassung der Paßrevisionen an den Grenzen des Reiches, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1865&size=45&page=386> [20/01/17]. See also Burger, ‘Passwesen’, p. 23. Edmund Spencer, *Travels in France and Germany in 1865 and 1866: Including a Steam Voyage down the Danube, and a Ride Across the Mountains of European Turkey from Belgrade to Montenegro* (Vol. I; London, 1866), p. 250.

²⁸⁰ Torpey, *Passport*, p. 77. Burger, ‘Paßwesen’, pp. 24-25.

²⁸¹ Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Die deutsche Frage und das europäische Staatensystem 1815-1871* (Berlin and Boston, 2001), pp. 21-24.

²⁸² Andrea Komlosy, ‘Ökonomische Grenzen’, in Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer (eds.), *Grenze und Staat: Paßwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremden gesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750-1867* (Vienna, 2000), p. 817.

took until 1775 for the first internal tariff to be abolished.²⁸³ Nevertheless six internal tariff lines still existed in 1818.²⁸⁴ In the 1820s, Galicia, the Italian possessions, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg abolished their tariff lines to other crownlands. Arguably, the most important development was the abolition of the Kingdom of Hungary's tariff lines in 1851. Yet, it was only in 1879 that these vanished, after the abolition of Dalmatia's customs borders.²⁸⁵ Authorities were first and foremost interested in tobacco, since trade in this good represented a state monopoly. Unsurprisingly though, goods that were restricted for political reasons – prohibited books, sealed letters, playing cards – were equally examined.²⁸⁶ Although contemporary guidebooks and a wealth of travel accounts mention customs regulations and procedures, not all travellers paid enough attention to them. James Webster and his travel companions were on their way from Trieste to Vienna in 1825 when customs officials caught them carrying a fifth of a pound of undeclared tobacco. Not only was a fine of three florins applied (worth twelve times the tobacco's value, according to the author) but the travellers were also meticulously interrogated, resulting in considerable delay.²⁸⁷

The nineteenth century was a period of considerably loosened and simplified regulations regarding the movement of travellers, while technological progress and trans-border transportation made travelling much easier. The Habsburg Empire was no exception and followed the European trends. But the letter of the law is one thing; the experience of crossing a border often quite another.

3.1.2 Crossing into Habsburg Lands

How did British and German travellers perceive the border of the Habsburg Empire? Of course, laws and treaties had great influence on that experience, but

²⁸³ Bohemian lands, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Görz, Gradisca und Küstenland. See *Ibid.*, p. 817.

²⁸⁴ Hermann Blodig, *Die österreichische Zoll- und Staatsmonopolsordnung* (Vienna, 1855), p. xxxv.

²⁸⁵ Komolsy, 'Grenzen' p. 817. See also pp. 841-844 for the different interests involved in this process. Dalmatia joined in 1879.

²⁸⁶ [John Murray], *A Handbook for Travellers in South Germany and Austria: Part I Being a guide to Württemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea*, 15th ed. (London, 1890), p. 108.

²⁸⁷ James Webster, *Travels through the Crimea, Turkey, and Egypt; Performed During the Years 1825-1828: Including Particulars of the last Illness and Death of the Emperor Alexander, and of the Russian Conspiracy in 1825* (Vol. I; London, 1830), pp. 1-3.

the eye of the government was not always as vigilant as perhaps expected. And what is almost completely concealed by the general regulations is the difference of place. In fact, the Habsburg Empire's borders were of different 'qualities', depending on their geographical situation.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the political boundary was not necessarily the spot of surveillance nor were the confines of a state impenetrable. Although travellers were greeted by symbols representing state authority – the double-headed eagle and black and yellow painted toll bars – the very act of entering the Habsburg Empire did not necessarily leave much of an impression on travellers at the beginning of the century. Only in 1821 were the procedures associated with border crossings first mentioned,²⁸⁸ while it took until 1825 for a first published account that expressed an opinion regarding the procedures at the border (in this case a very negative one).²⁸⁹ It was, for instance, commonplace to cross a state boundary, procure a place in a post coach for the next day and return unmolested by border guards, as one traveller did in the 1820s.²⁹⁰

Nevertheless, descriptions of entering the realm soon became common, although with considerable variations. Edward Holmes, who encountered the border in 1828, is an example of a small fraction that struck very negative tones.

I thought these Austrian supervisors blindly obstinate in the execution of their task, and moreover stupid, for they made no distinction between the physiognomy of an *indifferent* traveller, and the cunning look of a regular contraband trader. They have no remorse in demolishing all the order and economy of your portmanteau; and if among your books they find a favourite author, or passage to their taste, it is not that you are waiting to lock up, or

²⁸⁸ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany* (Vol. III; London, 1821), pp. 345-346. Italics in original.

²⁸⁹ John Russell, *A Tour in Germany and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire, in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822* (Vol. II; Edinburgh, 1824), p. 205.

²⁹⁰ Holman, *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 238-239. Similar instances are reported by Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. I, pp. 7-14 and John Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan, in the years 1813 and 1814; with remarks on the Marches of Alexander, and retreat of the Ten Thousand* (London, 1818), p. 8.

that you did not request their opinion of your literature, which will make them desist from this droll stretch of power.²⁹¹

The majority, however, described the process at the customhouse quite differently, often stressing an unexpected positive experience. Fellow travellers were then criticised for bearing untrue witness as did, for example, Henry David Inglis, who wrote a few years after Holmes that “I found the utmost civility on the part of the custom house officers; and from any experience I have had of Austrian authorities, I cannot join in the complaints which travellers have generally made, of their extreme strictness, and want of complacency.”²⁹² This conviction was shared amongst German travellers. A merchant from Mainz, August Michael Jahn, was perhaps the most outspoken critic. He claimed to have crossed the border five times without being molested once and attributed negative experiences solely to travellers’ behaviours. “Allein es giebt Reisende, welche kaum die Mama verlassen haben, und nun an die Grenzen kommen, allwo sie wünschen, von den so oft betrogenen Zollbeamten mit Kreuz und Fahnen empfangen zu werden, und dieselben Complimente verlangen, womit sie vielleicht ein hungriger Hofmeister verdorben hat.”²⁹³ The majority of travellers, whether from Britain or the German lands, did not have a negative experience at the border, and judging from these accounts a combination of their behaviour and social status as well as *Trinkgeld* led to a smooth procedure.

It did not matter much where the border was crossed; experiences were described similarly in German-speaking areas of the west, Galicia or Bukovina, with one exception: the border to the Ottoman Empire. This border had another quality, since goods and people crossing from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Empire were subject to quarantine. This was part of the *Cordon Sanitaire* stretching along the Habsburg-Ottoman border.²⁹⁴ The same applied when

²⁹¹ [Edward Holmes], *A Ramble among the Musicians of Germany, giving some account of the Operas of Munich, Dresden, Berlin, &c* (London, 1828), p. 102. Italics in original. Similar Russell, *Tour in Germany*, Vol. II, p. 205.

²⁹² Henry David Inglis, *The Tyrol with a Glance at Bavaria*, 2nd ed. (Vol. I; London, 1834), p. 160.

²⁹³ August Michael Jahn, *Reise von Mainz nach Egypten, Jerusalem und Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1826-27* (Vol. I; Mainz, 1828), pp. 13-14.

²⁹⁴ Gunther E. Rothenberg, ‘The Austrian Sanitary Cordon and the Control of the Bubonic Plague: 1710-1871’, *History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 28 (1973), pp. 15-16.

entering ports such as Trieste in case the ship had previously called at other ports in the Eastern Mediterranean. These travellers had quite a different experience.

First, there was much more uncertainty, since the duration of quarantine was flexible and rumours of an outbreak of pestilence often translated into longer spells. The personnel at these border stations, however, were as susceptible to bribes or pressure from influential individuals as their colleagues stationed elsewhere. Thus, if travellers were lucky, as was the case with an anonymous British merchant who came to Trieste in 1814, spells under quarantine could be considerably diminished. He reported that one of his fellow inmates was the son of an influential Jewish merchant. After releasing the latter early, authorities were obliged to let the remaining 'guests' go as well.²⁹⁵ If unlucky, however, as William Fullerton Cumming was when taking the Danube steamer to sail upriver in 1839, arriving a few days early could have halved the time in custody. When he entered the border station in Orsova [Orşova, Romania] he was told that only four days ago quarantine had been extended from ten to twenty days. In such situations only smoking a good pipe could help, as his travelling companion suggested. "I did so, and, seating myself on a large stone, poured the Nicotian [sic] balm into my wounded spirit."²⁹⁶ Cumming remarked laconically about the boredom during his confinement: "I have read a *good* deal - slept a *great* deal - and smoked a *vast* deal."²⁹⁷ Although first initiatives to abolish the *Cordon Sanitaire* were made in the 1850s, the last remnants were not abolished until 1881.²⁹⁸

Besides, travellers to the Habsburg Empire experienced something rather unusual even for nineteenth-century border regimes: enforced internal borders. As mentioned, only in 1851 were the customs boundaries between the Kingdom of Hungary and the other crownlands, except for Dalmatia, abandoned. Until then, travellers wishing to visit Hungary had to apply for a passport at the *ungarische Hofkanzlei* in Vienna, while those seeking to see the Military Frontier had to

²⁹⁵ Anonymous, *A Tour Through some parts of Istria, Carniola, Styria, Austria, The Tyrol, Italy, and Sicily, in the Spring of 1814* (London, 1815), pp. 13-14.

²⁹⁶ William Fullerton Cumming, *Notes of a Wanderer in Search of Health, through Italy, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, up the Danube, and down the Rhine* (Vol. II; London, 1839), p. 215. Similar Robert Walsh, *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England* (London, 1828), p. 285.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 230. Italics in original.

²⁹⁸ Karl Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat: Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)* (Graz, 1986), pp. 501-504.

communicate with the *Hofkriegsrat*.²⁹⁹ Thus, crossing the rivulet Leitha, which formed the border when visiting Hungary from Vienna, involved all the features of entering a foreign state. Travellers were stopped and their passports and luggage examined (again). But as soon as Hungarian territory was entered the situation regarding passports eased considerably. Thus John Paget, who crossed the border in 1839, remarked:

I proffered my passport, as usual, to the guard who opened the barrier; but it was declined with a polite bow, and an assurance that I was in Hungary and had no longer need of it. I appeal to those who have travelled in Italy and Germany for sympathy with my delight at being once more free from the annoyance of passports, a system of impediment to the honest traveller, and of protection to the rogue. An efficient police does not require it - a bad one is only rendered more inefficient by its fancied security.³⁰⁰

Less strict handling of passports within Hungary intensified the impression of entering another state. Paget thus found himself in a position to compare Hungary with Italy and Germany – neither was unified at the time – highlighting Hungary's internal, unified administration.³⁰¹

Finally, non-enforced, internal borders also made their impression on travellers' minds. Brief acknowledgements of crossings between different crownlands abound in the examined sources. Yet, they are of another quality since they were kept short, most of the time not more than two sentences, and, more importantly, no major changes in the mode of description are palpable. The question is why these administrative dividing lines had this much significance that it was worth recording them. There are two threads leading to explanations. Firstly, the border manifested itself in boundary marks such as stones or monuments, partly visible until today. Travellers did see them and thus recorded them in their journals. Secondly, despite the depiction of the Habsburg Empire as one huge, unified entity, travellers were well aware of its complex nature as well as the legacy of the

²⁹⁹ Otto von Pirch, *Caragoli* (Vol. I; Berlin, 1832), p. 2.

³⁰⁰ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 4.

³⁰¹ It seems that strictness regarding passports varied from region to region. One traveller, for example, reported that he was solely once asked to show his passport in Tyrol. Anonymous, *Scamper*, p. 99.

Holy Roman Empire. The fragmentation of administrative structures thus did not surprise contemporary travellers.

What can the differing tales of border crossings tell us? A standard narrative, sometimes still visible in recent scholarly debates, is that the Habsburg Empire was a secluded entity, a sort of *terra incognita* at the heart of Europe. This view puts the Empire close to a police state and contemporary Austrian writers such as Franz Grillparzer agreed with Ludwig Börne's characterisation of it as the European equivalent to China.³⁰² If travelogues are examined systematically, a much more nuanced picture is revealed. Only a fraction of British and German travellers passed into a secluded entity. In fact, most of the analysed travel accounts argued against this impression. The majority of travellers acknowledged strict procedures but often highlighted positive experiences as well. Moreover, it becomes evident that travellers could avoid inconveniences by offering *Trinkgeld* or emphasising their personal network. The social reality at the border was thus different to the legal instructions but also to the preformed image travellers embraced of the Habsburg Empire.

Administratively, travellers crossed into another political entity, but mentally this was not so clear. In a time before German or Italian unification, ideas and connotations surrounding both terms existed and formed expectations in the absence of clear national borders. But this vagueness also led to different conceptions of space. Thus, the next section seeks to examine where and, more importantly, how travellers experienced this based on the example of Germany.

3.2 Localising Germany

In 1826, Karl Julius Weber anonymously published four hefty volumes on his numerous travels in the German lands. Originating from one of the many small territories of the Holy Roman Empire, he understood his publication as an attempt to describe the whole of Germany, which, as he argued in the preface of the first

³⁰² Primus-Heinz Kucher, *Ungleichzeitige/verspätete Moderne: Prosaformen in der österreichischen Literatur 1820-1880* (Tübingen and Basel, 2002), pp. 68-69. Lemon, *Imperial Messages*, p. 38.

volume, no travelogue had yet attempted.³⁰³ Weber found this a strange paradox. After all, he lived in an age of abounding travel accounts of almost any place in the world. Thus he ironically remarked: “Deutschland selbst machte ja nie ein Ganzes, und offenbar schreckte die Vielköpfigkeit des Vaterlandes ab, denn es ist schwieriger von 300, oder gar 1500 Staaten gründliche Nachrichten zu geben, als von 39.”³⁰⁴ But where did he locate this Germany, which did not exist as a unified state at the time he was writing? The quote above gives a first clue. He talks about 39 states, pointing clearly at the German Confederation, which consisted of that many member states since 1817. He outlined Germany more explicitly in the first page of the first volume:

Deutschland...liegt zwischen der Eider, Ost- und Nordsee, Preußen, Polen, Ungarn, adriatischem Meer, Italien, Schweiz, Frankreich und den Niederlanden, folglich in der Mitte des gemäßigten Erdstrichs, weder von nördlicher Kälte, noch von südlicher Hitze gedrückt. Sein Südpunkt ist Histrich [Istria], sein Nordpunkt Rügen, der höchste Punkt der Orteles [sic].³⁰⁵

His localisation mirrors modern textbooks, defining a geographic location with the help of its political neighbours and geographic extreme points. However, a closer look reveals how ambiguous Weber’s definition was. Italy was not yet unified and thus without clear-cut borders; Hungary and Poland were part of larger entities and the reference to Prussia shows that even regions under Hohenzollern rule could be regarded as outside of Germany.

This ambiguity and the different ideas about what the term ‘Germany’ meant lie at the heart of this section. Travellers were in a privileged situation; being on the ground they could observe a country and its inhabitants. Although they often followed a particular agenda, just as Weber did, they had the ability to compare what they saw within and without Germany. In travellers’ reactions the borders of Germany can be found.

³⁰³ [Karl J. Weber], *Deutschland oder Briefe eines in Deutschland reisenden Deutschen* (Vol. I; Stuttgart, 1826), pp. i-xii.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

3.2.1 Germany's South: Tyrol, Trieste and Unexpected Encounters with Italy

Where does Germany end and Italy begin? This question, dating back centuries, is much more ambiguous than it seems at first glance.³⁰⁶ For nineteenth-century travellers the Eastern Alps served as a line of differentiation, but in the absence of unified Italian and German states sharp lines of differentiation were missing. Instead, travellers seemed almost to slither from one space into another. Heinrich Heine, for instance, described in 1828, not without irony, how he finally became conscious of being in Italy:

Während die Sonne immer schöner und herrlicher aus dem Himmel hervorblühte, und Berg und Burgen mit Goldschleyern umkleidete, wurde es auch in meinem Herzen immer heißer und leuchtender, ich hatte wieder die ganze Brust voll Blumen, und diese sproßten hervor und wuchsen mir gewaltig über den Kopf, und durch die eignen Herzblumen hindurch lächelte wieder himmlisch die schöne Spinnerin. Befangen in solchen Träumen, selbst ein Traum, kam ich nach Italien, und da ich während der Reise schon ziemlich vergessen hatte, daß ich dorthin reiste, so erschreck ich fast, als mich all die großen italienischen Augen plötzlich ansahen, und das bunt-verwirrte italienische Leben mir leibhaftig, heiß und summend, entgegenströmte.³⁰⁷

Geographically, Heine localised his revelation in Trento [Italy], for centuries subsumed under the Austrian circle of the Holy Roman Empire, and at the time of his journey part of Tyrol.³⁰⁸ Others, however, located the Italo-German border further north, at the Brenner Pass,³⁰⁹ drawn along valleys and crests,³¹⁰ at smaller

³⁰⁶ Laurence Cole and Hans Heiss, “‘Unity Versus Difference’: The Politics of Region-building and National Identities in Tyrol, 1830-67”, in Laurence Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70* (New York, 2007), pp. 37-38.

³⁰⁷ Heine, *Reisebilder*, 2nd ed., Vol. III, pp. 85-86.

³⁰⁸ Erich Zöllner, *Der Österreichbegriff: Formen und Wandlungen in der Geschichte* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 53-54. Similar Mary Shelley, *Rambles in Germany and Italy* (Vol. II; London, 1844), p. 66.

³⁰⁹ Georg von Martens, *Reise nach Venedig* (Vol. II; Ulm, 1824), p. 363.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 352-353.

towns such as Salurn [Salorno, Italy]³¹¹ or further south, at the political border of the crownland Tyrol and Venetia near Rovereto.³¹²

All sorts of rather inconsistent lines were drawn on travellers' mental maps, which shared only one point of resemblance: somewhere along the political border between the crownland of Tyrol and Venetia in the south and the Brenner Pass in the north, Germany turned into Italy. Or vice versa, depending on the travelling direction. As Georg von Martens remarked: "Botzen [Bolzano, Italy] hat daher das Sonderbare, daß es, wenn man aus Deutschland kommt, ganz italienisch, und kommt man aus Italien, ganz deutsch, erscheint."³¹³ Not only Bozen, the administrative and commercial hub of the southern Tyrolean parts met such ambiguous assignments. August Lewald described the town of Brixen [Bressanone, Italy] in 1835 as pretty Italian in character, "obgleich es seinen ächt deutschen Charakter keineswegs verläugnen kann."³¹⁴ These examples illustrate that while on the way south or north contemporary travellers were unable, or at least unsure, where to locate themselves.

Yet, somewhere a point was eventually reached which finally reassured them of their situation. This is exactly what Lewald experienced in the small town of Rovereto, about a hundred kilometres further south from Brixen. "Jetzt sind wir in Italien! alle Gegenstände rufen es uns in die Seele, und wir jubeln innerlich still...Man hört nur noch das Deutsch, das etwa die Reisenden im Wagen sprechen; das Sauerkraut verschwindet; der Reis, die Pasta nehmen ihren Anfang."³¹⁵ Although travelling in the other direction, Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert and his travel companions had a similar experience. On their way home to Erlangen in 1823 they decided to cross the Brenner Pass on foot.

Alles geht nun schon wieder auf deutsche Weise, und es giebt sogar schon Bier statt des Weines. Es ist dabei doch etwas Sonderbares und Heimliches um die liebe Gewohnheit und vaterländische Sitte, und man begreift am Ende wohl, wie sich der Lappländer, mitten aus dem Vollgenuß des cultivirten Europa's heraus, nach seinem gedörnten

³¹¹ Lewald, *Tyrol*, Vol. I, p. 180.

³¹² Von Schubert, *Wanderbüchlein*, p. 120.

³¹³ Von Martens, *Venedig*, Vol. II, p. 356. Similar for Triest: Gutzkow, *Soireen*, Vol. I, p. 200.

³¹⁴ Lewald, *Tyrol*, Vol. I, p. 125.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 34.

Fisch und Seehundsthran sehnen, und wenn ers [sic] zum ersten Male wieder genießt, ganz selig dabei seyn könne.³¹⁶

It was here that von Schubert crossed into a known space that made him feel at home again. Particular features were recognised as homelike or foreign, depending on the direction of travel. But where these were observed, and thus the border established, differed from author to author.

Therefore, the perambulated region is best described as a ‘transitory space.’ There is no definitive, fine line to be found that separated what these contemporaries described as Italy or Germany. The border was fluid. Topographical, ‘natural’ borders were equally utilised as the encounter of different languages or intra-state boundaries.³¹⁷

Trieste, on the other hand, can serve as an example, where attempts to spatialise nationality reached its limits.³¹⁸ Similar to the regions south of the Alps, Trieste was also located somewhat between Germany and Italy.³¹⁹ An anonymous traveller, disguised as a Prussian advocate, observed when approaching the port city in 1855: “[N]ichts als Kalkgerölle, soweit das Auge reicht, keine Spur von Italien” yet asserted that “[k]eine Stelle zwischen Deutschland und Italien bietet einen so schroffen klimatischen Contrast, wie Triest.”³²⁰

But it was even more complicated than that. Due to its character as an important commercial hub in the Eastern Adriatic, Trieste was also a place where the world met. Observing Greek merchants, Armenian clerics, Jewish financiers, Slav peasants, German administrators, and Italian nobility hampered national characterisation.³²¹ Joachim Heinrich Jäck, a librarian from Bamberg, observed: “Uebrigens wird man durch den Zusammendrang und die öffentliche Berührung

³¹⁶ Von Schubert, *Wanderbüchlein*, p. 226.

³¹⁷ On the significance of natural borders see Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, 1989).

³¹⁸ Anna Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-70: From Cosmopolitanism to the Nation’, in Laurence Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70* (New York, 2007), pp. 60-81.

³¹⁹ Advertising booksellers, who marketed his guidebooks abroad, Murray placed Trieste in 1857 in the sections “Germany, Holland, and Belgium” and “Italy,” thus emphasising the unclear location of the port town. [John Murray], *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany; Being a Guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and The Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea*, 7th ed. (London, 1857).

³²⁰ [Julius Hermann von Kirchmann], *Nach Constantinopel und Brussa* (Berlin, 1855), pp. 12-13.

aller Nationen im Geschäftsleben so hingerissen, daß man die Individualität seiner eigenen Nation darüber vergißt.”³²² The contact via commercial activities left its mark on everyone. “Europäer kleiden sich wie Asiaten, und diese wie jene; Griechen und Armenier lassen sich mit grünen und weißen Turbanen sehen, Slavonier erscheinen als Albaneser, und diese in der Form jener.”³²³ This does not mean, of course, that there were no attempts to ‘declare’ the port for one or another side, as British traveller Andrew Archibald Paton witnessed in 1849. What he described as “[a]n incident” showing “in an amusing manner the antipathy these two races [German and Italian] entertained to each other”³²⁴ was a speech by Francesco Dall’Ongaro, a Triestine journalist, at a public dinner given in honour of the visit of British free trade advocate Richard Cobden. According to Paton’s account Dall’Ongaro expressed hopes that an Italian commercial league would be founded, thus implicitly implying the separation of the Habsburg’s Italian possessions from the rest of the realm. This prompted the reaction of Karl Ludwig von Bruck, at the time Minister of Commerce and Public Works, who answered according to Paton: “We are Triestines; we are cosmopolites; we know nothing of Italian or German, and have nothing to do with Italian or German nationalities.”³²⁵ It took at least until the 1860s to see the first signs of differentiation along national lines in Trieste.³²⁶

So far the focus has been on the ‘imprecision’ of boundaries as seen through travellers’ eyes. Due to the lack of clear-cut state borders, transitory spaces evolved in which one perceived entity transformed into another. But, however surprising this might be, Italy was found in rather unexpected places. Take for example Peter Evan Turnbull who, when approaching the city of Linz coming from Bohemia, wrote: “The descent from the mountains of Bohemia seems to have brought us into Italy. This beautiful city has nothing of Germany in it, except

³²¹ Von Martens, *Venedig*, Vol. I, pp. 220-221.

³²² Jäck and Heller, *Reise*, Vol. II, p. 95.

³²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 96.

³²⁴ Andrew Archibald Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic, including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire* (Vol. II; London, 1849), p. 220.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 221. Similar Von Martens, *Venedig*, Vol. I, p. 219.

³²⁶ Millo, ‘Trieste’, pp. 75-78.

its language.” He continued: “We are in Italy. All has a bright sunny appearance and feeling. The people, too, are handsome, and well clothed, and look happy.”³²⁷

Why does a Brit travelling in 1840 picture himself in Italy although being physically in the Habsburgian heartland of Upper Austria? This paradox reveals an additional layer of meaning, in which the ‘metageographical’ concepts of ‘North’ and ‘South’ assume a leading role.³²⁸ Turnbull was not the only ‘misplaced’ traveller. Adam Neale similarly described his approach of Vienna from Prague more than twenty years earlier.³²⁹ Such observations were not unique to British travellers either. The Prussian Georg Häring, who published under the pseudonym Willibald Alexis, saw Salzburg as a “moderne, halb schon italienische Stadt”³³⁰ and he described its female inhabitants: “Als hätte herüber geweht von den Eispiks eine sittliche Verklärung, mildernd die Gluth, die starre Kraft auflösend, die ringsum in diesen südlichen Strichen herrscht.”³³¹

The key to this paradoxical situation is the political-geographic location of such cities as Linz, Vienna or Salzburg. They were situated in the south of Germany. Italy on the other hand was *the* South, idealised for centuries as “the experience of a warm, verdant natural world.”³³² Thus, these travellers reverted to idealised Italian images to locate themselves in the South – in the south of Germany.

3.2.2 Germany’s East: Bohemia and Galicia

But how did travellers visiting the more easterly parts of the Habsburg Empire perceive the situation? Did they experience similar ambiguities regarding borders or utilise similar images to locate themselves?

A remarkable example is Johann Georg Kohl. Born and raised in Bremen, this wine trader’s son did not follow in his father’s footsteps but instead decided to try his luck in writing. After extensive travels in tsarist Russia he published three

³²⁷ Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. I, p. 131. This section is also cited in [Aiton], *Eight Weeks*, p. 243.

Similar Friedrich von Raumer, *Die Herbstreise nach Venedig* (Vol. I; Berlin, 1816), p. 75.

³²⁸ Lewis and Wigen, *Myth*.

³²⁹ Adam Neale, *Travels Through some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia and Turkey* (London, 1818), p. 88.

³³⁰ Alexis, *Schattenrisse*, p. 24. Similar Von Schubert, *Wanderbüchlein*, p. 46.

³³¹ Alexis, *Schattenrisse*, p. 29.

³³² Nelson J. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, 2006), p. 17. It needs to be stressed, as Moe does, that this was only one side of the coin, the other being “decadence and backwardness,” which was missing in these accounts.

distinct accounts in 1841, one of which also touched on Galicia.³³³ The success smoothed the way for his next journey, which took him into the Habsburg Empire. The result was a hefty travel account that took up five volumes, published in 1842, covering almost all regions except the Italian possessions.³³⁴ Kohl's extensive accounts are thus an excellent starting point to ask where he located Germany's Eastern boundaries.

Kohl commenced his oeuvre on the Habsburg Empire with a journey through Bohemia. Perhaps surprising from today's perspective but typical for his time, Kohl as a matter of course subsumed Bohemia in his conception of Germany. He wrote: "Ich erinnerte mich hier, daß dieses Land auch zum deutschen Bunde gehöre, und zerbrach mir den Kopf darüber, was die Leute hier wohl vom deutschen Bunde denken möchten."³³⁵ Although he encountered a language barrier, it did not deter him from seeing Bohemia as an integral part of Germany.³³⁶ Even when the proverbial Bohemian villages came up, Kohl maintained their placement within Germany. At the time the saying "Das sind mir böhmische Dörfer" signified something unknown or unintelligible.³³⁷ He even ventured to relativise their downtrodden appearance, which was a common stereotype at the time. "Ich will hier die Elegieen über böhmischen Schmuz und unordentliche Wirthschaft nicht wiederholen. Denn leider kenne ich auch in Deutschland Gegenden und Striche, wo die ganze Bevölkerung in ziemlich argem Schmuze lebt."³³⁸ For Kohl, Bohemia's link to the German Confederation placed it within Germany. Neither Austria nor the Slavic language played much of a role for him.

Whereas Kohl conceived the villages as 'Bohemian', the capital Prague removed the last doubt about being in Germany, citing the following episode to underpin

³³³ Johann Georg Kohl, *Reisen im Inneren von Russland und Polen* (3 Vols.; Dresden and Leipzig, 1841).

³³⁴ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

³³⁶ Similar Johann Christoph Kröger, *Reise durch Sachsen nach Böhmen und Österreich mit besonderer Beziehung auf das niedere und höhere Unterrichtswesen* (Vol. I; Altona, 1840), p. 3. White, *July Holiday*, p. 99.

³³⁷ Defined in Grimm's dictionary as "fremde, deren sprache [sic] ich nicht verstehe, unbekannt dinge", Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 'Böhmisch', [http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GB09770#XGB09770\[19/01/17\]](http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GB09770#XGB09770[19/01/17]).

his point: “Ich sah einmal einen Böhmen, der ganz außer sich gerieth vor Ärger, als er in einem deutschen Buche folgende Stelle las: ‘Eine der schönsten Städte Deutschlands ist Prag.’”³³⁹ Of course this quote shows local reactions to the idea of Bohemia as a German land, but in Kohl’s days it was by no means clear that language should define a German nation.³⁴⁰ In fact, Prague as a German city was a very frequent trope utilised by British travellers as well.³⁴¹ The famous guidebook author and publisher James Murray described the city’s aspect in the first edition of his *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*, published in 1837, as “surpass[ing] in its grandeur and imposing character the appearance of any other city in Germany.”³⁴² This formulation remained virtually untouched until its fifteenth and last edition published in 1890.³⁴³ Other places showing that Bohemia was firmly placed within Germany were the spa towns in its western parts, especially Töplitz [Teplice, Czech Republic] and Carlsbad [Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic]. Willibald Alexis, for instance, wrote enthusiastically about the view atop Töplitz’s *Schloßberg*: “Der Versucher könnte wenig schönere Plätze in Deutschland wählen, um dem Sohne des Menschen die Herrlichkeiten der Erde zu zeigen.”³⁴⁴ And the physician Augustus Bozzi Granville, who entitled his book *The Spas of Germany*, quite naturally included the Bohemian watering places.³⁴⁵ Finally, a good number of accounts describing a journey through Bohemia made incidental remarks that tied this region to Germany, such as mentioning Germany’s tastiest hops³⁴⁶ or Germany’s most beautiful women.³⁴⁷

³³⁸ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. I, p. 40.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

³⁴⁰ Similar regarding Prague [Weber], *Deutschland*, Vol. II, pp. 584-585. Von Strombeck, *Darstellungen*, p. 269. Kahlert, *Reiseschilderungen*, p. 10.

³⁴¹ Adolphus Slade, *Travels in Germany and Russia: Including a Steam Voyage by the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople, in 1838-39* (London, 1840), p. 79.

³⁴² [John Murray], *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany; Being a Guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and The Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea; Including descriptions of the most frequented baths and watering places; the principal cities, their museums, picture galleries etc.; the great high roads, and the most interesting and picturesque districts. Also directions for Travellers; and hints for tours* (London, 1837), p. 323.

³⁴³ [Murray], *Handbook*, 15th ed. (1890), p. 247.

³⁴⁴ Willibald Alexis, *Wiener Bilder* (Leipzig, 1833), p. 13.

³⁴⁵ Augustus Bozzi Granville, *The Spas of Germany* (Vol. II; London, 1837). pp. 1-222.

³⁴⁶ John Strang, *Germany in MDCCCXXXI* (Vol. II; London, 1836), p. 176.

³⁴⁷ Slade, *Travels*, p. 79. Similar White, *July Holiday*, p. 219 who called the mountain Schneekoppe the “highest ground in all North Germany.”

Yet, if Bohemia was integral to Germany, where did the latter's eastern borders lie? A year earlier, after an extensive tour of Russia, Kohl crossed into the Habsburg lands for the first time, more precisely into the crownland of Bukovina, and described his impressions as follows:

Mit dem Ueberschreiten der österreichischen Gränze und der Kosakenlinie waren wir wie mit einem Zauberschlage Deutschland, Wien, Berlin, ja Paris, Spanien und Italien näher gerückt als vorher bei Hunderten von Wersten.³⁴⁸ Bei dem Anblicke von Tschernowize schien uns der ganze europäische Westen nahe vor die Augen gestellt zu sein, und wir glaubten, Deutschland deutlich durchzufühlen, ja wir wähten uns nun Italien, Wien und den Alpen ganz nahe.³⁴⁹

Kohl transcended much more than a political border. For him it coincided with a cultural border, and it is quite surprising that he did not see a dividing line in the predominantly German-speaking areas but in the Habsburg Empire's easternmost frontier. Although he remarked that Tschernowitz [Chernivtsi, Ukraine], Bukovina's capital, "kam uns nicht anders als wie eine Vorstadt von Wien vor,"³⁵⁰ he did not yet arrive in Germany. This happened quite surprisingly in a village called Skotschau [Skoczów, Poland].³⁵¹ Why exactly this tiny, obscure village today situated in Poland?³⁵² Because it was the first stop in Austrian Silesia and therefore part of the German Confederation. The eastern border of the Confederation, which was based on the former Holy Roman Empire, marked the eastern borders of Germany – at least in Kohl's interpretation. But he was well aware that this Germany was – expressed in modern terms – multi-ethnic and multi-lingual.

Unser Vaterland, wenn ein Deutscher den deutschen Bund so nennen kann, ist ein wunderliches Ding und so bunt zusammengesetzt wie irgend eins. Während im Süden am adriatischen Meere Italiener und Celten, im Westen am Rhein Franzosen und Flamländer, im Norden Kassuben, Wenden und andere barbarische Nationen in seinem

³⁴⁸ Russian measure of length. One Werst is about a kilometre.

³⁴⁹ Kohl, *Reisen*, Vol. III, p. 14.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 17.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 327.

³⁵² The village was part of the Duchy of Teschen, which belonged to the lands of the Bohemian crown. After the First World War a dispute about this region evolved between Czechoslovakia and Poland, which was settled during the Spa Conference in July 1920.

Schatten nisten, sind es hier im Osten, wo wir eintraten, Sarmaten,
Moravier und Tschechen.³⁵³

Thus, even though Kohl travelled through parts of his German fatherland, it was clear to him that he did not only encounter German speakers. This hints at another phenomenon, which has been often overlooked: Germany was not only inhabited by Germans and the encountered boundaries did not demarcate monolithic entities. Clear-cut differentiations between both sides of the border were not necessarily made.

It may be surprising at a first glance, but both British and German travellers had rather similar conceptions of what they regarded as Germany, which neither included the whole Habsburg Empire nor the purely German-speaking areas. Different languages were encountered, recorded and to a certain extent assessed, but at least until the late 1850s they did not play a pivotal role in defining Germany. Since a unified German nation state did not exist, its base was found in older traditions – the former boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire or in its successor the German Confederation. Indeed, travellers of the first half of the nineteenth century conceptualised Germany less as a monolithic entity than as fringed by zones of transition. Johann Georg Kohl used this for almost philosophical reflections about humanity.

Wenn in Oesterreich der Sachse einen Preußen, der Preuße einen Hamburger reden hört, so glaubt er, heimathliche Töne zu vernehmen, und sie schließen sich an einander. In Ungarn aber und weiterhin stießen auch Nord- und Süddeutschland zusammen, und erst durch das Weilen in diesen Ländern wird man fähig, im vollen Sinne ein deutscher Patriot zu sein und das ganze Vaterland mit Liebe zu umfassen.³⁵⁴

The distance from one's native state, be it Prussia, Saxony or Hamburg, matters in order to identify someone from 'home.' But the farther one travels, the more these differences vanish. Only outside of predominantly German-speaking areas, those of German mother tongue feel as belonging together or forming one group.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Kohl, *Reisen*, Vol. III, p. 327.

³⁵⁴ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. IV, p. 215.

³⁵⁵ Gotthard observes similar encounters for early modern travellers. Gotthard, *Ferne*.

This could be interpreted as a call for German unity, but Kohl, as an experienced traveller, went even further.

Im ganzen Osten Europa's sympathisiren alle Westeuropäer zusammen und erkennen, mit wie vielen gemeinsamen Banden sie verbunden sind, und welchen Gegensatz sie zum Osten bilden. Man sieht dort Deutsche selbst mit Italienern fraternisiren. In Afrika oder in sonst einem entfernten Welttheile mögen am Ende wohl auch alle slavischen, germanischen und romanischen Gegensätze sinken, und selbst der Ungar und der Serbe, selbst der Deutsche und der Russe werden sich hier als Landsleute und als Mitglieder der großen kaukasischen Race die Hände drücken.³⁵⁶

The farther one gets from home, the more national differences diminish. Outside of Europe all Europeans are countrymen [*Landsleute*]. Observing this paradox, Kohl even sketched a future, utopian world in which all mankind is one.

Auf dem Sirius würden wir sämmtlichen Bewohner dieses Sonnensystems vielleicht Partei machen gegen das Wesen-Geschlecht jenes Sternes und einen Uranus-Bewohner als werthen Landsmann aus unserem Sonnensystem begrüßen. Wo aber endlich ist der Mittelpunkt des Weltalls, wo alle Aeüßerlichkeiten sinken, wo alle Wesen sich in Liebe umfassen, wo alle Disharmonie, welche diese Länder und Sonnensysteme feindlich durcharbeiten, in ewiger Harmonie aufgehen?³⁵⁷

Thus, the farthest imaginable place becomes a place of eternal harmony between all creatures. In Kohl's mind, distance has the power to diminish differences and to bring about unity.

Examining how and where travellers encountered Germany challenges interpretations often inspired by ex-post considerations. Since Germany did not exist as a unified state until 1871, they tried to find an entity that was not yet in political existence. As the successor of the Holy Roman Empire, the German Confederation provided an administrative frame on which the conception of Germany was largely based. Despite its invisibility and uncertainty this frame was still stronger than the encountered, different languages, as the example of

³⁵⁶ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. IV, p. 216.

Bohemia shows. This led to the encounter of transitory spaces, in which one entity gradually developed into another – as shown using the example of Tyrol. Doubts about whether Bohemia should be subsumed under the term Germany are virtually missing in both British and German travel accounts, although this does not mean that local reactions are also missing. Travelling in predominantly Slavic-speaking regions did not automatically mean that Germany was left or ‘Eastern Europe’ entered.³⁵⁸ This, however, means that Germany was seen as multilingual. Language’s diminished role brings other features contemporary travellers encountered to the forefront. Religion in general and Catholicism in particular were amongst them. After all, the nineteenth century brought massive changes for Roman Catholics, both in Great Britain and in the German lands. Thus, the main focus of the next section is on travellers’ reactions to Catholicism.

3.3 Catholic Landscapes

In 1837, after spending some time in Saxony, George Robert Gleig decided to tour Bohemia on foot accompanied only by his son, while the rest of the family remained in the Saxon spa town of Schandau. The son of a bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, Gleig somewhat reluctantly became a priest in 1820 after a short military career during the Napoleonic Wars. After assuming the post of chaplain of the Royal Hospital in Chelsea in 1834 he rose up the ranks of the Army Chaplains’ Department, eventually assuming the post of Chaplain-General.³⁵⁹ It is perhaps rather unsurprising that a clergyman, especially one who publicly expressed conservative views, would write about the tokens of Catholicism he encountered during his tour.³⁶⁰ He made the following observations during the short walk from the Saxon-Bohemian border to Tetschen [Děčín, Czech Republic].

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 217.

³⁵⁸ In one of the more flamboyant sections, Wolff utilises Mozart’s travels to Prague to emphasise that he ventured into a Slavic-speaking region and therefore into Eastern Europe. Although Wolff mentions that contemporaries regarded Bohemia as part of Germany he does not further investigate this lead, probably due to his emphasis on language. Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 106-108. Bugge makes similar remarks, but does not challenge Wolff’s emphasis on language. Bugge, ‘Linger’, p. 8.

³⁵⁹ Michael Francis Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains’ Department, 1796-1953: Clergy Under Fire* (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2008), pp. 67-85.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

The effect which is produced upon a Protestant traveller by the frequent recurrence, in Catholic countries, of crucifixes, chapels, and images, both by the road-side and elsewhere, has been frequently described. At first, you are affected with a sense almost of awe; which even to the last does not wholly evaporate; especially if you find...that by the inhabitants, these symbols are held in profound veneration.³⁶¹

Crucifixes and images of saints along the roadside, numerous chapels and a local population publicly exhibiting religious rituals and traditions, these features mark a cultural landscape that Protestant travellers immediately recognised as Catholic. Gleig went on to discuss if the veneration of those crucifixes and saints' images was to be considered idolatry. It was not in his opinion. What is more important here is the placement of these reflections. He started in Hamburg, travelled through Prussia, of course visiting Berlin, and then further to Saxony. This itinerary is part of the first volume, while the second begins with his travels in Bohemia. And it is exactly here that the above-mentioned observations were placed, after the Protestant territories were left and Catholic lands were entered. This section seeks to explore how travellers perceived and interpreted a space marked with signs of Catholicism, by focussing on two aspects: immobile markers, artefacts such as roadside crosses that visibly signified and manifested a Catholic country, and mobile markers, such as pilgrimages or begging.

3.3.1 Immobile Markers

For a large fraction of travellers Catholic space was decidedly different from Protestant space, regardless of state or administrative borders. John Russell, for instance, whose account covering three years of extensive travels in Central Europe was first published in 1824 and, judging by the appearance of two more editions in 1825 and 1828, seems to have met the reading public's taste rather well, experienced such an encounter in Silesia. At the border between the Hohenzollern- and Habsburg-ruled dominions, today the border between Poland and the Czech Republic, Russell remarked:

³⁶¹ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. II, p. 12.

Hitherto, so far as you have come in Lower Silesia, all has been industry and activity, soundness of head, and liveliness of temper; you have scarcely arrived at Adersbach [Adršpach, Czech Republic], when idleness and beggary surround you in a thousand forms...[T]he population seemed to be utterly sunk in poverty, ignorance, and superstition. Mendicity [sic] crowds upon you with as much frequency and importunacy as if you were in the States of the Church; they sing hymns to the Virgin, and will beg rather than work. The beggary diminishes, but unfortunately the ignorance and superstition still continue, after you have re-entered the Prussian dominions at Wünschelburg [Radków, Poland].³⁶²

For Russell the dividing line was neither the state boundary between Bohemia and Prussia nor the linguistic border. He assessed two entities along the lines of religion and attached either side with characteristics; positive – diligence, rationality and temperance – in the Protestant case and negative – poverty, superstition and excess in terms of the sheer scale of beggary – on the Catholic side. Edmund Spencer, who extensively toured Central Europe about a decade later, used almost identical phrasing when crossing from Marienberg in Saxony into Sebastianberg [Hora Svatého Sebestiána, Czech Republic] in Bohemia. He remarked this transition as the entrance to a space where “madonnas, crucifixes, saints, and stations, greet us at every turn, together with idleness, dirt, beggary, half-naked children, and all sorts of indications of the slovenly habits of the people; while before every door the family dunghill ascends in ignoble elevation.”³⁶³ Nevertheless, not all travellers demonstrated such absolute confidence on the subject matter. Adolphus Slade reflected while travelling from Prague to Vienna in 1838:

The aspect of Prussia is also superior to that of Austria. Some say that this is owing to the influence of Protestantism in the former. I cannot say whether it is so or not; at the same time the traveller does not require the cross and the saint’s image placed ever and anon on the

³⁶² Russell, *Tour in Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 185-186.

³⁶³ [Edmund Spencer], *Sketches of Germany and the Germans: with a Glance at Poland, Hungary, & Switzerland, in 1834, 1835, and 1836* (Vol. I; London, 1836), p. 281. Similar Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. I, p. 18.

road's side in Austria to indicate that he is traversing a Catholic country.³⁶⁴

Interestingly, some travellers arrived in 'real' Catholic lands only after crossing into the Habsburg Empire. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, who went on a "bibliographical, antiquarian and picturesque Tour in France and Germany" in the early 1820s, set the following scene at the very southeast of Bavaria, only a few kilometres from Salzburg: "It was quite evident, from numberless exhibitions of art - connected with religious worship - along the road-side, or attached to churches - that we had now entered a territory quite different from that of Baden, Wirtemberg [sic], and even the northern part of Bavaria."³⁶⁵ And he added: "[I]t seemed as if Austria were a land of even greater superstition than France."³⁶⁶ Although there was barely a difference between the Catholic south of Bavaria and Salzburg in terms of the cultural landscape, Dibdin placed these remarks near the border to the Habsburg Empire. For him, Bavaria, with its large Protestant population and liberal constitution was not a Catholic country in the same sense as the Habsburg Empire.

Furthermore, the density of religious symbols certainly influenced travellers' perceptions. A number of writers, such as British traveller Henry David Inglis, attempted to express their observations in numeric terms: "I counted no fewer than forty-seven [devotional objects] between Inspruck [sic] and Schönberg [im Stubaital] - a distance of three leagues [roughly 15 kilometres]."³⁶⁷ These and similar sections illustrate how important the difference in cultural landscapes was for contemporary travellers.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴ Slade, *Travels*, p. 88.

³⁶⁵ Dibdin, *Bibliographical*, Vol. III, p. 345.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 345. There is a highly interesting alteration in his second edition where the same passage reads: "and it seemed as if Austria were a land of even greater superstition than Bavaria." *Ibid.*, 2nd ed., Vol. III, p. 191. Similar, Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and her institutions in 1839-40* (Vol. II; London, 1840), pp. 179-189.

³⁶⁷ Inglis, *The Tyrol*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, pp. 288-289. Similar, Walter White, *On Foot Through Tyrol in the Summer of 1855* (London, 1856), pp. 65, 95.

³⁶⁸ See for example Anonymous, *Travels in Bohemia*, Vol. I, pp. 250-252. Alexis, *Wiener Bilder*, p. 40. White, *July Holiday*, pp. 56, 99, 193-194, 228. White, *On Foot*, pp. 56, 233. Strang, *Germany*, Vol. II, p. 163. Lizzie Selina Eden, *A Lady's Glimpse of the late War in Bohemia* (London, 1867), pp. 242-243.

Making comparisons along the lines of opposing denominations was not a novelty in the nineteenth century. In fact the pedigree of anti-Catholic stereotypes is rather long. These strongly rest on ‘asymmetric counterconcepts.’³⁶⁹ The term, taken from and understood in Reinhart Koselleck’s reflections, embodies particular group identities in which “we” are set apart from “they.” In order to recognise the characteristics of each group asymmetric counterconcepts are employed. John Russell’s contrasting juxtaposition of diligent and rational Protestants in contrast to indigent and superstitious Catholics mentioned above is almost a textbook example. Koselleck described them as “binary concepts with claims to universality.”³⁷⁰ In terms of anti-Catholicism in Germany and Italy, Manuel Borutta has investigated these counterconcepts further and interpreted reactions to the Catholic south of Germany as intra-occidental Orientalism, which has its roots in late Enlightenment authors such as Friedrich Nicolai.³⁷¹ In the British context, anti-Catholicism was employed as a device to strengthen the feelings of community and to demarcate other European peoples.³⁷² Thus, there are similarities found in the ‘Othering’ of Catholics in different regions across Europe.

We must be careful, though, not to fall into overgeneralisation, because the asymmetric counterconcepts were not exclusively employed in a Manichean manner but extenuated by stressing positive aspects of Catholicism. One writer who made such an argument was Prussian Friedrich von Raumer, who at the time of writing was a professor in Breslau [Wrocław, Poland]. While on his way from Salzburg to Hallein in 1815, he spotted one of the numerous wooden pictures of saints along the roadside. First he fiercely condemned it:

Ueberhaupt sind mir die vielen Heiligen, und Christusbilder ein Aergerniß, einmal, des unabweislich damit getriebenen Aberglaubens

³⁶⁹ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, 2004). pp. 155-191.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³⁷¹ Manuel Borutta, *Antikatholizismus: Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe* (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 47-120.

³⁷² Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester and New York, 1993). According to Colley the ‘Othering’ of Catholic France was pivotal in forming a Protestant British identity. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London, 2014), pp. 376-379.

halber, dann, weil sie in der Regel unter aller Kritik gemalt, oder ausgehauen sind, so daß jeder, der von schönen Verhältnissen auch nur eine Ahndung [sic] hat, bei ihrem Anblick das kalte Fieber kriegen möchte.³⁷³

But in the following passages von Raumer markedly changed his attitude and remarked that, “wir Protestanten” have dismissed the riches of the Middle Ages too early. Thus highlighting another value of these works: “Ist es nicht unläugbarer Gewinn, wenn ein Volk solche Erinnerungen an die Vorzeit stets lebendig erhält, wenn es mit seiner Geschichte zusammenwächst, Nationalhelden und Nationalheilige gleichmäßig verehrt und so den Sinn nach allen Richtungen offen erhält?”³⁷⁴ Thus, although waging the ‘standard’ criticism of fostering superstition he acknowledged an additional, secular value. In this case the preservation of a tie to the past that in turn can lead to a shared sense of nationality.

Such nuanced views counteract too simplistic assumptions of anti-Catholicism. On the other hand, it must be stressed that accounts by Catholics were underrepresented. As shown in the preceding chapter, most travel writers came from predominantly Protestant regions. The lack of Catholic voices is also understandable from another angle, since these travellers were used to the cultural landscape and understood its practices as devotion and tradition rather than superstition. However, it is also surprising that hardly an attempt was undertaken to defend a Catholic position or to counteract the dominant narrative. One exception was Friedrich Hurter. Born in Switzerland to Protestant parents he became a priest of the Reformed Church but converted to Catholicism in 1844, a few years after he published his travelogue. He specifically criticised the contemporary interpretation of religious symbols in the landscape during a journey on the Danube:

[Rauch und Dampf] haben das steinerne Kreuz auf dem Felsen neben der alten Warte zur poetisch-romantischen Staffage der Landschaft gemacht, was für unsere alterthümlichen Dilettanten zu den Burgruinen und den hervorspringenden Felsen und dem

³⁷³ Von Raumer, *Herbstreise*, Vol. I, p. 127.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 131.

Schauerlichen der ganzen Umgebung ebenso unerlässlich gehört, wie zu einer italienischen Landschaft ein paar Kapuziner.³⁷⁵

He even ventured to defend the tithe, at the time of his journey still levied by monasteries, which he described primarily as sites of learning and knowledge production.³⁷⁶ Feudal relations were finally abolished in 1848.³⁷⁷ Nevertheless he remained an exception as the majority of Catholic travellers stayed silent on the issue of an alleged backwardness of Catholic territories. Bavarian Catholic travellers, for example, did not mention any negative connotations regarding the Catholic landscape. Even though some faithfully recounted the various wonders that allegedly happened in particular places, no further reflections took place.³⁷⁸

3.3.2 Mobile Markers: Pilgrimages and Mendicancy

While immobile markers demonstrated the physical otherness between Catholic and Protestant regions, the inhabitants of these regions could also serve to emphasise denominational differences. Pilgrimages were a preferred subject to do so.³⁷⁹ For some travellers it was yet another expression of Catholic bigotry and the superficial nature of popular belief. The above-mentioned traveller Thomas Frognall Dibdin, for example, described a group of pilgrims to Göttweig, a monastery in the vicinity of the Danube:

It was a sorry cavalcade. Some of the men, and even women, were without shoes and stockings; and they were scattered about the road in a very loose, straggling manner...although the road was not very smooth, both men and women appeared to be in excellent spirits, and

³⁷⁵ Friedrich Hurter, *Ausflug nach Wien und Presburg im Sommer 1839* (Vol. I; Schaffhausen, 1840), p. 223.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-212. Similar Johann Baptist Zarbl, *Erinnerungen aus einer Reise durch einige Abteien in Östreich, und das k.k. obderensische Salzkammergut* (Regensburg, 1831), pp. 95-100.

³⁷⁷ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 175.

³⁷⁸ This is the case for these Bavarian travellers: Von Schubert, *Wanderbüchlein*. Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 und 1837* (2 Vols.; Erlangen, 1838). Jäck and Heller, *Reise nach Wien*. Josephine von Drouin, *Meine Reisen von München nach Tyrol, Wien, Mayland, Venedig und nach Ober-Italien in den Jahren 1814, 1815, 1819 und 1820* (Munich, 1823). Johann von Gott Bundschue, *Reise auf der Donau von Ulm nach Wien, und von da über Salzburg und durch das nördliche Tirol nach Kempten, gemacht im September und Oktober 1814* (Kempten, 1815).

³⁷⁹ Pilgrimages and mendicancy are singled out here due to the restriction of space but other immobile markers, such as the keeping of Sundays or church attendance, are also mentioned in various accounts.

to move briskly along - occasionally singing, and looking up to the crucifix - which a stout young man carried at the head of them.³⁸⁰

During his visit to Mariazell, one of the main pilgrimage sites in the vicinity of Vienna, John Russell remarked that a group of pilgrims mostly consisted of women of the lower strata of society.³⁸¹ Laconically he noted: “The upper ranks do not choose to go to heaven in vulgar company; and, if they visit Mariazell at all, they make it a pleasure jaunt, (for the place of pilgrimage lies in a most romantic country,) like an excursion to the Lakes of Scotland or Cumberland, and pray to the Virgin *en passant*.”³⁸²

Yet, again nuances are observable. Not all travellers displayed this marked disdain towards the Catholic practice of pilgrimage. James Robinson Planché, a British traveller sailing down the Danube towards Vienna in 1836, described a pilgrimage he observed as “equally picturesque and striking” and abstained from negative commentary altogether.³⁸³

Well into the nineteenth century, mendicancy was discussed in the framework of Catholicism. The main argument was that the Catholic practice of giving alms would serve as a disincentive to work and thus foster begging. Therefore travellers paid special attention to this phenomenon. Willibald Alexis, for instance, wrote about Salzburg: “Ueber jedem Stadtthor steht zwar im Salzburgischen geschrieben: ‘der Bettel ist hier verboten’...allein desto häufiger wird man um das Almosen eines Gebets für die armen Seelen im Fegefeuer angesprochen.”³⁸⁴ During his journey to Vienna the same traveller witnessed an

³⁸⁰ Dibdin, *Bibliographical*, Vol. III, p. 420.

³⁸¹ On pilgrimages and tourism to Mariazell Alison Frank, ‘The Pleasant and the Useful: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Habsburg Mariazell’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), pp. 157-182.

³⁸² Russell, *Tour in Germany*, Vol. II, p. 298. Italics in original. The anonymous author of *Austria and the Austrians* cited this section and remarked: “Mr. Russell’s picture of it, although somewhat too dramatic, is perfectly just in its general features.” Anonymous, *Austria and the Austrians* (Vol. II; London, 1837), pp. 196-204. Here p. 196.

³⁸³ James Robinson Planché, *Descent of the Danube, from Ratisbon to Vienna, during the Autumn of 1827. With Anecdotes and Recollections, Historical and Legendary of the Towns, Castles, Monasteries &c., upon the Banks of the River, and their Inhabitants and Proprietors, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1828), p. 220. Similar Beattie’s remarks on Göttweig. William Beattie, *The Danube, its History, Scenery, and Topography* (London, 1844), p. 132.

³⁸⁴ Alexis, *Schattenrisse*, p. 35. Laube described it as a “fortwährende[r] Belagerungszustand.” Laube, *Reisenovellen*, Vol. III, p. 66. Similar Lizzie Selina Eden, *My Holiday in Austria* (London, 1869), pp. 71-72.

unusual spectacle that took place at the Danube. After passing an especially dangerous section of the river monks equipped with statues of saints entered ships and asked for small donations.³⁸⁵ The observation of beggary opened a political dimension, because it was no longer attributed to the Catholic Church alone but to the political system as well. Therefore the link between throne and altar came into focus.

Yet, there was also criticism of the view that poverty was exclusively Catholic. Adolphus Slade argued in 1838: “I do not, however, think that travellers are quite right in citing the mendicity [sic] which is apparent in Catholic countries as evidence of poverty: it may exist to an equal extent in a Protestant country, but the rule there is to keep it out of sight.”³⁸⁶

The early-nineteenth century, however, was also a period in which the simple life, particularly of the rural population, received increased attention. Some urban travellers began to emphasise its positive sides. “Still the superstition of the Tyrolese is attended with real piety,”³⁸⁷ wrote an anonymous traveller in 1842, thus countering the grave accusation that Catholicism is nothing more than institutionalised superstition. Bavarian female traveller Josephine von Drouin described a monk’s life in rather poetical terms:

Wer wenig braucht, mit Wenigem zufrieden lebt, und auf Gott vertraut...lebt wie ein König...er ist zufrieden mit seinem Stande, und kämpft nicht um den Flitter nie beglückender Ehre; erklettert keine schwindelnden Höhen, um desto tiefer zu stürzen; ihm sproßt des Friedens erquickendes Oelblatt, das seine Stirne von jeder Furche des Kammers glatt und frey erhält.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Alexis, *Wiener Bilder*, pp. 315-316.

³⁸⁶ Slade, *Travels*, p. 88. There is evidence that poverty and mendicancy were described in similar terms regardless of the geographical place of encountering them. Instead it was rather perceived as a rift between Catholic and Protestant states. E.g. Struck, *Nicht West*, pp. 242-250 shows the similarities found in travelogues of German travellers to France and Poland.

³⁸⁷ Anonymous, *Scamper*, p. 108. Similar Inglis, *The Tyrol*, Vol. II, p. 273. Reinbeck, *Reise-Plaudereien*, Vol. I, pp. 277-278. A counterpoint is Alexis, who wrote that monasteries might feed the poorest of the poor but reserve the largest part for themselves. Alexis, *Wiener Bilder*, p. 334.

³⁸⁸ Von Drouin, *Meine Reisen*, p. 50.

In an age of drastic changes, observing supposedly simple Catholic piety could serve as a gateway to older, more stable times.³⁸⁹

Anti-Catholicism certainly still played a huge role in the nineteenth century in both the United Kingdom and the German lands. Debates about the Catholic Emancipation Act, which became law in 1829, or the Cologne Troubles of 1837 and later the so-called *Kulturkampf* in its various forms were both highly contested and important.³⁹⁰ Nevertheless, these debates were not necessarily the main reason why Catholicism was such a prominent topic. An important reason was also the travellers' mental maps. The differentiation between a Protestant North and Catholic South was particularly strong in the German lands.³⁹¹ As shown above, the mental compass pointed at southern Germany. But the 'South' was also linked with the Catholic religion. Walter White wrote at Nauders, today a small Austrian town bordering both Switzerland and Italy, that he "had seen signs of getting nearer the South in an altar profusely gilt, and a Christ, too gory, as it seemed to me, to excite either a sorrowful or a devotional sentiment."³⁹² Decades earlier Adam Neale evoked in strikingly similar terms southern airs while travelling in Bohemia: "From time to time, the doors of ample wine-caves meet the stranger's eye along the highway, remote from human dwellings; crucifixes and bleeding saints crown the pinnacles of the bridges, or terminate the vistas of intersecting passes, while every object reminds him of the culture, manners, and habits of the South."³⁹³ German travellers observed these similarities as well. Even Karl Julius Weber, who, as mentioned above, attempted

³⁸⁹ Chapter 5 will discuss this aspect in more detail.

³⁹⁰ On the Catholic Emancipation Act see Colley, *Britons*, pp. 330-341. The Cologne Troubles arose over the question, which confession the children sprung from interconfessional marriages have. Rebecca A. Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 15-21. Here p. 18.

³⁹¹ Otherwise an internal Othering would be impossible. See Manuel Borutta, 'Der innere Orient. Antikatholizismus als Orientalismus in Deutschland, 1781-1924', in Margrit Pernau and Monica Juneja (eds.), *Religion und Grenzen: Transnationale Historiographie in Deutschland und Indien* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 245-274.

³⁹² White, *On Foot*, p. 95.

³⁹³ Neale, *Travels*, p. 88. Exceptions are Strang, who regarded the Bohemian spa town of Töplitz [Teplice, Czech Republic] as part of 'North Germany' and von Rumohr, who described Prague as "die schönste Stadt des nördlichen Europa." Strang, *Germany*, Vol. II, p. 168. Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Reise durch die östlichen Bundesstaaten in die Lombardey, und zurück über die Schweiz und den oberen Rhein, in besonderer Beziehung auf Völkerkunde, Landbau und Staatswirthschaft* (Lübeck, 1838), p. 39.

to describe a unified Germany wrote about the Tyroleans: “Der Tyroler ist zu nahe an Italien, um nicht wie der bigotte Transalpiner zu sprechen: noi altri Christiani, und man darf in Tyrol alles seyn nur nicht Ketzer!”³⁹⁴ Willibald Alexis found the differences between North and South even among the female inhabitants:

Dies schöne, sanfte, ernste, milde Geschlecht kam dem Nordländer wie verwandt vor. Es war etwas vom nordischen Hauch darin; aber der Ernst war kein puritanischer, kein protestantischer; es war eine katholische Devotion, eine süße Beschaulichkeit, die den Grundtypus aller dieser Gesichter ausmachte...Katholisch, ächt katholisch ist Salzburg, das sagt dir jeder Blick, wenn du, so etwas zu fühlen, sinnliche Empfänglichkeit mitbringst.³⁹⁵

These examples illustrate that for mid-nineteenth century travellers the European North-South divide was far from lacking in significance. It was still very strongly anchored in people’s perceptions and their mental maps. Religion played a particularly important role in helping grasp ‘North’ and ‘South.’ Catholicism was an integral feature of the ‘South’ and thus was the Catholic south of Germany, including its Habsburgian parts.

3.4 The Missing East – The Spatialisation of Hungary

Discussing the conceptions of Germany unearthed the fragmented view travellers applied to the Habsburg Empire. Focusing on a region such as Bohemia stresses that the presence of Slavic-speaking inhabitants did not alter the Kingdom’s position within Germany in the view of visitors. The historical ties to the Holy Roman Empire and the administrative link to the German Confederation mattered more than encountered languages. In short, for nineteenth-century travellers Bohemia was not in Eastern Europe. But how does this compare to Hungary’s location? After all, the German-speaking minority occupied a prominent place within its society. Simultaneously, the Hungarian language, being markedly different to most of the other European languages, incited curiosity. Thus, there

³⁹⁴ [Weber], *Deutschland*, Vol. II, p. 554. Similar Hermann Scherer, *Oestreich im Sommer 1842* (Ulm, 1843), pp. 6-7.

³⁹⁵ Alexis, *Schattenrisse*, p. 30. Such descriptions of female Catholic devotees can be found much earlier in the eighteenth century. Manuel Borutta interprets such passages as an ‘Othering’ of the Catholic population and compared it to colonial encounters. Borutta, *Antikatholizismus*, pp. 58-60.

are a number of markers, which could potentially anchor Hungary in the ‘East.’ How did nineteenth-century travellers understand the situation?

For the purposes of this work as well as for contemporaries the term Hungary refers to quite a different entity than that of the same appellation depicted on today’s maps. The Kingdom of Hungary stretched from the Carpathians in modern-day Slovakia and Ukraine to Transylvania, today part of Romania.³⁹⁶ It even had access to the Adriatic, since a small stretch of coast in modern-day Croatia belonged to the Kingdom. It is evident that this was far from a monolithic space in terms of language or religion. Within the realm of the Habsburgs, Hungary always had a peculiar status. Although attempts to centralise the different lands under Habsburg rule, especially during the late-eighteenth century, made limited progress, it never reached the level envisaged by Maria Theresa or Joseph II.³⁹⁷ Its precise status remained unresolved when the Austrian Empire was proclaimed in 1804, because legally the title of Emperor of Austria was created without altering any of the previous titles.³⁹⁸ Thus, it could be argued that, although the King of Hungary and the Emperor of Austria was the same person, it did not follow that Hungary was included into the Austrian Empire.³⁹⁹ The legal system, its Diet and capital, all remained separated. Also, as shown above, Hungary’s borders were in fact internal state borders. Only in the aftermath of the 1848 uprisings was momentum gained, and in 1851 a customs union was eventually formed. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 finally acknowledged and confirmed the separate path of Hungary.

Entering the kingdom was often described as venturing into *terra incognita*; into a country of which not much was known and false ideas were in circulation.⁴⁰⁰ But

³⁹⁶ The principality of Transylvania, a Habsburg crownland since its capture from the Ottomans in the early-eighteenth century, joined the Kingdom of Hungary in 1867.

³⁹⁷ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 78-84.

³⁹⁸ Neue Titulatur und Wapen [sic] Seiner Römisch- und Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlich- auch Königlich-Apostolischen Majestät, nach den durch den Luneviller Friedensschluß herbey geführten Veränderungen, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=pgs&datum=1804&page=383&size=45> [19/01/17].

³⁹⁹ Péter László, ‘Die Verfassungsentwicklung in Ungarn’, in Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (eds.), *Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918* (Vol. VII/I; Vienna, 2000), pp. 273-275.

⁴⁰⁰ Johann Gottfried Elsner, *Ungarn durchreiset, beurtheilet und beschrieben* (Vol. I; Leipzig, 1840), p. 1.

precautions must be taken to not over-interpret such remarks since they only mirror what other authors outlined when entering into the German-speaking crownlands. It was common to style the visited region as little known and a device to render one's account more interesting. For most, Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] – the political capital until the 1860s⁴⁰¹ – was the first destination in Hungary. Ernst Anton Quitzmann, a Bavarian physician, ventured to this city in 1848. As a staunch supporter of German unification, he was even jailed for a couple of days in 1842. Nevertheless it was out of the question for him that this city should form any sort of link to his conception of Germany. In fact, quite the opposite, as he wrote shortly before the start of his journey in Vienna: “[U]nd nur wenige Stunden soll ich noch auf dem Boden der Heimath verbleiben.”⁴⁰² Quitzmann's view was far from exceptional. Even predominantly German-speaking areas in modern-day Austria were quite naturally excluded from Germany.⁴⁰³

British travellers did not differ much in their perception of Hungary. After completing his walking tour in Bohemia, Chaplain George Robert Gleig went on to see Hungary in 1837. He remarked on the strong difference at the border: “We felt that we were at last in a new country”,⁴⁰⁴ a country inhabited by people “quite distinct from that [stock] to which the natives of the west of Europe trace back their origin.”⁴⁰⁵ He went on to write that “[i]t seemed to me as if we had passed the line which divides one of the great families of mankind from another, and if I did not look round for pagodas and mosques, their occurrence, at any given moment, would have little surprised me.”⁴⁰⁶ Captain Basil Hall accepted an invitation from Countess Purgstall in 1836, herself born in Scotland as Jane Anne

⁴⁰¹ In terms of administration Pest could be regarded as the capital since the late-eighteenth century, but since the coronation traditionally took place in Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] where also the Diet convened until 1848, travellers generally regarded it as Hungary's capital. Only in 1865 was a provisional parliamentary building constructed in Pest.

⁴⁰² Ernst Anton Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe über den Orient* (Stuttgart, 1848), p. 46. Almost identical Elsner, *Ungarn*, Vol. I, p. 4.

⁴⁰³ Wilhelm Richter, *Wanderungen in Ungarn und unter seinen Bewohnern: Eine Beleuchtung von Ungarns moderner Stellung und Richtung* (Berlin, 1844), p. 86. Similar Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 51.

⁴⁰⁴ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. III, p. 5. Bugge cites this passage and interprets it as Gleig's experience of the European East-West divide. Bugge, 'Linger', pp. 17-18.

⁴⁰⁵ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. III, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 5.

Cranstoun, to visit her at Hainfeld, her Styrian castle. Visiting Hungary was a prime incentive to go there, since, as he wrote, “it will certainly be no small comfort to see something *new* on the continent.”⁴⁰⁷ When finally the day came to take in Hungary by visiting the small town of Sankt Gotthard [Szentgotthárd, Hungary], today a Hungarian border town to Austria, he remarked upon the conspicuous difference he encountered:

I confess I took more interest in the wild, indeed half savage, costume and looks of the Hungarians, most of whom were dressed in long, flowing, white cloaks. The language, manners, and appearance in every respect of these people differed essentially from those of the Styrians whom we had left but a few miles behind. This seems the more strange, as the boundary between the two countries is nothing but an imaginary line, or at most a hedge and a ditch, which the Countess’s coachman had some difficulty, I thought, in pointing out, though he had lived thereabouts all his life.⁴⁰⁸

Although in terms of the physical appearance the border was “an imaginary line,” “at most a hedge and a ditch,” culturally Hall encountered “wild, indeed half savage” Hungarians, while Gleig would not have been surprised to see “pagodas and mosques.”⁴⁰⁹

One line of interpretation could be to see this marked difference as an attempt of ‘Othering’, to make the Hungarians an Eastern, “half savage” other. If a closer look is taken, however, at least two arguments counteract this interpretation. Firstly, the authors are not coherent in their narratives. Take for example George Robert Gleig. During the process of entering Hungary he was expecting “pagodas and mosques,” yet only two pages later he found that “the marks of civilization that greeted us were both numerous and satisfactory.”⁴¹⁰ It takes another 300 odd pages until “in imagination” he was carried “beyond the limits of western Europe.”⁴¹¹ This imaginary encounter took place outside Hungary, between Morović [Serbia] and Vinkovci [Croatia] on the military frontier to the Ottoman

⁴⁰⁷ Hall, *Hainfeld*, p. 11. Italics in original.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁰⁹ Similar Von Pirch, *Caragoli*, Vol. I, p. vi.

⁴¹⁰ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 317. Similar Paget who found the Eastern influence strongest in Kronstadt [Braşov, Romania]. Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, p. 439.

Empire. Captain Hall's remarks were strongly criticised by his compatriot John Paget. He, a British traveller who later married into the Transylvanian aristocracy and was even naturalised (so-called *Indigenatserteilung*) in 1847,⁴¹² emphasised that although Hall entered Hungary "but for a few hours [he] still finds something to say against it."⁴¹³

Yet, the stronger case against an interpretation of 'Othering' is to highlight the contemporary nature of Hungary. Unlike today, the Kingdom of Hungary constituted, as we would term it today, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country.⁴¹⁴ Contemporaries were well aware of that. For instance, it was commonplace in contemporary travelogues to differentiate between Hungarians – meaning all the inhabitants of this kingdom – and Magyars – meaning only the Hungarian-speaking population.⁴¹⁵ Johann Gottfried Elsner, an East Prussian traveller who visited Hungary several times between 1821 and 1840, described the valley of the March river between Kremsier [Kroměříž, Czech Republic] and Holitsch [Holič, Slovakia] the following way: "Die Volkssprache ist slawisch, obgleich die Gebildeten auch deutsch reden. Das ungarische Leben und Wesen spricht sich jedoch hier sehr prägnant aus."⁴¹⁶ Disregarding his geographic misconception – Holitsch was actually the border town in Hungary, whereas Kremsier was part of Moravia – he makes an important point. Language did not signify political space. He further clarified that he meant by "ungarische[s] Leben und Wesen" the presence of Jews and Roma, which Elsner emphasised in his last chapter: "Der Magyer, der Slave, der Deutsche, der Serbe und der Wlache zeigen jeder seine Individualität, aber unter einem Hauptgesichtspunkte sind sie alle Ungarn und zeigen die Nationalität des Ungarn."⁴¹⁷ Thus, although Hungary was seen as one space, it was never perceived as monolithic.

⁴¹² Der Siebenbürger Bote, 25.10.1847, p. 342, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=dsb&datum=18471025&seite=2>[20/01/17].

⁴¹³ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, p. 562. Paget cited Quin, Hall, Gleig and the anonymous author of *Austria and the Austrians* and attempted to correct their claims. Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, pp. 559-564. Similar Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. I, p. 266.

⁴¹⁴ Of course minorities are still part of the Hungarian society, especially Romani.

⁴¹⁵ Elsner, *Ungarn*, Vol. I, p. 10.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 18. A little later Elsner accepted that one unified administrative language was needed but rejected influence on the private use of language. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 72.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 386 (emphasis in original).

Perhaps more surprising is that even among German-speaking travellers it was perceived as a quite natural development that the German language should decrease in significance in Hungary. Quitzmann, who was a staunch supporter of a unified German state, even developed a theory that Germans were especially prone to peel off their mother tongue and assimilate, citing North America and Russia as examples.⁴¹⁸ He concluded: “Da nun aber Ungarn nicht Deutschland oder die Walachei oder Slavonien werden kann, so ist es ebenso natürlich, daß die Einwohner dieses Reiches, auch wenn sie andern Nationalitäten angehören, das Magyarische lernen, als wir es natürlich finden, daß Mecklenburger, Pommern und Krainer deutsch reden.”⁴¹⁹ Quitzmann thus interpreted linguistic unity as a condition to be created. Wilhelm Richter, who published an account in 1844 after spending about five years there, also argued in this vein and dismissed altogether the notion that Germans were living in Hungary, because they regarded themselves not as Germans but still as Swabians and Saxons.⁴²⁰

Johann Georg Kohl, who, as mentioned above, travelled the Habsburg Empire in 1842, dedicated two of his five volumes to travels in Hungary. Quite naturally he remarked on the strong differences: “Vier Meilen hinter Wien hat die österreichische Polizei und ebenso auch die damit verbundene gesellige Ordnung alle Macht verloren.”⁴²¹ And he observed the linguistic situation as well. During a short cruise on the Danube on his way to Budapest, he witnessed a discussion in which German speakers who lived in Hungary agreed on the need for a national language. They were of course referring to Hungarian and not to German.⁴²² Nevertheless Kohl was not convinced. Elsewhere he condemned “Magyaromanie” as he called it, the strife for linguistic unity that did not shy away from the use of force. He argued that multiple languages within one state needed to be maintained because every other action would mean to rely on the force of the strongest, thus antagonising those who spoke another language.⁴²³

⁴¹⁸ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 51.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53. Similar Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. II, pp. 256-258.

⁴²⁰ Richter, *Wanderungen*, p. vii.

⁴²¹ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. III, p. 4.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 117-127.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 356-357. Similar Hurter, *Ausflug*, Vol. II, pp. 260-262.

Mid-nineteenth century travellers to Hungary experienced a country that was markedly different from other crownlands. References to an ‘Other’ or to the ‘East’, when entering the country, were a literary device used to convey the sense of a separate country to the reader, which is why some contradicted themselves only a few lines later. It was a multilingual entity, although attempts to unify the language were willingly accepted, also from fellow German speakers. But was Hungary part of ‘Eastern Europe’?

Ernst Anton Quitzmann, the Bavarian traveller who perambulated Hungary on his way to Constantinople in 1848, commenced his *Deutsche Briefe ueber den Orient*⁴²⁴ with the words: “Lieber Freund! Ich soll Ihnen, Ihrem Wunsche entsprechend, Briefe aus dem Orient schreiben, und beginne mit Wien!”⁴²⁵ He went on to list different reasons why he could have chosen Vienna as the starting point of his narrative, but finally concluded: “Ich wählte aber Wien, wie der Seefahrer noch einen letzten Blick nach dem Orte seiner Einschiffung zurückwirft, und mit demselben seinem Heimathlande den Scheidegruß sendet; ich wählte Wien, weil es Europa’s Gränzstadt ist.”⁴²⁶ Judging from these lines it would be easy to assume a rift between ‘East’ and ‘West’ at the outskirts of Vienna, along the lines of the often-cited (but never verified) comment of Metternich that just outside Vienna the Balkans (or Asia) begins. Yet, when following his narrative, it quickly becomes clear that Quitzmann did not see Vienna on the fringes of the Orient, nor did he locate Hungary there. Instead he described the kingdom as a “civilisierte Monarchie”⁴²⁷ and its people as “Ein Volk, das man Jahrhunderte lang kurzweg mit dem Namen von Barbaren abfertigte” but which now “tritt plötzlich in die Schranken der Civilisation” and shows “daß es den Muth hat, mit den literarischen Blüthen, die an der Elbe, Seine und Themse reifen, zu wetteifern.”⁴²⁸ Johann Georg Kohl, writing in 1842, cited religion as a major reason to place Hungary in Europe:

⁴²⁴ Interestingly the 2nd edition has a different title: *Reisebriefe aus Ungarn, dem Banat, Siebenbürgern, den Donaufürstenthümern, der Europäischen Türkei und Griechenland*.

⁴²⁵ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 1.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60. Almost identical Richter, *Wanderungen*, p. 65.

Man kann Ungarns Schicksal nicht genugsam preisen, daß es sich von Deutschland und Italien aus für die lateinische Kirche gewinnen ließ. Hierdurch wurde es für das Land entschieden, daß es uns Westeuropäern angehören sollte, und dieß ist die beste Bürgschaft dafür, daß es stets bei allen Wechselfällen der Ereignisse gegen den Osten mit uns zusammenhalten wird.⁴²⁹

These travellers found the 'East' elsewhere, at the border to the Ottoman Empire. Johann Georg Kohl used the example of the *Cordon Sanitaire* to describe how the "Cultur Westeuropa's" unfolded its civilising power.⁴³⁰ At the same time he speculated about the military frontier's end "wenn auch in den benachbarten Provinzen sich mehr Licht und Civilisation verbreitet" and thus "diese lebendige[n] Mauer[n] gegen die Barbaren überflüssig werden."⁴³¹ Eventually, Kohl constructed a sort of chain of Enlightenment in a westerly direction.

Paris, Baden, Württemberg, Baiern, Oesterreich, Wien, Pesth, Temeswar, Siebenbürgen, Bessarabien, es ist eine Reihe von immer schwacher erleuchteten Zimmern. Schaut man aus einem der helleren Räume rückwärts, so schaudert man, und es scheint einem Alles dunkel. Blickt man aber vorwärts, so glaubt man Alles klar und strahlend zu sehen. Nähert man sich selbst dem einen oder dem anderen Ende, so sieht man zuweilen, wie sehr man sich in manchen Stücken täuschte. Man erkennt dann die Flecken der leuchtenden Gestirne und sieht den eigenthümlichen Schimmer selbst des dunkelsten Planeten.⁴³²

Paris as the centre of Western European culture and Enlightenment is only half the truth for Kohl because he acknowledges the inherent relativity. Depending on the direction, even areas in the 'East' such as Budapest, Temeswar [Timișoara, Romania] or Transylvania could shed the light of civilisation. Wilhelm Richter, who travelled on the Danube a few years after Kohl, described the Iron Gate, a gorge on the border with the Ottoman Empire where the Danube narrows considerably, rendering the river unnavigable, as "ein Thor Europas, gebaut von

⁴²⁹ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. IV, p. 432. Similar Richter, *Wanderungen*, p. v.

⁴³⁰ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. III, p. 544.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 539.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 227. Kohl made the same point in his preceding work. Kohl, *Reisen*, Vol. III, p. 133.

der Natur, ein Scheidepunkt ganz verschiedener Lebensverhältnisse.“⁴³³ British travellers were remarkably similar in their comments. John Paget, for example, whose account of 1839 especially highlights Transylvania, argued: “Here is this country on the very limits of European civilization, yet possessing institutions and rights, for which the most civilized have not been thought sufficiently advanced.”⁴³⁴ Thus, while Hungary was still seen at the periphery, it represented a country in a state of progress, eager to make its march towards civilisation. Hungary was, so to speak, in a state of transition.⁴³⁵

This led to a paradox. On the one hand, Hungary was described as different, but on the other hand it was never situated outside a common framework. It was not made into ‘the Other.’ Contemporary travellers resolved this riddle by classifying Hungary as in a transitional state. Representative are the thoughts of Johann Gottfried Elsner: “Für Europa ist dieses wichtig, weil Ungarn den Uebergang bildet von der europäischen Civilisation zur orientalischen Unkultur, und weil es, wie in physischer und politischer Hinsicht, so auch in intellectueller Hinsicht dem Eindringen dieser vorzubeugen, am besten geeignet ist.”⁴³⁶ However, for those travellers this was mainly the consequence of its geographical location and history. John Paget thus argued: “It is not one hundred years since the Turks were in possession of this province... Those who have visited any of the countries under the Ottoman rule will easily understand the wild and savage state in which this beautiful land then was.”⁴³⁷ The long Ottoman rule, not any inherent characteristic of its inhabitants or their ‘eastern origins’, had brought the kingdom to this backward state. While Hungary was interpreted as belonging to the ‘West’, it nevertheless bore marks of the ‘Orient.’ Hungary might have been on the fringes; but it was interpreted as an outpost of the travellers’ own culture.

⁴³³ Richter, *Wanderungen*, p. 1. Quitzmänn also arrived in the Orient after crossing the Ottoman border Quitzmänn, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 241.

⁴³⁴ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, p. 359.

⁴³⁵ This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁴³⁶ Elsner, *Ungarn*, Vol. II, p. 359. Similar *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 28, 266. Similar Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. III, p. 484.

⁴³⁷ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, p. 150.

3.5 Conclusion

In the introduction of *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Larry Wolff claims that “[t]he ‘iron curtain’ seamlessly fit the earlier tracing, and it was almost forgotten, or neglected, or suppressed, that an older epoch in the history of ideas first divided the continent, creating the disunion of Western Europe and Eastern Europe.”⁴³⁸ In this interpretation, the so-called Iron Curtain that divided Cold War Europe in two opposing halves becomes a physical manifestation of a much older idea dating back to the Enlightenment era. But how do Wolff’s findings compare with the perception of nineteenth-century travellers and their mental maps?

The Kingdom of Bohemia is an excellent case in point. It had a mixed population of German and Slav speakers and its geographic location places it beyond Wolff’s dividing line. Yet, as shown above, Bohemia was firmly regarded as part of Germany. The historical ties to the Holy Roman Empire and its incorporation into the German Confederation left virtually no room for doubt about its localisation. Therefore, both British and German travellers regarded Prague as a German city, and this image was surprisingly durable, as James Murray’s guidebooks show. That the ‘Golden City’ “surpasses in its grandeur and imposing character the appearance of any other city in Germany”⁴³⁹ remained almost untouched from its first edition in 1837 to its fifteenth and last edition published in 1890.⁴⁴⁰ The well-known spa towns of western Bohemia were incorporated into Augustus Bozzi Granville’s *The Spas of Germany* in the 1830s. Of course there were also local reactions. After all the first Pan-Slav congress was held in Prague in 1848. But for outsiders such considerations did not play much of a role. In fact, this ties in with recent research on nationalism within the Habsburg Empire that stresses the regional level more than older approaches.⁴⁴¹ Findings suggest that the first traces

⁴³⁸ Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, p. 4.

⁴³⁹ [Murray], *Handbook*, 1st ed. (1837), p. 323.

⁴⁴⁰ [Murray], *Handbook*, 15th ed. (1890), p. 247.

⁴⁴¹ E.g. Laurence Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70* (New York, 2007). Dominique Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice* (Stanford, 2012).

of linguistic and ethnic fault lines appear in the 1860s. Only in the subsequent decades did nationalist ideas firmly hold place.⁴⁴²

The findings regarding the Kingdom of Hungary in travellers' eyes question the dividing line even more. In the period under consideration, neither British nor German travellers placed it in the 'East.' The encountered languages or the Magyars' 'eastern origins' did not seem to have mattered much. However, this does not mean that there was no 'Other' in Europe. The Ottoman-Habsburg border served as the line where the Orient was to be found. The *Cordon Sanitaire* and the corresponding quarantine enforced the impression of a dividing line. Thus, the difference between Christian and Muslim-ruled territories was still influential in the nineteenth century.

Did nineteenth-century travellers solely think in terms of an East-West antagonism? Again, the findings are mixed. Of course the Orient was found within Europe, but for someone travelling along the beaten track of the time, from Dresden via Prague to Vienna, this was not of much significance. However, a traveller in Bohemia, such as Adam Neale in 1818, could be reminded "of the culture, manners, and habits of the South."⁴⁴³ And decades later an author like Willibald Alexis could style himself in Salzburg as a northerner observing the women of the south.⁴⁴⁴ Religion proved pivotal in separating the Orient from the rest of Europe, but also in differentiating the Protestant North from the Catholic South. Thus it is perhaps less surprising that the North-South division of Europe was evoked instead of an East-West one. In a recently published monograph entitled *The Dream of the North*, Peter Fjågesund describes the period between 1830 and 1880 as "the northern Heyday," stressing that it was in this period that the North gained significance in public discourse.⁴⁴⁵ This emphasises that in the

⁴⁴² Haslinger shows in his study of the internal Czech national discourse, that nationalisation took hold since the 1880s but until 1918 it concentrated on the Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian crownlands. Peter Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs 1880-1938* (Munich, 2010), pp. 107-110, 435-444.

⁴⁴³ Neale, *Travels*, p. 88.

⁴⁴⁴ Alexis, *Schattenrisse*, p. 30.

⁴⁴⁵ Fjågesund, *Dream*, p. 331.

first half of the nineteenth century it is more likely that two spatial discourses developed in parallel.⁴⁴⁶

Entering Habsburg lands was often put on a par with venturing into unknown territory. In 1838, Frances Milton Trollope described Austria as “this (essentially) unknown country” in her preface.⁴⁴⁷ In 1856, British traveller Walter White tried – and failed – to obtain a map of Bohemia at a Frankfurt bookstore “because no one ever goes to Bohemia.”⁴⁴⁸ Even in 1893, Sidney Whitman maintained that “the country itself is comparatively seldom visited by tourists from the west of Europe, and is even less read about.”⁴⁴⁹ But given the surprisingly large number of travel accounts researched for this study and the high popularity of travel literature in the nineteenth century, the claim of an unknown and obscure country seems to be more a literary device to spark interest than to reflect reality.

Moreover, many styled the crossing as surprisingly easy and pleasant. Others defended the strictness of official border personnel or blamed the biased observations of other travellers. In a sense, nineteenth-century travellers to the Habsburg Empire discovered what Aldous Huxley observed a century later: “To travel is to discover that everybody is wrong.”⁴⁵⁰

This does not mean, though, that these travellers became uncritical observers. Travel writers often used the preface of their books to stress their impartialness. The second sentence of Frances Trollope’s account, for example, opens with: “In what I have said of Austria, I have sought only to record what I have seen.”⁴⁵¹ Such a claim was especially important if political conditions were taken into consideration, as the authors felt the need to counter possible criticism beforehand and uphold their credibility.⁴⁵²

At the same time their views on politics are key to analysing another field of the spatial discourse. After all, a term such as the ‘West’ bore, and still bears a

⁴⁴⁶ Heinrich Kirschbaum, ‘Orientalismus und Ossianismus. Zu den Verschränkungen der Nord- und Orient-Diskurse in der polnischen Frühromantik’, in Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (eds.), *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa: Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Bielefeld, 2014), pp. 259-284.

⁴⁴⁷ Trollope, *Vienna*, Vol. I, p. vi.

⁴⁴⁸ White, *July Holiday*, p. 1. Also cited in Bugge, ‘Linger’, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁴⁹ Sidney Whitman, *The Realm of the Habsburgs* (London, 1893), p. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Pilate: An Intellectual Holiday* (New York, 1926), p. 241.

⁴⁵¹ Trollope, *Vienna*, Vol. I, p. v.

political sense, “referring to notions of reason, liberty, democracy, constitutional government, the rule of law, the middle class, private property, individuality,” and simultaneously forming a counterpart to “‘Eastern barbarism’, ‘Oriental despotism’ or the ‘Asiatic mode of production.’”⁴⁵³ The next chapter explores this dimension further by focusing on how the political conditions of the Habsburg Empire were integrated into larger, spatial discourses.

⁴⁵² Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction’, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁵³ Riccardo Bavaj and Martina Steber, ‘Introduction: Germany and ‘the West’: The Vagaries of a Modern Relationship’, in Riccardo Bavaj and Martina Steber (eds.), *Germany and ‘the West’: The History of a Modern Concept* (New York and Oxford, 2015), p. 8.

Chapter 4 Despotism at the Heart of Europe? The Political System Scrutinised by Travellers

When Georg Wilhelm Häring, who concealed himself behind the pseudonym Willibald Alexis, decided to travel Switzerland and the states of southern Germany in the 1830s, including a visit to Vienna, it was far from being his first journey. A few years earlier he had visited and written on southern France and Scandinavia. His intense publishing activities had already made him a reputable literary figure by the late 1820s. Nevertheless, it was a private matter that brought Alexis to Vienna, since he visited his fiancée, an actress who had a permanent engagement at the *Burgtheater*.⁴⁵⁴ Vienna constituted the main focus of his account *Wiener Bilder*, published in 1833. Of the 40 chapters, all but five are devoted to the *Kaiserstadt*. He was highly aware that objectivity was unattainable for travel writers, especially regarding political matters. In the concluding chapter he thus wrote: “Unwillkürlich haben sich in diese Bilder mehr politische Betrachtungen eingeschlichen, als meine Absicht war” and concluded that only a blind and deaf travel writer could abstain from making references to politics.⁴⁵⁵ Despite some exceptions, this certainly held true for most nineteenth-century travellers, who had a strong desire to lay their own eyes on the somewhat mysterious political system of the Habsburg Empire. Besides, as a Prussian, Alexis also wanted to further explore the relations between the different German lands. Surprisingly, he found the strongest differences in the aristocracy. The opening lines in the corresponding chapter run as follows:

Damit der Unterschied heraustrete zwischen dem Leben im österreichischen [sic] Süden und im preußischen Norden, und wie diese nicht feindliche, aber in den Elementen schon vorhandene Trennung zweier deutschen Stämme mehr durchgreife als selbst die nationale zwischen Deutschen und Franzosen, muß die Aristokratie noch in

⁴⁵⁴ Lionel Thomas, *Willibald Alexis: A German Writer of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1964), p. 51. On his early travels *Ibid.*, pp. 37-50.

⁴⁵⁵ Alexis, *Wiener Bilder*, p. 425.

ihrem Dreiviertelglanz von Ehemals in der heutigen Kaiserstadt sich sonnen.⁴⁵⁶

In this short quotation, Alexis makes a number of noteworthy points. To him, the differences between Prussians and Austrians were even stronger than those between the French and Germans. He also emphasised the allegedly backward character of the aristocracy, expressed in the phrase “Dreiviertelglanz von Ehemals,” which of course alludes to the splendour of their ballrooms. But there is another noteworthy element. Alexis linked the differences to geography, setting a Prussian North against an Austrian South. This division was a general theme influencing his views. As one literary scholar remarked, he “did his utmost to bring about a greater understanding between North and South...in the literary, social and political spheres.”⁴⁵⁷ Although predominantly targeted at the situation within the German lands, this also had European implications.

Only two years earlier, Wolfgang Menzel, also a Prussian by birth, was in the midst of traversing the Salzach, the river separating Wittelsbach territories from Habsburg-ruled ones. Just like the aforementioned traveller, Menzel was a professional author and adhered to liberal views. Being a high-ranking member of the *Alte Bonner Burschenschaft*, he left for Switzerland in 1820 after the issue of the oppressive Carlsbad Decrees in 1819 and the subsequent *Demagogenverfolgung* (hunting down of demagogues) changed the political climate considerably.⁴⁵⁸ According to the preface of his travelogue published in 1832, his physician worried about his health due to the time spent working at the *escritoire* and suggested to travel instead. To find the proper destination Menzel reasoned: “Ich soll nicht denken. Aber wo in aller Welt denkt man nicht? In Oesterreich.”⁴⁵⁹ Thus, the border crossing bore a special significance within his narrative. Ceasing to further describe the journey itself, Menzel instead focused on reflections about the political state of Europe at this spot. He wrote:

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁴⁵⁷ Thomas, *Alexis*, p. 54.

⁴⁵⁸ David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (New York and Oxford, 1998), pp. 122-123.

Bevor ich die verhängnißvolle Grenze zwischen der jungen und alten Welt, zwischen der linken und rechten Seite Europa's, zwischen dem constitutionellen Westen und absolutistischen Osten überschreite, sey es mir gegönnt, ein wenig auf dem westöstlichen Divan auszuruhen, und einige Betrachtungen über unser halbirtes [sic] Vaterland anzustellen.⁴⁶⁰

Menzel's thinking mirrors Alexis' along several lines. A temporal element resurfaced, dividing the world into a young section and an old one. The "westöstliche Divan" alludes to Goethe's collection of lyrical poems, first published in 1819. Menzel also stressed Germany's division, but in contrast to the former author he saw the separation of the European continent along another, east-westward axis.

Both examples illustrate that if there was indeed a line dividing Europe into halves after the Enlightenment era, it did not necessarily run from west to east. It could also run from north to south. From a geographical point of view north, south, east and west can only be relative and are thus imbued with ambiguity from the outset. The added cultural-political dimension and the historical pedigrees make them even more ponderous to handle. This is perhaps more pronounced in Menzel's case, who contrasted the 'constitutional West' with the 'absolute East.' Less clear, yet nevertheless present, was the political dimension in Alexis' writings by emphasising the aristocracy as the differentiator between 'North' and 'South.'

The focus of this chapter constitutes this political dimension of spatial concepts by examining how travellers grasped the political system of the Habsburg Empire. The guiding question is how they assessed what they observed. This chapter seeks to examine in particular whether the political system influenced the Habsburg Empire's location on travellers' mental maps. Was the Habsburg Empire, or some of its provinces, part of an 'absolute East', as Menzel suggested and would fit quite well with Larry Wolff's line of argument, or was it part of another conceptualised space?

⁴⁵⁹ Wolfgang Menzel, *Reise nach Oesterreich im Sommer 1831* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1832), pp. 1-2.

Attaching political meanings to spaces was already a common practice for authors of antiquity such as Aristotle and Tacitus. Thus, it is important to highlight the dynamic of how certain images gained currency in some periods while losing significance in others. This is the objective of the first section that traces how political ideas and spatial terms interacted. Special emphasis will be paid to Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois*, first published in 1748, which one scholar has called "truly a seminal work that powerfully influenced for close to two centuries all those who came afterwards."⁴⁶¹ Montesquieu's (re)introduction of climate theory and the geographic location of different political systems – republicanism, monarchism and despotism – were highly influential. The latter term in particular played, as shall be shown, a pivotal role in describing the political system of the Habsburg Empire. Furthermore, closely analysing Montesquieu's writings from a spatial viewpoint also highlights how arbitrary and contradictory his own classifications were, which is often overlooked in attempts of generalisations. After this review, the following three sections are based on empirical findings.

The first section will analyse the views expressed by British travellers. During the first half of the nineteenth century British domestic politics was changing. The older factions of Whigs and Tories slowly morphed into the Liberal and Conservative Parties. At the same time, a number of controversial laws such as the Catholic Relief Act of 1829 and the Reform Act of 1832 led to fierce debates.⁴⁶² Did these debates influence how the Habsburg Empire was judged? Did British travellers judge the autocratic Habsburg Empire as negatively as might be expected? It will be argued that two centres of debate developed. One that approached the Habsburg Empire negatively and described it as despotic due to its lack of constitutional checks and balances, while others, rather surprisingly, found much to laud.

In a second section, the views of British travellers are contrasted with those of their German counterparts. Needless to say, the political system of the different German states varied considerably. During the Napoleonic era constitutions were

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁶¹ Peter V. Conroy, *Montesquieu Revisited* (New York, 1992), p. 105.

⁴⁶² Bruce Coleman, *Conservatism and the Conservative Party in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1988), pp. 44-46, 55-62.

introduced in Westphalia and Bavaria in 1807 and 1808, respectively. A few smaller states, such as Nassau and Saxony-Weimar, introduced their constitutions in the mid-1810s, while Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden introduced or adopted modified constitutions at the end of this decade. Others, however, followed suit only after the events of 1848.⁴⁶³

How did these travellers regard the political system of the Habsburg Empire, and are there differences to the perceptions of Britons? Perhaps surprisingly, there does not seem to have been much difference, although the political environment of their native lands differed greatly. Although a small number of visitors highlighted the absolute nature of the Habsburg Empire and thus firmly placed it within the ‘East’, the majority of those who wrote about politics described the political system of the Habsburg Empire positively; as an entity that adhered to the rule of law, which therefore guaranteed liberty.

Yet, these observations judged the Habsburg Empire in its entirety. But authors tended to separate particular regions and describe them individually. Therefore, the final section concentrates on the Kingdom of Hungary. The reason for that is found in the controversies its political system aroused. As we shall see, interpretations differed greatly. While some found a particularly severe form of despotism there, others saw the exact opposite, making it again highly difficult to observe a clear East-West, absolute-constitutional differentiation.

4.1 The Political Dimension of Cardinal Points

Conceptual spaces bear different meanings and connotations, but these are neither set in stone nor unambiguous. They can be overridden and may change over time. Highlighting for what ‘the West’ can stand Riccardo Bavaj enumerated, “reason, liberty, democracy, constitutional government, the rule of law, the middle class, private property, individuality.”⁴⁶⁴ All of these terms and their underlying meanings are loosely connected, but the ‘big picture of the West’ is rather a collage than a coherent picture. As an idea the ‘West’ was and still is contrasted

⁴⁶³ Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte: 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (Munich, 1983), pp. 76-77, 272-274.

with its counterpart the 'East', which represented, according to Edward Said, sensuality, tendency to despotism, aberrant mentality, habits of inaccuracy and backwardness.⁴⁶⁵ Reinhart Koselleck's 'asymmetric counterconcepts' ideally capture the inherent inequality in such comparisons. While one side is idealised, its counterpart is vilified. Thus, the division between 'West' and 'East' can also be exemplified by unequal pairs: reason versus sensuality; progress versus backwardness; constitutional government versus a tendency to despotism, whereas particularly references to the latter pair emphasise the political dimension of such spatial terms. Nevertheless, these attributions are never unambiguous. In the preceding chapter it was shown that travellers did not comprehend the Habsburg Empire as 'East' or eastern. Yet, it was perfectly possible to write about its political system, as one traveller did in 1828: "Never, perhaps has there been exhibited an example of so complete and refined a despotism in any civilised country as in Austria."⁴⁶⁶ How could a political system, supposedly so commonly referred to as being situated in the 'East', be found at the heart of the European continent?

The political dimension of geographic spaces harks back to theories of climate in antiquity. The underlying reasoning was that climate influences not only the physical but also the moral disposition of people. Climate, in turn, was based on geography. Hippocrates, the famous Greek physician who lived in the fourth century BC, constructed a strong difference between Asians and Europeans, the border being the river Don, based on that very principle. He maintained that the cause of this difference "is the temperature of the seasons, because it [Asia] lies in the middle of the risings of the sun towards the east, and removed from the cold (and heat)." Due to the mild climate "[m]anly courage, endurance of suffering, laborious enterprise, and high spirit" was not found amongst the inhabitants of Asia "for there pleasure necessarily reigns." But Hippocrates also observed a political dimension as a result of the different dispositions. He maintained that

⁴⁶⁴ Riccardo Bavaj, "The West": A Conceptual Exploration', 21.06.2011, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/political-spaces/political-ideas-of-regional-order/riccardo-bavaj-the-west-a-conceptual-exploration>[19/01/17].

⁴⁶⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 205.

monarchy was the dominant form of government in Asia, since due to the mild, unchanging climate its inhabitants became unwarlike and feeble, and therefore “men are not their own masters nor independent, but are the slaves of others.”⁴⁶⁷ Thus, according to Hippocrates, although mild and gentle people were to be found in Asia, politically this resulted in subordination and slavery.

Aristotle also made references to climatic differences. In Book VII of his *Politics* he divided the world not in two – like Hippocrates – but in three sections. A cold region in the North where inhabitants were “full of spirit but somewhat deficient in intelligence and craft knowledge” was opposed to the complete opposite, Asia. Only the intermediate zone, occupied by the Greeks, allowed for both intelligent and spirited inhabitants, thus “govern[ing] in the best way.”⁴⁶⁸ But his description is ambiguous. On the one hand, Aristotle contrasted the North with Asia, but on the other hand the latter’s characteristics are strikingly similar to both the ‘South’ and the ‘East’, which makes it almost impossible to differentiate between the two concepts.

The same can be argued for the concepts of ‘North’ and ‘West.’ In ancient Greek texts “[t]he journey northward is imagined as a journey into unimaginable barbarism.”⁴⁶⁹ The Romans retained this concept and utilised it. Tacitus’ *Germania* relied heavily on a preformed image of the ‘North’ and later became a key text for its formation.⁴⁷⁰ The Germans (*Germanen*) in his text were “in many ways typical representatives of the northern barbarian, sketched within the Greek and Roman ethnographical tradition by a writer with at least one eye toward Rome and the empire.”⁴⁷¹ Climate theory helped to foster their alleged virtues, such as hardiness, and thus influenced the Germans’ political condition. In chapter four Tacitus argued: “[T]heir climate has made them accustomed to cold and their

⁴⁶⁶ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. vi.

⁴⁶⁷ Hippocrates, ‘On Airs, Waters, and Places; Translated by Francis Adams’, <http://classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/airwatpl.mb.txt> [19/01/17]. Said does not mention Hippocrates.

⁴⁶⁸ Aristotle, *Politics Translated, with Introduction and Notes by C.D.C. Reeve* (Indianapolis, 1998), p. 202. Medieval Arab ideas were based on Greek philosophy. Aziz Al-Azmeh, ‘Barbarians in Arab Eyes’, *Past and Present*, 134 (1992), pp. 3-18.

⁴⁶⁹ Peter Davidson, *The Idea of North* (London, 2005), p. 22.

⁴⁷⁰ Fjågesund, *Dream*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁷¹ Krebs, *Dangerous Book*, p. 49.

poor soil to hunger.”⁴⁷² Yet, Tacitus’ Germans were ‘noble savages’, exhibiting simplicity and valuing liberty in the highest order.⁴⁷³ The barbaric North thus became the mirror reflecting Rome’s failure. The ‘North’ became imbued with the meaning of liberty, just like the ‘West’ later did.

But why is the view of ancient philosophers and writers significant to this subject matter? The important point here is that spaces were already conceptualised in a political sense and employed for binary hierarchical comparisons back in antiquity.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, these ancient texts were reused and reinterpreted by later authors. It would be too simplistic, however, to see Hippocrates’ lines as direct forerunners to Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech, because while there may have been a dominant interpretation of the political dimension of geography, it did not go unchallenged. For instance an Enlightenment thinker such as Voltaire developed rather nuanced views on Russia and Islam.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, spatial interpretation varied strongly from period to period.

Nevertheless, some events prove more decisive than others in shaping mental maps. And one of these is Montesquieu’s reformulation of climate theory during the Enlightenment.

Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu was born in 1689 into an aristocratic family. As a young writer he composed anonymously the *Lettres Persanes*, a major work of the early Enlightenment.⁴⁷⁶ Towards 1734 Montesquieu decided to compile a major philosophical oeuvre. The result of years of writing was *L’Esprit des Lois*, eventually published in 1748 in Geneva, which accrued considerable influence.

⁴⁷² Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany*; Translated by A. R. Birley (Oxford, 1999), p. 39.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. xxx-xxxi.

⁴⁷⁴ In particular François Hartog’s observations on *la rhétorique de l’altérité*. François Hartog, *Le Miroir d’Hérodote: Essai sur la Représentation de l’autre* ([Paris], 1980), pp. 225-269.

⁴⁷⁵ Reto Speck, ‘The History and Politics of Civilisation: The Debate about Russia in French and German Historical Scholarship from Voltaire to Herder’ (unpublished PhD-thesis, King’s College London, 2010), pp. 21-63. Speck explicitly criticises Larry Wolff’s reading of Voltaire. Ziad Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur’an: The Politics of Translation and the Construction of Islam* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 81-120.

⁴⁷⁶ Berthold Falk, ‘Montesquieu (1689-1755)’, in Hans Maier and Horst Denzer (eds.), *Klassiker des politischen Denkens: Von John Locke bis Max Weber*, 3rd ed. (Vol. II; Munich, 2007), pp. 41-48.

Arguably, *L'Esprit des Loix* revived climate theory. He was one of the first to use the term *climat* in its modern meaning.⁴⁷⁷ Montesquieu married an analysis of different forms of governments with climate theory and geography. Literary historian Robert Shackleton summarised the Baron's thinking on the influence of climate as: "Certain effects on men's minds are in part caused by the climate, and as men's minds influence the forms of government under which they live, so climate, vicariously, influences those forms of government."⁴⁷⁸ This becomes particularly apparent in his analysis of the three different forms of government he identified as the main forms of a society's organisation: republic, monarchy and despotic government.

The definition of despotism is of high importance for the purposes of this chapter: "[D]ans le Despotique, Un seul, sans Loi & sans Règle, entraîne tout par sa volonté & par ses caprices."⁴⁷⁹ In contrast to the monarchical system, in which the monarch occupies the highest place in society but is nevertheless constrained by established laws, the despotic form of government describes almost unchecked power. It is only challenged by religious laws, such as the prohibition of alcohol, which apply to all people, including the most powerful: "Les Loix de la Religion sont d'un précepte supérieur, parce qu'elles sont données sur la tête du Prince comme sur celle des sujets."⁴⁸⁰ It is an egalitarian form of government, though not in a positive sense, since all are slaves.⁴⁸¹ The governing principle is fear (*crainte*) and thus obedience. Montesquieu summarised: "Comme le principe du Gouvernement Despotique est la Crainte, le but en est la Tranquillité; mais ce n'est point une Paix, c'est le silence de ces Villes que l'Ennemi est prêt d'occuper."⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Shackleton on 'climat': "Originally meaning specifically the area between two parallels on the earth's surface so distant that there is half an hour's difference in the length of their longest day, the word was extended to mean simply geographical situation." Shackleton, *Montesquieu*, p. 309. He also stresses that several writers before Montesquieu anticipated the change in meaning. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-310.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁴⁷⁹ [Charles de Secondat Montesquieu], *De l'Esprit des Loix ou du rapport que les loix doivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement, les moeurs, le climat, la religion, le commerce, &c. à quoi l'Auteur a ajouté des recherches nouvelles sur les Loix Romaines touchant les Successions, sur les Loix Françoises, & sur les Loix Féodales* (Vol. I; Geneva, [1748]), p. 12. Italics in original.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 40.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

Geographically despotism is found in Asia, “où le Despotisme est, pour ainsi dire, naturalisé [sic].”⁴⁸³

Montesquieu’s geography, however, was complex, at times even contradictory. For instance, he mentioned a pope (Montesquieu’s manuscript reveals that he was hesitating to put a name there⁴⁸⁴), thus implying that the head of the Catholic Church could also be interpreted as a despot in this sense. On the other hand the Christian religion had in his eyes the power to counteract natural, climatic circumstances: “C’est la Religion Chrétienne qui malgré la grandeur de l’Empire & le vice du climat, a empêché le Despotisme de s’établir en Ethiopie.”⁴⁸⁵ Also the localisation of Russia proved difficult. At the time there was little doubt about localising Russia in the North – the North where Montesquieu found liberty and industry – but at the same time it was described as a realm striving to overcome despotism. He managed to resolve this riddle by making Russia ‘artificially’ Asiatic due to the Tatar invasions of the Middle Ages, thus allowing for a hybrid position between Asia and Europe.⁴⁸⁶

In his analysis of *L’Esprit des Loix*, Pierre Bourdieu identified the ‘asymmetric counterconcepts’ (although he termed it ‘le réseau d’oppositions et d’équivalences mythiques’) utilised by Montesquieu to differentiate between ‘l’homme du Nord’ and ‘l’homme du Midi.’ Bourdieu found twelve pairs of characteristics – for instance strong versus weak, virility versus passivity, but also Christianity versus Islam and liberty versus despotism.⁴⁸⁷ But despotism or Islam was in Montesquieu’s sense linked to the ‘East.’ This shows how difficult and at times contradictory the interpretation of this work can be, since although he localised despotism clearly in Asia, the characteristics of its inhabitants were also described as typical of a southern, warm climate. This brings to the forefront the

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

⁴⁸⁴ Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, *Œuvres Complètes de Montesquieu: De l’Esprit des Loix; Manuscrits: Textes établis, présentés et annotés par Catherine Volpilhac-Auger. Coordination éditoriale Caroline Verdier* (Vol. III; Oxford, 2008). He had two recent figures in mind: Clement X (1670-1676) and Alexander VIII (1689-1691).

⁴⁸⁵ [Montesquieu], *L’Esprit*, Vol. II, p. 176.

⁴⁸⁶ Ezequiel Adamovsky, *Euro-orientalism: Liberal Ideology and the Image of Russia in France (c. 1740-1880)* (New York and Bern, 2006), pp. 33-36.

⁴⁸⁷ Pierre Bourdieu ‘Le Nord et le Midi: Contribution à une Analyse de l’Effet Montesquieu’, *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 35 (1980), pp. 21-25.

contradictions within spatial concepts; contradictions that are also evident in the researched travelogues.

Montesquieu's concept of despotism was localised at best at Europe's fringes. How is it therefore possible that despotism was heavily discussed within Europe only decades after his death? The American and French Revolutions and the consequent Napoleonic Wars are key moments in the understanding of this shift. Google's Ngram Viewer, a tool that visualises the appearance of words within the Google Books corpus, illustrates how strongly the usage of the term 'despotism' had increased in English publications after 1750.⁴⁸⁸ The term's occurrences surged almost forty-fold between 1750 and its peak in 1795. Although the figure halved by 1810, it almost reached the 1795-value again in 1853. Since then, a steady decrease of occurrences is observable. It is important to stress that these figures cannot be taken at face value but need to be approached with a certain measure of precaution. Yet, the statistical analysis nonetheless forcefully illustrates the term's increased appropriation in English publications of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. A similar development was visible in the German-speaking area, where plays and novels popularised the term "Despotismus."⁴⁸⁹

Such strong variations in usage can only be explained by an alteration of its meaning. Montesquieu's understanding of the term – one ruler yielding unchecked power who resides somewhere in the East – seems to have entered into European affairs. The United States' Declaration of Independence of 1776, for

⁴⁸⁸ The Ngram Viewer is based on roughly four per cent of the books ever published, digitised by the Google Books project. It allows for the visualisation of the frequency of n-grams (a single word is a 1-gram, e.g. "despotism"; a sequence consisting of two words is a 2-gram, e.g. "oriental despotism"). For a detailed outline see Jean-Baptiste Michel (et al.), 'Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books', *Science*, 331 (2011), pp. 176-182. On some of its limitations Eitan Adam Pechenick, Christopher M. Danforth and Peter Sheridan Dodds, 'Characterizing the Google Books Corpus: Strong Limits to Inferences of Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Evolution' in *PLoS ONE*, 10 (2015), <http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0137041> [23/01/17]. Relevant for the analysis provided here are: The Corpus has a bias towards scientific literature, since Google mainly digitises research libraries. OCR errors ('defpotifm' instead of 'despotism') increase with age; therefore the results of both variants have been added.

⁴⁸⁹ Hans Boldt, 'Monarchie', in Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Vol. IV; Stuttgart, 1993), p. 186.

instance, famously stated: “But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them [the people] under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security.”⁴⁹⁰ Thus, less than 30 years after the publication of *L’Esprit des Lois*, it was possible to understand the British monarchy as despotic and employ this argument as justification for revolt. During the late-eighteenth century, the term ‘despotism’ must have become part of the political rhetoric. When the French Revolution broke out, despotism’s ‘oriental’ connotation was strongly diminished and instead it became “a word used like a flag by various groups to provoke an emotional response and to mobilize political support.”⁴⁹¹ This change of meaning is reflected in the fourth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* published in 1810, which defined ‘despotic’ as:

DESPOTICAL, in general, denotes any thing that is uncontrouled [sic] and absolute; but is particularly used for an arbitrary government, where the power of the prince is unlimited, and his will a law to his subjects, such as those of Turkey, Persia, and most of the eastern governments; and even those of Europe, if we except the republics, our own, and of late the French government.⁴⁹²

Although Montesquieu’s reasoning still prevailed, it was nevertheless conceded that despotism could be found in Europe as well, though Great Britain was exempted. This shows that the spatial connotation had not been completely lost. It even re-emerged later, as can be seen in the encyclopaedia’s seventh edition, published in 1842. The 1810 definition was repeated word-for-word, with one exception: the half-sentence about European despotic governments was simply dropped.⁴⁹³ Its contemporary meaning, however, is only partly reflected by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, because the term was very well employed in the sense of European political conditions.

⁴⁹⁰ *The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States: with an introduction by Pauline Maier* (New York, 1998), p. 54.

⁴⁹¹ James van Horn Melton, ‘From Enlightenment to Revolution: Hertzberg, Schlözer, and the Problem of Despotism in the Late Aufklärung’, *Central European History*, 12 (1979), p. 105.

⁴⁹² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 4th ed. (Vol. VII; Edinburgh, 1810), p. 183.

⁴⁹³ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 7th ed. (Vol. VII; Edinburgh, 1842), p. 741.

British traveller John Russell may serve as a case in point. Not much is known about the author except that he was a young lawyer from Edinburgh who accompanied Viscount Lascelles, the son of the second Earl of Harewood, on a three-year tour of Central Europe between 1820 and 1822.⁴⁹⁴ From Hannover they travelled to Berlin then, after visiting East Prussia, via Krakow to Vienna and finally further to Trieste. Comparing different governments within Europe he wrote: “The despotism of Prussia stands as far above that of Naples, or Austria, or Spain, as our own constitution stands above the mutilated Charter of France.”⁴⁹⁵ This sentence is highly instructive for our purposes, because Russell used despotism as a purely descriptive term to differentiate between constitutional and absolute monarchies. This is also where spatial aspects come in again. In the mid-1820s the geographic location of absolute monarchies was somewhat dispersed – Prussia and the Habsburg Empire in the eastern parts of Europe, as well as Naples and Spain in its southern and western parts, respectively. Constitutionalism made inroads onto the Iberian Peninsula before that period. Already in 1812 a radical constitution was proclaimed for the Kingdom of Spain at Cádiz. The absolute monarchy, however, was quickly restored and only interrupted by the so-called ‘Liberal Triennium’ of 1820-1823, when the Cádiz constitution was reintroduced.⁴⁹⁶ In Portugal, a short-lived constitution based on the Spanish constitution came into force in 1822 only to be abrogated a few months later.⁴⁹⁷ The 1830s, however, seemed to mark a turning point for some contemporaries. In the aftermath of the 1830 revolutions and uprisings in France, Belgium and Poland, as well as the passing of the Reform Act in the United Kingdom in 1832 which considerably enlarged the British electorate, an agreement was concluded between Russia and Austria after a conference held at Münchengrätz [Mnichovo Hradiště, Czech Republic] in September 1833. It stated that both powers would respect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire as well as the status quo of their Polish provinces, except in the case of revolutionary activities. In October a

⁴⁹⁴ Robert Pick, ‘John Russell of Edinburgh and Goethe: An early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Opinion of German Classicism’, *German Life and Letters*, 1 (1948), p. 320.

⁴⁹⁵ Russell, *Tour in Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 137-140, 317.

⁴⁹⁶ Hans-Otto Kleinmann, ‘Zwischen Ancien Régime und Liberalismus’, in Peer Schmidt, *Kleine Geschichte Spaniens* (Stuttgart, 2008), pp. 262-265, 268-271.

⁴⁹⁷ David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 108-111.

joint declaration of Russia, Austria and Prussia was signed, pledging mutual help in case of internal turmoil.⁴⁹⁸ From a liberal point of view this was interpreted as the revival of the conservative Holy Alliance formed in 1815 between Russia, Prussia and the Habsburg Empire.⁴⁹⁹ To counteract that development, Palmerston, at the time British foreign minister under a Whig government, tried to form a counterweight of constitutional monarchies. Recent developments on the Iberian Peninsula incited civil wars in both Portugal and Spain, where absolutist and liberal forces struggled for power. The latter gained the upper hand in both countries. In 1834, Palmerston wrote to Villiers, the ambassador at the Spanish court:

The great object of our policy ought now to be to form a Western confederacy of free states as a counterpoise to the Eastern league of the arbitrary governments. England, France, Spain and Portugal united as they now must be, will form a political and moral power in Europe which must hold Metternich and Nicholas [the Russian tsar] in check.⁵⁰⁰

Shortly afterwards the so-called Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal was formed. In a private letter to his brother, Palmerston repeated: “It establishes a quadruple alliance among the constitutional states of the West, which will serve as a powerful counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the East.”⁵⁰¹

The rhetoric employed by Palmerston strikingly resembles the Cold War period. The division between ‘East’ and ‘West’ was even more consistent in the 1830s because the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula are undoubtedly in the western parts of Europe, while in the later conceptions Portugal and Spain under military dictatorship could hardly be seen as liberal democracies. Some scholars consider

⁴⁹⁸ Alan Warwick Palmer, *The Chancelleries of Europe: Hidden Diplomacy, 1814-1918* (London, 1983), p. 63.

⁴⁹⁹ Siemann argues that this view is wrong and that it was a last attempt to save the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and thus the Viennese System. Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich: Staatsmann zwischen Restauration und Moderne*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 2013), p. 91.

⁵⁰⁰ Palmerston cited in Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston 1830-1841: Britain, the Liberal Movement and the Eastern Question* (Vol. I; London, 1951), p. 390.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

the 1830s as the initial kernel of the divide between liberal Western Europe and conservative, autocratic Eastern Europe.⁵⁰²

Given the prevalence of the Cold War era division in ‘East’ and ‘West’, it is all too easy to overlook a parallel development. During the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the concept of the ‘North’ and thus the North-South antagonism was the subject of renewed interest.⁵⁰³ The prevailing narrative argues that while the division of Europe in North and South dominated between the Renaissance and the eighteenth century, a novel East-West pattern emerged and superseded older conceptions in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.⁵⁰⁴ In consequence both divisional regimes are comprehended as mutually exclusive. Recent studies, however, emphasise a parallelism. As shown in the preceding chapter, even in the 1860s Russia was often described as ‘northern’ rather than ‘eastern.’⁵⁰⁵ What is more important, however, is a novel imagery the ‘North’ acquired roughly between the mid-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Although there is not one decisive factor for this development, a number of pivotal moments and developments can be outlined.

In 1761, James Macpherson published *Ossian*, which was according to him based on translations of century old Gaelic poetry. Throughout Europe this work was debated as a ‘northern’ alternative that could rival the ‘southern’ ancient Greek epics, although its authenticity was not universally accepted.⁵⁰⁶ German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, for instance, saw in *Ossian* the Nordic

⁵⁰² E.g. Alan Cassels, *Ideology and International Relations in the Modern World* (London, 1996), p. 53.

⁵⁰³ Zacharasiewicz, ‘Theory’, pp. 33-42.

⁵⁰⁴ Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 4-5. Frithjof B. Schenk and Martina Winkler, ‘Einleitung’, in Frithjof B. Schenk and Martina Winkler (eds.), *Der Süden: Neue Perspektiven auf eine europäische Geschichtsregion* (Frankfurt/Main, 2007), pp. 11-12.

⁵⁰⁵ Lemberg sees the main shift in the localisation of Russia in the 1830s, but he stresses the 1860s as the period when ‘Eastern Europe’ was finally established. Lemberg, ‘Osteuropabegriff’, p. 64.

⁵⁰⁶ Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, The Ossian Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 1-21. Regarding the European dimension of *Ossian*: Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (New York, 2004) and Gauti Kristmannson, ‘Ossian, The European National Epic (1760-1810)’, 11.09.2015, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/anglophilia/gauti-kristmannsson-ossian-the-european-national-epic-1760-1810>[05/12/16].

counterpart to Sophocles.⁵⁰⁷ This was a first step towards a re-interpretation of the ‘North.’

Furthermore, emigration during the French Revolution as well as the disruption of the Grand Tour due to the Continental System diverted movement northwards and facilitated acquaintances with northern Europe.⁵⁰⁸ This coincided with a new perception of the environment that saw untamed nature emerge as a new ideal. In consequence, the ‘North’ was stripped of its barbarism and re-interpreted. The new image of untamed, northern nature also meant a re-interpretation of liberty. As Peter Fjågesund argues: “The chief symbol of liberty is no longer urban crowds storming hated public institutions...but something radically different: mountain tops.”⁵⁰⁹ The transformation of cities and landscapes in the wake of intensified industrialisation fostered the Romantic movement, which was driven by a “sense of loss and a search for a meaningful compensation for that loss.”⁵¹⁰ In short, the concept of the ‘North’ acquired much more positive connotations during this period, in which traditionally the appearance of the European East-West divide is placed.

Arguably the most important nineteenth-century publication regarding the North-South divide was Baroness Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein’s *De L’Allemagne*. Although she remained in France during the Revolution, she eventually left for the small Swiss town Coppet in 1801 and went on an extensive tour through the German-speaking world after Napoleon banned her from residing in Paris and its surroundings in 1803, due to her political views and activities.⁵¹¹ *De L’Allemagne* was almost lost, since after its first publication 10,000 copies of the first two volumes were destroyed and the proofs of the third seized.⁵¹² Nevertheless she was able to take copies of the manuscript with her into exile and found a publisher in James Murray, the well-known traveller, guidebook author and publisher of travel literature. The work, which was based on travels

⁵⁰⁷ Konrad Lotter, ‘Ästhetik des Südens, Ästhetik des Nordens: Anmerkungen zur Klimatheorie der Kunst’, *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 58 (2013), pp. 303-304.

⁵⁰⁸ Fjågesund, *Dream*, pp. 296, 298.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁵¹¹ Michel Winock, *Madame de Staël* (Paris, 2010), pp. 193, 206, 212.

⁵¹² Fjågesund, *Dream*, p. 292.

undertaken in 1803-04 and 1807-08, was finally published in 1813 and became an immediate success.⁵¹³

De L'Allemagne is not a travel account in the traditional sense, but rather an attempt to analyse German-speaking literature. It is often overlooked that by utilising the term 'Germans' she actually referred to northern Germans. In her chapter on southern Germany she wrote: "Il étoit assez généralement reconnu qu'il n'y avoit de littérature que dans le nord de l'Allemagne, et que les habitants du midi se livroient aux jouissances de la vie physique, pendant que les contrées septentrionales goutoient plus exclusivement celles de l'ame."⁵¹⁴ Highlighting climatic circumstances she thus excluded southern Germany from her conception of German literature: "Lorsque le climat n'est ni sévère ni beau, quand on vit sans avoir rien à craindre ni à espérer du ciel, on ne s'occupe guère que des intérêts positifs de l'existence."⁵¹⁵ The southern parts of Germany – she explicitly mentioned Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria and in a separate chapter Austria (meaning the whole Habsburg Empire) – were, in her view, in a warmer climate and thus unable to live up to the same standards as the northern regions. In fact, Vienna is even described as similar to Italian cities, "si ce n'est quelques édifices gothiques qui retracent le moyen âge à l'imagination."⁵¹⁶ Therefore "la patrie de la pensée"⁵¹⁷ is not so much the entirety of an imagined Germany but only its northern parts.

Already in an earlier work, Staël wrote: "There are, it seems to me, two entirely different literatures, that coming from the South and that coming down from the North, that of which Homer is the main source and that of which Ossian is the origin."⁵¹⁸ The appearance of Ossian offered an alternative to Greece as Europe's cradle. Thus, she observed: "Northern poetry is much more suitable than Southern to the spirit of a free people."⁵¹⁹ This not only provides evidence that liberty was

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

⁵¹⁴ Anne Staël-Holstein, *De L'Allemagne* (Vol. I; London, 1813), p. 51.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 65.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

⁵¹⁸ Cited in Fjågesund, *Dream*, p. 291.

⁵¹⁹ Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 291.

becoming a virtue of the ‘North’, but also stresses that de Staël understood the relationship between North and South as asymmetrically.⁵²⁰

Madame de Staël was not the only author of the time thinking and writing about the antagonism between North and South. Swiss Charles Victor de Bonstetten, himself a close friend of the authoress, published a booklet entitled *L’Homme du Midi et l’homme du Nord* in 1824. His views were much more nuanced. For instance he asked in the first chapter: “N’a-t-on pas vu la religion réformée paroître ça et là dans les montagnes du Midi, et dans le Nord le despotisme?”⁵²¹ He also accused Montesquieu of overrating the direct influence of the climate.⁵²² Nevertheless, de Bonstetten elaborated on liberty in the third chapter, remarking:

[Q]u’on jette les yeux sur les dix derniers siècles de l’histoire, et l’on verra le despotisme s’appesantir de plus en plus, sur les côtes d’Afrique et d’Asie, et la liberté se développer peu à peu dans l’Europe, avec des nuances où l’influence du climat est partout facile à reconnoître.⁵²³

His argument stressed that due to the northern climate, the people living there needed order and planning to endure the prolonged, harsh winters. Or to put it into political terminology: Even though despotism was also to be found in the North, it was never absolute, since a minimum of liberty needed to be conceded to ensure survival. There might have been free institutions in ancient Rome or Greece, de Bonstetten concluded, but their very foundations were never casted into written form, in contrast to northern republics such as England or the United States. Nevertheless he remained cautious and emphasised that nature could only be one factor, because also in very hot climates, as for instance in Arabia, the environmental circumstances forced the inhabitants to organise in tribes.⁵²⁴ De Bonstetten’s publication was not the endpoint of the debate. The exact arguments do not matter as much as the observation that the ‘North’ was slowly becoming associated with liberty, mirroring the ‘West.’⁵²⁵ However, this was a parallel

⁵²⁰ Lotter, ‘Ästhetik’, pp. 304-305.

⁵²¹ De Bonstetten, *L’Homme*, p. 16.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁵²⁵ Alexis cited them in Alexis, *Schattenrisse*, p. 168.

development, since the older tradition of describing the ‘North’ negatively was far from obsolete. In 1815, for instance, Archduke Johann of Habsburg deplored the barbarians of the North that penetrated the South, meaning Russian troops on their way to France.⁵²⁶ And as late as 1866, British traveller Edmund Spencer still described Russia as the “the Colossus of the North”⁵²⁷ or “the great Leviathan of the North.”⁵²⁸

This stresses the constant reinterpretation of spatial concepts, triggered by social developments and political events. However, even when new interpretations emerge they do not simply supersede older ones. They remain in use, albeit at reduced frequency, and can resurface at times. In this sense spatial discourses resemble a palimpsest. The geographic reality is complex and, as exhibited by Montesquieu and de Bonstetten, spatial discourses remain ambiguous and nuanced. Geographers Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen thus argue that this form of “spatialization,” regardless of whether the debate centres on north, south, east or west, “homogenized space...reduced complexity and created orientation.”⁵²⁹ However, how space is categorised is not predestined but, to the contrary, based on contemporary (political) driving forces. Like older texts preserved in a palimpsest older conceptions can resurface when times change.

4.2 The Habsburg Empire’s Political System under British Eyes

Conceptualised spaces bear different political dimensions as shown in the preceding section, but how was this put into practice? Travel accounts fed the discourse about the political system of the Habsburg Empire in two ways. Firstly, travel literature was read and interpreted as delivering factual knowledge. Although change within the genre, bringing the author’s own opinions more and more to the fore, was palpable since the late-eighteenth century, such explicitly subjective works were still exceptional in the early-nineteenth century.⁵³⁰ The

⁵²⁶ Cited in Lemberg, ‘Osteuropabegriff’, p. 53.

⁵²⁷ Spencer, *Travels in France*, Vol. II, p. 135.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 170.

⁵²⁹ Bavaj and Steber, ‘Introduction’, p. 7.

⁵³⁰ Blanton, *Travel Writing*. pp. 15-16.

majority still adhered to older traditions dating back to the Enlightenment. Yet, readers were also following older patterns and expected facts, thus utilising travellers' observations as arguments. Secondly, new publications were attentively pursued and extensively reviewed, often grouping several works on the same geographic region together.⁵³¹ By way of reviews, the different arguments used for either a positive or negative interpretation of the Habsburg Empire's political system become evident. Therefore, the next section is based on an analysis of not only British travellers' observations but also of how reviewers received them.

To summarise the Habsburg Empire's political system is not an easy task. Reforms in the eighteenth century transformed some parts into a more centralised state in which the influence of the local nobility (*Stände*) decreased considerably, but failed in others, particularly Hungary.⁵³² Thus, a statistical work of 1822 described the Habsburg Monarchy as: "In Ungarn und Siebenbürgen eingeschränkte, in den übrigen Saaten aber, deren Landstände keinen Einfluß auf Gesetzgebung und Regierung haben, uneingeschränkte Monarchie."⁵³³ To complicate things further, only some crownlands, namely those formerly part of the Holy Roman Empire, were included into the German Confederation.

In every period, a number of courtiers stood out as particularly influential. During the *Vormärz*-era, for instance, these were Prince Metternich and Count Kolowrat, who directed foreign and domestic policy, respectively. After Francis' I death in 1835 and the accession of his mentally impaired son Ferdinand I, a *Staatskonferenz* consisting of high-ranking ministers and several archdukes effectively wielded power.⁵³⁴ Pressured by revolution, a first constitution was

⁵³¹ For example in 1837 a review article grouped together not less than seven publications. 'The Danube and Black Sea', *Dublin Review* (July 1837), pp. 198-236.

⁵³² John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford, 2015), pp. 39-40. Wilhelm Brauneder, 'Die Verfassungsentwicklung in Österreich 1848 bis 1918' in Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (eds.), *Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918* (Vol. VII/I; Vienna, 2000), p. 72.

⁵³³ Johann Georg August Galetti's *Allgemeine Weltkunde* cited in Brauneder, 'Verfassungsentwicklung', p. 74.

⁵³⁴ Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs*, p. 353.

introduced in April 1848 (*Pillersdorfsche Verfassung*),⁵³⁵ superseded by the *Oktroyierte Verfassung* of March 1849, which was granted by the new Emperor Francis Joseph I, nephew of the abdicated Ferdinand I, but abrogated only two years later.⁵³⁶ After a period of neoabsolutism, the October Diploma of 1860, which was superseded by the February Patent of 1861, finally established a two-house parliament (*Reichsrat*) consisting of the *Herrenhaus* and the *Abgeordnetenhaus*, of which deputies were elected by limited franchise. The Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 formally established two entities: The Kingdom of Hungary, which established an assembly in Budapest, and the *Reichsrat* in Vienna representing all the other crownlands, besides three joint ministries (foreign, war and finances).

Given an interpretation of the European continent as divided into constitutional and autocratic halves, it is not surprising that despotism developed into the leitmotif for several accounts of the time. The perhaps most outspoken and critical account was published anonymously in December 1827, entitled *Austria as it is*.⁵³⁷ The preface makes clear how the author viewed the Habsburg Empire: “Never, perhaps, has there been exhibited an example of so complete and refined a despotism in any civilized country as in Austria.”⁵³⁸ Literary scholar Primus-Heinz Kucher observed that ‘despotism’ is the central and dominant term in this account,⁵³⁹ while another literary scholar, Hartmut Steinecke, even interpreted the booklet as the central liberal critique on Metternich.⁵⁴⁰ Thus, this account is one of

⁵³⁵ The Hungarian April laws, simultaneously introduced by its Diet, meant that at this time two constitutions existed within the Habsburg Empire. Brauner, ‘Verfassungsentwicklung’, pp. 101-102.

⁵³⁶ Zöllner, *Geschichte*, p. 399. Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire and Republic 1815-1986* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 44.

⁵³⁷ [Sealsfield], *Austria*. On the publication date see Alexander Ritter, ‘Charles Sealsfield als Autor der Verleger Cotta (Stuttgart) und Murray (London). Zu Publizitätsanspruch wie Wirkungsrealität in der Vormärzzeit und dem Publizitätsverlust nach 1848’, in Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke; 31: Supplementreihe; 7 Dokumente zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Teil 1: Die zeitgenössische Rezeption in Europa, herausgegeben von Primus-Heinz Kucher* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York, 2002), p. 138.

⁵³⁸ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. vi.

⁵³⁹ However the term itself was relatively little employed and appears only seven times and twice in footnotes. *Ibid.*, pp. v, vi, 9, 70, 169, 215, and footnotes 1, 13.

⁵⁴⁰ Hartmut Steinecke, *Von Lenau bis Broch: Studien zur österreichischen Literatur - von außen betrachtet* (Tübingen and Basel, 2002), p. 75.

the most prominent works that expressed criticism of the Habsburg Empire during the pre-1848 period, and received fair attention outside of Britain as well.⁵⁴¹

Contemporaries never debunked the author. Only later generations could solve what one scholar called a literary riddle and established Charles Sealsfield, who came to literary fame in the 1840s, as its author.⁵⁴² Sealsfield was neither British, nor did he actually make the journey he described. This poses the question of why his account should be discussed here.

Since the preface opened with: “The Author of this Work is a native of the Austrian Empire; who, after an absence of five years, has re-visited his country,” the book asserted a non-British traveller was writing.⁵⁴³ The book was published anonymously, therefore the reading public could not verify this claim, and a Brit disguised as a foreigner could have written it as well, especially since some passages leave room for ambiguity. On one occasion, for example, he wrote: “It is easy for us in England to speak of...a manly resistance to despotism.”⁵⁴⁴ For contemporaries this was impossible to tell. Given its importance, exclusion is hardly justifiable.

Concealed behind the name Charles Sealsfield is Karl Postl, born in a small village near modern-day Znaim [Znojmo, Czech Republic] in 1793. He joined the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, a Bohemian Catholic order, studied theology and was finally ordained as a priest in Prague in 1815. For reasons unknown he left Bohemia in the early 1820s and immigrated to the United States. Officials even issued a warrant preventing him from returning. This was also the reason why it was impossible for him to follow the itinerary described in his account.⁵⁴⁵

In his new home he tried to make a living as an author, publishing his first travel account of the southeastern American states. But in 1826 he returned to the Old World, finally publishing his book on the Habsburg Empire in late 1827. About

⁵⁴¹ Beller, *History*, p. 118. Kucher, *Moderne*, pp. 193-197.

⁵⁴² Primus-Heinz Kucher, ‘Charles Sealsfields Austria as it is. Ein Literaturrätsel und Reisebericht mit europäischer Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert’, *Zagreber Germanistische Beiträge*, 2 (1993), pp. 37-50.

⁵⁴³ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. v.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵⁴⁵ Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Vienna and Munich, 1952), p. 224.

700 volumes entered the book market and several pirated translations in other languages soon existed and increased the intensity of surrounding debates.⁵⁴⁶ The publication even led to diplomatic engagement when Habsburg authorities observed that its French translation was sold in Leipzig.⁵⁴⁷ Even more surprising was that Sealsfield offered his services to Metternich, which led to some speculation about his motivations.⁵⁴⁸ Using the name Sidons he met with Philipp von Neumann, an associate of the Austrian embassy to the British court, whom Metternich had ordered to investigate his case. Sealsfield apparently claimed that he had information about revolutionary activities in Hungary, but von Neumann judged him as a moneygrubbing adventurer.⁵⁴⁹ Sealsfield's twisted biography – socialised in a conservative, Catholic setting but writing for an English-speaking liberal audience – prevents a clear-cut categorisation as either British or German traveller, instead making him an intermediary between different cultures.

What was Sealsfield's understanding of despotism? References harking back to Montesquieu are rather obvious. For instance, he presented Emperor Francis I much like the Oriental despot, whose personal wishes and opinions became law. "Right is in Austria what pleases the Emperor, - his will; wrong, what displeases him."⁵⁵⁰ Sealsfield thus stressed the unchecked power of the Emperor. However, allusions to the 'East' or the 'Orient' are only once mentioned and the 'West' only appears twice throughout the slightly more than 200 pages. Eastern slavery is contrasted with "the greater freedom of the western world"⁵⁵¹ in a brief passage about Hungary. Additionally, in a short historical-philosophical analysis of the state of the German lands, he wrote: "The genius of culture draws towards the West" and concluded "Europe's hope rests on the proud rock of Albion. But the tide runs towards America, and perhaps, before two centuries shall have elapsed,

⁵⁴⁶ Kucher, *Moderne*, pp. 193-197.

⁵⁴⁷ Castle, *Unbekannte*, p. 224.

⁵⁴⁸ Correspondence is printed in German translation in *Ibid.*, pp. 192-201 and in its original in Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl), Briefe und Aktenstücke* (Vienna, 1955), pp. 108-115. Lützelner sees him as a possible double agent. Paul Michael Lützelner, *Europäische Identität und Multikultur: Fallstudien zur deutschsprachigen Literatur seit der Romantik* (Tübingen, 1997), p. 77. Others condemned his move as opportunist and driven by greed. Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Metternich: Der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (Vol. I; Munich, 1925), p. 548.

⁵⁴⁹ Castle, *Unbekannte*, p. 197.

⁵⁵⁰ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. 137.

the Genius of Europe, to avoid Scythian fetters, will have alighted on the banks of the mighty Mississippi.”⁵⁵² Here an East-West antagonism is observable, but the Habsburg Empire is placed in the larger setting of a perceived Russian threat. Sealsfield’s intention was not to prove that this was a despotic government. He was much more interested in the influence this despotism had on the people:

The education of the youth, public stations, secret policy, every thing [sic] combines here, to produce political and moral degradation...There is in this prince [Emperor Francis] a strange mixture of unassuming simplicity and of despotic haughtiness, of a truly Jesuitical craftiness with an apparent frankness, of the coarsest and most ungrateful egotism with an apparently kind-hearted indulgence.⁵⁵³

He concluded his account with the following statement:

The tide runs in Vienna towards gross sensuality in the people; - mute obedience in the public officers; - gloom or dissoluteness among the high nobility, and towards the most complete despotism in the Government, which grasps with the iron claws of its emblem - the double eagle - the whole empire, and keeps it in its baneful embraces.⁵⁵⁴

The main consequence of the political system, in Sealsfield’s interpretation, was clear moral degradation.⁵⁵⁵ An alleged suppression of the inhabitants by a system of spies, superficial schooling under the control of Jesuits to keep the students ignorant – an old anti-Catholic cliché – led to the loosening of morals.⁵⁵⁶ The inhabitants of Vienna were presented as focussed on amusement and corporeal enjoyments like food and drink. But Sealsfield did not blame them; he saw the debarment of intellectual endeavours by the government as the main cause. “Their [the Viennese’s] faults are those of thoroughly-spoiled children, kept in ignorance of their rights by a demoralizing guardian, who wishes to prolong his

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁵⁵⁵ Similar Russell, *Tour in Germany*, Vol. II, p. 321.

⁵⁵⁶ For an interpretation that challenges the Habsburg Empire’s image as a police state see Sked, *Metternich*, pp. 123-177.

tutorship.”⁵⁵⁷ Without proper, well-guided and enlightened education, a despotic government would easily hold sway over its people. As one anonymous, contemporary reviewer wrote:

One of the most serious, and, as we believe, one of the truest charges against the Austrian government is, that it encourages the grosser tastes of the people, that it connives at their sensual excesses, in order to stifle and command their intellectual and political cravings.⁵⁵⁸

From this description it becomes clear that Sealsfield saw a two-tiered societal structure. On the one hand the common people, ignorant and only interested in sensual pleasures, and on the other hand the ‘oligarchy’, as he called it. There is no link between the two strata. Thus, he argued: “The character of the present Government has led many to be unjust towards every thing Austrian, or, what is still worse, to confound people and Government.”⁵⁵⁹ The missing connection allowed the government strict control, leading to the unexpected consequence that the despotic government governed a content and calm people, but only because a great machine kept outside influence checked at its borders. Without directly stating it, it evoked images of a country under constant surveillance, almost a police state.

While Sealsfield was very clear in describing the political system of the Habsburg Empire as ‘despotic’ or ‘despotism’, some authors found a much more positive alternative in ‘paternal’ or ‘paternalism.’ One author, Peter Evan Turnbull, an English traveller and elected Fellow of the Royal Society, started off the second volume of his account published in 1840 by citing Montesquieu’s characterisation of despotism and monarchy. Yet, Turnbull emphasised that in “viewing the monarchy of Austria, we find a principle distinct alike from fear and from honour [the main principles of despotism and monarchy according to Montesquieu]. It may be more justly characterised as paternal.”⁵⁶⁰ Thus, he summarised: “It [the principle paternal] ascribes to the sovereign, as to the common father, a power theoretically absolute and uncontrolled, but founded practically on the willing

⁵⁵⁷ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. 196.

⁵⁵⁸ ‘Vienna and the Austrians’, *The British and Foreign Review*, 6 (April 1838), p. 673.

⁵⁵⁹ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. 167.

⁵⁶⁰ Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. II, p. 1.

obedience of those over whom it is exerted.”⁵⁶¹ Put differently, the Habsburg Empire was nominally autocratic, but the Emperor’s power was limited in reality, thus he needed to ensure his subjects’ obedience. The Emperor, like a father, sought to “make the weight of that authority so light and indulgent...as to convert into a habit and a pleasure that passive obedience which it ever inculcates as a duty.”⁵⁶²

Of course, this argument opened up room for positive interpretations. A surprising number of authors followed this line of argument and painted the Habsburg Empire in much brighter colours than perhaps expected. The most outspoken, positive account, however, was arguably Frances Milton Trollope’s *Vienna and the Austrians*, published a decade after Sealsfield’s account.

Her biography is similar to Charles Sealsfield’s.⁵⁶³ Married to Thomas A. Trollope, a lawyer who soon got into financial difficulties, she left Britain for the United States in 1827. She returned shortly afterwards while the family continued to be under pressure. Thus, as a way to generate income she took up the pen and wrote about her experience on the other side of the Atlantic. The resultant publication, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, was favourably received and fostered her reputation as a talented writer. But the journey also amplified her own conservative views, thus making her a controversial figure. She continued publishing travelogues, *Vienna and the Austrians* being her fourth book in the genre.

There is one feature in Frances Trollope’s publication that sets it apart from most of the other works published in the researched period, and opened an inroad for criticism. While Prince Metternich featured prominently in almost every account that attempted to describe a journey in the Habsburg Empire, Trollope actually met him.⁵⁶⁴ At a dinner given by the British ambassador to the Viennese court, Sir

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

⁵⁶³ Also observed by Helen Chambers, ‘Die Sealsfield-Rezeption in Großbritannien seit 1840’, in Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke; 31: Supplementreihe; 7 Dokumente zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Teil 1: Die zeitgenössische Rezeption in Europa, herausgegeben von Primus-Heinz Kucher* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York, 2002), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁶⁴ Only few other travellers encountered him directly. Von Strombeck, *Darstellungen*, pp. 192-194. [Frances Vane], *Narrative of a visit to the courts of Vienna, Constantinople, Athens, Naples* (London, 1844), pp. 33-42. Charles William Vane, *A Steam Voyage to Constantinople, by the*

Frederick Lamb, third Viscount of Melbourne, she had the opportunity to build a relationship with Metternich's third wife Melanie. Trollope's son Thomas, who stayed with her in Vienna later wrote: "I forget entirely what were the introductions which placed my mother and her party at once in the very core of this small and exclusive society. But we did find ourselves so placed, and that at once."⁵⁶⁵

For contemporary observers this was quite puzzling. How was it possible that someone of such humble origins should have access to the highest aristocratic circles? *The Athenaeum* assumed: "[W]e must suppose that the Austrian cabinet have taken her for the Madame de Staël of English literature - for a puissance, not only of the press, but of our social circles." Thus, hinting that her invitation was intentional to "write and talk them [the Austrian government] and their 'doings' into better repute at London."⁵⁶⁶ But an entry in Melanie Metternich's diary sheds a more personal light on this issue: "Sie [Frances Trollope] ist eine gutmüthige Frau, sehr einfach und natürlich, eine aufmerksame Zuhörerin und für jeden Beweis von Theilnahme dankbar...Sie hat die Eroperung [sic] meines Mannes und er, wie mir scheint, auch die ihrige gemacht."⁵⁶⁷ In fact, it was not unusual for Metternich to receive illustrious and interesting guests regardless of their political opinions. On another occasion Melanie wrote in her diary about a young French journalist, who had recently arrived in Vienna: "Er ist ein erbitterter Gegner meines Mannes und seines Systems. Clemens [Metternich] lud ihn sogleich zu Tisch, das ist so ganz seine Art, sich zu rächen."⁵⁶⁸ It remains unknown what really opened the door for Trollope to the highest circles of the Viennese aristocracy, but the fact remains it was opened.

Trollope was from the outset frank and clear about her convictions as well as about the controversial nature of her publication. Thus, after emphasising that she

Rhine and the Danube, in 1840-41, and to Portugal, Spain, &c., in 1839 (Vol. I; London, 1842), pp. 57-62, 92-100.

⁵⁶⁵ Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *What I remember*, edited by Herbert Van Thal (London, 1973), p. 108.

⁵⁶⁶ *The Athenaeum*, 24.02.1838, p. 139.

⁵⁶⁷ Klemens von Metternich, *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren: Herausgegeben von dem Sohne des Staatskanzlers Fürsten Richard Metternich-Winneburg. Geordnet und zusammengestellt von Alfons v. Klinkowström* (Vol. VI; Vienna, 1883), p. 122.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 99.

only faithfully recorded her observations, she concluded that there was a “remarkable discrepancy between the statements which truth compelled me to give, and the previously received views which I knew to prevail respecting Austria.”⁵⁶⁹ At one point in the account she even styled herself as “Cassandra-like,”⁵⁷⁰ drawing a parallel between herself and the tragic figure of Greek mythology whose prophecies would not be believed. The reason why Trollope expected objections to her views is found in the adjoining statement in the preface.

Whatever may be the effect of Austrian power and legislation elsewhere, it produces on the children of her own bosom exactly the benign influence which might be expected from the equitable administration of very mild laws, and a most paternal care bestowed on a race singularly calculated to prosper under it, and to hail the tranquil blessings it ensures with gratitude, fidelity, and love.⁵⁷¹

In these few lines the essence of Trollope’s argument becomes evident. Firstly, she differentiated between the effects of the political system in the Habsburg Empire and the application of the same principles to other countries. Thus, Trollope emphasised that what she wrote was true for the Habsburg Empire but not to be generalised. Secondly, and more importantly, she emphasised the “paternal care,” intended to foster prosperity, tranquillity and simultaneously fidelity. This shows how extremely different the Emperor could be viewed. While Trollope described Emperor Francis as a father figure, almost a *Pater Patriae*, Sealsfield described him as displaying a “despotic haughtiness.”

Throughout the narrative Trollope styled herself as a critical listener and observer. In a dialogue between her and a “new acquaintance,” both extreme positions concerning the political system were exposed. On the one hand her interlocutor challenged her by asking: “You must be aware that our Emperor and his government are looked upon as a very abstract and type of tyrants and tyranny, and that the people of his empire are considered as slaves, groaning under worse

⁵⁶⁹ Trollope, *Vienna*, Vol. I, p. vi.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 265.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. vi.

than Egyptian bondage. Tell me – is not this so?”⁵⁷² On the other hand, her conversation partner went on and remarked “that Austria, of all the countries of the world, is that in which the government is the mildest, the people the most affectionately cared for, and injustice of every kind the least known.”⁵⁷³ The dialogue continues for several pages and discusses the difference between Liberals and Absolutists, mentions the British radical press and concludes with the advice to listen to people of all social strata in order to discover that everyone sincerely loved the Emperor. The whole section serves to show that the ‘Austrians’ were indeed well-informed about British opinions, and highlights that this was not reciprocally true.⁵⁷⁴ There are several other sections in which Trollope enforces this imbalance between unknown Austria in Britain and well-understood Britain in Austria to underpin her own judgements.

While Sealsfield advanced despotism, Trollope laboured to present evidence of a mild, paternal government having the sole objective of caring for the good of the people. But how does she describe the political system of the Habsburg Empire? Is she avoiding the term despotism, and if so, which term replaces it? Interestingly, the former is not even the case. Quite simply but also surprisingly, the term acquires a positive connotation: She described the ‘Austrian type’ of despotism as “just and beneficent.”⁵⁷⁵ How can this rather different meaning of the term despotism be explained? Similar to Sealsfield, Frances Trollope was mainly concerned with the effects of the political system on the inhabitants, yet came to completely contrary conclusions. For Trollope, despotism ensured stability and calmness. For instance, she wrote about “the restless, roaring, rioting process of election in America, which keeps every man’s mind in a fever from January to December, and which brings as its most distinguishing privilege, impunity to Lynch-law and whisky-drinking.”⁵⁷⁶ On another occasion, she argued that “the labouring poor” enjoyed much more comfort “in a country where they

⁵⁷² Trollope, *Vienna*, Vol. I, p. 331.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 331.

⁵⁷⁴ Other travellers also reported on the availability of press in the Habsburg Empire. Even Sealsfield wrote, that in Austria “[t]he higher classes, even among foreigners, are allowed more liberty, and, if they are not stigmatized as *revolutionaires*, they are here more at their ease than any where else: certainly much more than in Prussia.” [Sealsfield], *Austria*, p. 28. Italics in original.

⁵⁷⁵ Trollope, *Vienna*, Vol. II, p. 145.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 23.

have one ruler instead of five hundred, and where Providence settles who that ruler shall be, instead of a drunken mob.”⁵⁷⁷ Thus, her aversion towards elections becomes clear in these instances. In a longer section she summarised her beliefs and interpretations of the Habsburg’s Empire’s political system.

Long before I came to this country, I admired, in common with all who love agitation less than good order, the tranquil dignity with which it had sustained its institutions and its dynasty; preserved unshaken its internal peace, and in all things kept the prosperous and even tenour of its course through a period of wild innovation and misrule that has thrown half Europe into utter confusion. But, though quite inclined to believe that these were blessings for which it was hardly possible a nation could pay too dearly, I did not expect to find the power which ensured them so paternally gentle in its operation as it most assuredly is. Despite the outcry such an avowal is likely to produce, I must honestly declare my belief, that the absolutism (so called) of Austria produces a government **the most favourable possible to the labouring classes.**⁵⁷⁸

A tranquil, calm country inhabited by happy and content citizens – the general cliché about the Viennese, who had a reputation of being solely interested in sensual pleasures and not in intellectual or political endeavours, fitted this view perfectly – governed by an absolute Emperor who looked after his subjects as if they were his own children.

Trollope only allowed for one limitation, as outlined above, which positioned her in a rather contradictory position: “Nevertheless, you must not believe that I have learnt to think a despotism, even just and beneficent as that of Austria, a better thing than the genuine unmangled [sic] constitution of England.”⁵⁷⁹ The described system suited the Habsburg Empire, yet the British constitution was out of reach, incomparable to any other form of government.

Trollope, however, was not the only voice arguing in favour of the Habsburg Empire. John Aiton, for instance, a Church of Scotland minister, who visited Vienna in 1842, wrote after a crowded, nightly firework display at the *Prater*, “the most unrestrained individual liberty appears to be combined with the most perfect

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 309.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 266-267. Accentuations in original.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 145.

public order.”⁵⁸⁰ And the above-mentioned Peter Evan Turnbull wrote about the underlying goals of the educational system: “She [Austria] strives at the creation of a happy, not a brilliant people.”⁵⁸¹

Traditional accounts of the Habsburg Empire tend to recount the story of an oppressive system that hampered advancement. Especially the so-called *Vormärz*-era was, and still is, often described as a time when the developing bourgeoisie rather indulged in corporeal pleasures than in politics.⁵⁸² A number of accounts advance further evidence for such a view, as seen in Charles Sealsfield’s travelogue. But at the same time it also becomes evident that this is only half the story. Frances Trollope’s views did not receive universal approval. As one reviewer of the liberal *Monthly Review* wrote in 1838:

[I]f they [the magazine’s readers] desire to have their ears tickled by accounts of the immaculate, the good, the tender-hearted Metternich, and of the blessings enjoyed under the *paternal* sway of an absolute monarch, let them by all means resort to Mrs. Trollope’s present volumes. We, at least, have done with them; to us they are naught.⁵⁸³

The conservative *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, however argued: “We ourselves, Conservative as we are, and believing, as we now do, that the Austrian Government is gradually raising her people in the intellectual scale, and, whether consciously or not, preparing them for future rational liberty.”⁵⁸⁴ These are exactly the fault lines dividing the British interpretations of the Habsburg Empire. From a conservative view, an autocratic monarchy was still preferable to a revolutionary, liberal one.⁵⁸⁵ There was by no means a united critical stance taken by British travellers, as the prominence of the liberal, critical works might suggest. Instead contemporary observers developed fairly nuanced views.

⁵⁸⁰ [Aiton], *Eight Weeks*, p. 265.

⁵⁸¹ Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. II, p. 125.

⁵⁸² Sked, *Metternich*, pp. 123-124.

⁵⁸³ ‘Travels and Journals’, *The Monthly Review*, 1 (1838), p. 442. Italics in original.

⁵⁸⁴ ‘Mrs. Trollope’s Vienna and the Austrians’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 43 (April 1838), pp. 507-508.

⁵⁸⁵ Mark L. Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989* (Ithaca and London, 2005), p. 95.

4.3 German Travellers Examine the Habsburg Empire

How did German-speaking travellers from outside the borders of the Habsburg Empire regard its political system? Are there similarities to the British interpretation of either despotic or paternal? In fact, evidence suggests that although these travelogues were generally written in a more reticent style, a similar division emerges.

Just as Sealsfield represented the utmost critical view on Habsburg politics, Wolfgang Menzel can be seen in a similar position among German travellers. After all, he clearly highlighted a transition from the constitutional ‘West’ to the absolute ‘East’ when crossing into Habsburg lands, as seen above in the introduction to this chapter. Contemporaries saw in Menzel a rather controversial figure. One traveller wrote in 1832: “Sie [the Austrian border authorities] haben ja Menzel, den kaustischen, passiren lassen, warum sollte man denn dir armen, unschuldigen Gelehrten zunahe treten?”⁵⁸⁶ The fact that even a critic such as Menzel was able to travel and write about the Habsburg Empire was taken as a hint by this author that the Empire’s conventional image might not necessarily reflect reality. Simultaneously, this passage also stressed the derisive nature of Menzel’s writings. Nevertheless, some natives held him in high regard. One author remarked that he “ist der einzige deutsche Ausländer, der statt stockdummer Witzeleien und faden Spotts, Oesterreichs innere Verhältnisse richtig beurtheilend, und...die Quelle alles Uebels in Oesterreich erkennend, dem wackeren Volke...Gerechtigkeit widerfahren ließ.”⁵⁸⁷ It is thus worthwhile to further engage with his publication.

Wolfgang Menzel was born in a small town in East Prussia, near the border to Austrian Silesia. In 1818, he commenced his studies first in Jena but soon relocated to Bonn, which he left for Switzerland shortly after the Carlsbad decrees of 1819. In the following years, he became a prolific writer and became involved in newspaper publishing. For instance, he was part of the editorial office of the *Literaturblatt*, a supplement to the well-known and widely read *Morgenblatt für*

⁵⁸⁶ [Gottfried Wilhelm Becker], *Meine grosse Reise von Leipzig nach Oesterreich* (Leipzig, 1835), p. 3.

gebildete Stände, published in Stuttgart by Johann Friedrich Cotta, who also published Menzel's travelogue. At the same time, he also got involved in politics and was elected into the Lower Chamber of the Kingdom of Württemberg in 1831 and again in 1848. In his later years, until his death in 1873, Menzel's writings became more and more nationalistic, anti-French and anti-Semitic, thus making him, as one historian noted, an important ideological forerunner of an exclusive German nationalism.⁵⁸⁸ In light of this, it might seem strange to see parallels between his writings and those of Charles Sealsfield, who expressed far more liberal views. However, as we shall see, both were opposed to absolutism, but drew different conclusions.

Nationalistic tendencies are evident in Menzel's travel account. He stressed that the unity of state and nation was almost a natural law, eventually leading to unification and the crumbling of multinational empires.⁵⁸⁹ He regarded the Germans as one people, territorially divided but united in characteristics such as language or customs: "Immer noch ist es ein Volk, mit Einer Sprache, Einer Sitte, Einer Gesinnung."⁵⁹⁰ Although ethnocentric, Menzel's view of Germany, at least in this account, did not stress language as much as perhaps expected. For instance, he alluded to Hungary several times, yet never mentioned German speakers present there. Also he mentioned the Polish uprising of 1830 positively since it illustrated in his view the struggle of a divided nation for reunification.⁵⁹¹ Therefore, the metaphor he employed to describe the Habsburg Empire is all the more intriguing. Apart from describing it, alongside Prussia, as a "große[s] slavisch deutsche[s] Reich" in contrast to the "kleiner[e] Staaten des ächtgermanischen Kernvolkes,"⁵⁹² he sketched the following allegory:

Keine schönere Mannichfaltigkeit als die der österreichischen bunten
Länderkarte, und auch wieder kein schönerer Mittelpunkt als dieses
liebenswürdige Wien, und dennoch hat das Auge nie eine plastische

⁵⁸⁷ Hans Normann, *Die österreichischen Länder und Völker* (Vol. II; Leipzig and Löwenberg, 1833), p. 58.

⁵⁸⁸ Johannes Weber, 'Wolfgang Menzel', <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118580949.html#ndbcontent>[20/01/17].

⁵⁸⁹ Menzel, *Reise*, p. 294.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 306. Capital letters in original.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 295, 324.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

Gestalt erblickt, die, in allen Einzelheiten so schön, es im Ganzen so wenig ist. Es gibt Frauenzimmer, an denen Alles [sic] schön ist, und die doch nicht schön sind. So kommt mir Oesterreich vor. Nicht die plastische Natur hat hier aus Einem Gusse ein Wunderbild geschaffen; nur ein böser Zauber hat die einem Duzend schöner Mädchen entrissenen Reize zu einer dreizehnten Truggestalt zusammengesetzt. Man meint, wenn man die Zauberformel hätte, müßte das schöne gespenstische Bild aus einander fallen.⁵⁹³

In his view, each nation represents real beauty. Yet, when different nations are combined, the evolving, overall picture cannot rival the beauty of each individual nation. At the same time, his metaphor also implied that the overall picture is nothing more than an assemblage, a patchwork. If the extrinsic force that keeps it together vanished, each piece could potentially be separated nicely and easily.

The core of Menzel's argument is found in a longer section adjoining his description of the crossing of the Bavarian-Salzburgian border cited above. He framed it in a dialogue with a fellow traveller in the coach, in which he laid down his view on European politics. On the one hand, Menzel saw strong liberal opinions focussing on France arguing: "Es gibt eigentlich in unsern Tagen keine Nationen mehr, es gibt nur noch Menschen, und jeder Mensch, der mit uns für die ewigen Rechte der Menschen streitet, ist unser Bruder." On the other hand, the argument ran: "Es ist nicht wahr, daß es keine Völker, sondern nur Menschen gibt. Im Gegentheil, es gibt keine Menschen, sondern nur Völker." Menzel dismissed both, but instead claimed that someone who shared his beliefs, "besorgt Gefahr für die Freiheit, wenn der Absolutismus gegen Frankreich siegt, und...besorgt Gefahr für das deutsche Nationalinteresse, wenn Frankreich siegt." France and Russia alike thus embodied the peril. Eventually Menzel concluded that, "[d]ie Deutschen wollen jetzt la vérité de la charte, sichere Garantien und consequente Ausbildung des constitutionellen Repräsentativsystems."⁵⁹⁴ Only constitutionalism, which was not yet found in the Habsburg Empire, could foster a viable future for a unified Germany and was thus of utmost importance to him.

Although Menzel clearly viewed Europe as divided along an East-West axis, he did not fall for stereotypes. For instance, he held French theatre in high regard,

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵⁹⁴ Dialogue in *Ibid.*, pp. 72-91, cited sections at pp. 73, 75, 76, 91.

since only the liberty found there, enabled the unfolding of highest artistical refinement.⁵⁹⁵ Besides, he decried the poverty of factory workers in the liberal ‘West’ as much as the serfdom of the absolute ‘East.’⁵⁹⁶ Thus, neither was the ‘West’ idealised nor was the ‘East’ demonised in his writings. Since he regarded constitutional reform as the first important step towards a unified Germany, he regarded the Habsburg Empire’s political system as absolute, without describing it as harshly as Sealsfield did in his account. Similarly, since the parts he was travelling were clearly incorporated into his conception of Germany – he travelled from Salzburg along the Danube to Vienna and back – he refrained from harsh criticism.

Menzel was not the only traveller expressing such interpretations. Johann Georg Kohl, who, as described in the preceding chapter, published a lengthy, five-volume account of his travels in the Habsburg Empire in 1842, was another one. Although striking a rather positive note in his lengthy account he made very similar remarks when crossing the border from Salzburg to Bavaria: “[E]ine andere merkwürdige europäische Gränze beginnt, nämlich die zwischen den westeuropäischen constitutionellen und den osteuropäischen inconstitutionellen Staaten.”⁵⁹⁷ And he believed to observe a marked difference between each side of the border,

daß der geistige Druck hier [in Bavaria] aufhöre, daß man die Herrschaft des Stockes hinter sich lasse, daß die Gegenden der Leibeigenschaft immer weiter in den Hintergrund zurückweichen, daß der gnädigen Herren und Cavaliere immer weniger werden und daß die Bürger und Bauern mehr zu gelten und sich selbstständiger zu bewegen anfangen.⁵⁹⁸

Kohl saw the constitutional Kingdom of Bavaria as a state reigned by liberty. On another occasion Kohl thus wrote:

Alle religiösen und politischen Systeme Europas ragen mit ihren äußersten Zipfeln und Ausläufern in Deutschland hinein, so das konstitutionelle System Frankreichs und Englands,...so die

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁹⁷ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. I, p. 281.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 280.

Unumschränktheit des Ostens, die bis in's Herz von Deutschland vorgeht, obgleich sie hier unendlich vielfach gemildert ist, ebenso wie die Freiheit des Westens bei uns etwas gemäßigt und gezügelt wird.⁵⁹⁹

Especially the half sentence “bis in's Herz von Deutschland” is telling, because it shows that Berlin and Prussia were placed within the sphere of absolutism. Although German unification did not play much of a role for Sealsfield and his criticism was much more clamant, it becomes evident that the employed arguments are nonetheless similar. For these travellers the lack of liberty represented by the ‘East’ was indeed found in the Habsburg Empire. But this view was far from dominant. In fact, it was the exception rather than the rule. For many German travellers, the Habsburg political system was not per se negative, nor were its absolute tendencies necessarily deplorable. As in the case of British travellers, positive interpretations were in no way missing.

Remarkably similar to Frances Trollope's account is a travelogue published by Friedrich Karl von Strombeck, describing a journey from Wolfenbüttel in the Duchy of Brunswick to Vienna. The author, born into a reputable family of the city of Brunswick, had many varied interests. His early attempts as an author were translations of classical authors, but he soon found his way into the civil service. During the Napoleonic Wars his native land was incorporated into the Kingdom of Westphalia, which meant that he engaged heavily with contemporary French juridical developments. His publication efforts in this field did not remain unnoticed and established his reputation as an expert in law. Although active as a civil servant in various functions and a member of the *Landtag* of Brunswick, he had time to compose several travel accounts on Italy and the Netherlands as well as Sweden and Denmark. In 1838, he decided to spend the summer in Vienna. His account, *Darstellungen aus einer Reise von Niedersachsen nach Wien*, was published a year later in Brunswick.

The preface bears strong resemblances to Trollope's *Vienna and the Austrians* mentioned above. Just like the authoress, von Strombeck starts out almost apologising for his findings. The first sentence reads: “In den jetzigen Zeiten

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 3-4.

(vielleicht mehr als jemals) sucht der Leser, indem er ein neues Buch aufschlägt, zuvörderst Zustimmung zu der eigenen Ansicht der Dinge und laute Billigung ja Erhebung - des eigenen Strebens."⁶⁰⁰ According to him, only what suits one's opinion is lauded, while oppositional stances are automatically condemned. Thus, the author rhetorically asked: "Wie bedenklich, wie verwerflich wird es Lesern jener Art vorkommen, daß ich nun Oesterreich, das ihrer Natur so ganz und gar zuwider ist, und namentlich Wien, zum Ziele meiner vorjährigen Sommerreise machte; noch mehr aber, daß ich es dort vortrefflich fand!"⁶⁰¹ Finally, he concluded the preface by stating:

So habe ich es denn für Gewissenspflicht gehalten...Oesterreich in demjenigen Lichte darzustellen, in welchem es mir erschien. Ich habe aber die feste Ueberzeugung, daß dieses Licht kein täuschendes war: denn ich glaube, daß es mir in meinem langen Leben nicht an hinlänglichen Erfahrungen gefehlt hat, um in dieser Beziehung Wahrheit von Schein unterscheiden zu lernen. Offen lege ich also meine Bekenntnisse dar, unbekümmert, ob ich gegen Vorurtheile anstoße.⁶⁰²

The idea that a traveller is compelled to report the truth regardless of any potential criticism strongly influenced both Trollope's and Strombeck's accounts. But the similarities to the authoress are not accidental. The author cites the German translation of her work on several occasions, always in a positive tone.⁶⁰³ Given these similarities it is not surprising that both arrive at similar conclusions. But how did Friedrich Karl von Strombeck structure his argument? Stressing his reputation as an author in matters of law, he wrote:

Nur da, wo gerechte Gesetze Kraft haben, und der Monarch, selbst frei, die Gewalt hat, sie bei dieser Kraft zu erhalten, erblicke ich auch für den Bürger des Staates Freiheit; und diese Art der Freiheit findet sich in hohem Grade in Oesterreich, wo dem Höchsten das Gesetz treffen würde, wenn er dem Niedrigsten, in seinen Rechten ihn verletzend- entgegen träte. Ja, der Kaiser selbst unterwirft sich in

⁶⁰⁰ Von Strombeck, *Darstellungen*, p. iii.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xii.

⁶⁰³ There are even more similarities because von Strombeck also managed to meet some of the highest men in the state, amongst others Metternich and Count Sedlitzky, head of the police.

bürgerlichen, das Eigenthum betreffenden Verhältnissen, seinen eigenen Gesetzen, und achtet nicht, über diesen zu stehen.⁶⁰⁴

Instead of an unrestricted, all-powerful monarch in the Montesquieuan sense, von Strombeck saw the emperor as subjected to any laws regarding property. The monarch's role lies in the guarantee of just law, which ensures liberty. The author was far from defending hereditary, absolute powers. A few years earlier, when in the wake of the July Revolution in France the Duke of Brunswick was forced to flee, he even justified his ousting in a popular publication.⁶⁰⁵ In order to describe the spirit of the government von Strombeck referred to the adjective paternal – *väterlich*. After praising the appearance of Linz in Upper Austria, the wealth of its inhabitants and even the horse-drawn railroad to Budweis [České Budějovice, Czech Republic], which opened in the summer of 1832, he concluded: “Wahrlich, ein Land, wo solche Erscheinungen dem Fremden entgegneten, muß eine väterlich sorgende Regierung haben.”⁶⁰⁶ By upholding just laws, the paternal government fosters the positive development of its inhabitants.

However – and this is another parallel to Trollope – von Strombeck also clearly confined the virtues of this paternal system to the Habsburg Empire. Surprisingly, though, the reason for this was found in religion. In his view, a Catholic state is fundamentally different from a Protestant state because Catholicism stands for stability while Protestantism is progressive. Thus, he wrote: “Preußen ist mächtig durch hohe Aufklärung und Fortschreiten; Oesterreich durch materielles Wohl seiner Unterthanen und Festhalten am Bestehenden.”⁶⁰⁷ Preservation, stability, retaining the status quo: these characteristics suited the Habsburg Empire and were in line with the spirit of Catholicism. But this meant in turn that those principles were not applicable to Protestant states.

Of course, Friedrich Karl von Strombeck is only one example of travellers who reported positively on the Habsburg Empire's internal conditions. In the last chapter of Willibald Alexis' *Wiener Bilder*, entitled “mein politisches

⁶⁰⁴ Von Strombeck, *Darstellungen*, p. ix.

⁶⁰⁵ Friedrich Karl von Strombeck, *Was ist Rechtens, wenn die oberste Staatsgewalt dem Zwecke des Staatsverbandes entgegenhandelt?* (Brunswick, 1830). By 1832 the booklet was already in its fourth edition.

⁶⁰⁶ Von Strombeck, *Darstellungen*, p. 145.

Glaubensbekenntnis,” he outlined his convictions. In the first sentence he openly remarked: “Es ist und war meine innige und feste Überzeugung, daß die Erbmonarchie für Europa die allein angemessene Regierungsform ist.”⁶⁰⁸ The main justification he put forward was that, in his opinion, man-made laws needed correction and only a more legitimate power, the king or emperor, could affect them. He was convinced, “daß neben dem unerbittlichen Gesetze eine väterlich waltende Macht wohlthut und noth ist.”⁶⁰⁹ Again, the image of the ruler as a father appears. The republic was no viable counterpoint for Alexis, because it counteracted human nature. “Es hat keine Republik gegeben, es gibt keine, und bis man mir beweist, daß alle Menschen leidenschaftslos, tugendhaft, und die Welt vollkommen werden kann, bestreite ich, daß es eine Republik geben wird.”⁶¹⁰ He dismissed examples such as the United States, cited by other authors, because they did not realise their promise of equality. In his view, monarchy was the only viable option.

Interestingly, an absolute monarchy without a constitution was not necessarily seen as harming personal liberty. The reason lay in the legal system. As long as laws were just, liberty could be preserved. Willibald Alexis even outlined how the monarch, as a supreme yet neutral power, is almost a precondition for liberty. Only he can ensure, as he wrote, that the law’s sharp edges are grinded off.⁶¹¹

The German views on the Habsburg Empire’s political system were similar to British voices in the sense that they were not uniform positive or negative. Nevertheless they differed in their conclusion. While the terms despotism and paternalism were pivotal, German-speaking publications rather centred on constitutionalism, law and liberty.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁶⁰⁸ Alexis, *Wiener Bilder*, p. 427.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

4.4 The Kingdom of Hungary: Island of Liberty or Land of Oppression?

So far, the focus has been on how the Habsburg Empire in its entirety was regarded by nineteenth-century travellers, but this only tells half the story. In the preceding chapter it was argued that travellers applied a fragmented view; that they examined various parts differently. This also holds true for the political system. The most controversial case discussed was the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1840, German traveller Johann Gottfried Elsner summarised the tensions that shaped the opposing views in his account: “Wiederum haben Viele von der ungarischen Freiheit gehört, und wissen sich von derselben keinen rechten Begriff zu machen, wenn sie das, dort noch fast in seiner ganzen Ausdehnung bestehende, Feudalsystem in Erwägung bringen.”⁶¹² On the one hand, Hungary could be seen as a bastion of liberty because the king, simultaneously the Emperor of Austria, could not wield unchecked power but had to consult the Diet. On the other hand, this institution could be viewed as a remnant of the ancient past, a feudal authority rather than a modern instrument to govern the country. The position of British and German travellers did not alter much. Both groups were divided into the two opposing camps, Elsner sketched. In this section the arguments that have been advanced either in favour or against Hungary are analysed. The main object of discussion was the Hungarian Diet, dominated by the Hungarian nobility. In order to grasp contemporary interpretations, it is important to understand the Diet’s historical pedigree and its workings.

One of the founding documents, at least in the view of contemporary travellers, dates back to the Middle Ages. In 1222, only seven years after the *Magna Carta*, Hungary’s King Andrew II issued the so-called *Bulla Aurea* or Golden Bull.⁶¹³ The document itself was the result of an internal power struggle between the king and the high aristocracy. Recent research highlights that the initiative to compile

⁶¹² Elsner, *Ungarn*, Vol. I, p. 1.

⁶¹³ For an English translation see János M. Bak, György Bónis and James Ross Sweeney (eds.), *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: 1000-1301* (Bakersfield, 1989), pp. 34-37. For a recent account on the influence of the Magna Carta see Robert Hazell and James Melton (eds.), *Magna Carta and its Modern Legacy* (Cambridge, 2015).

such a document came from the king, contrary to the situation in England.⁶¹⁴ The document's clauses included exemptions from taxes and the quartering of troops for the nobility, as well as the right to rebel against the king when unlawful intrusions happened.⁶¹⁵

Comparisons between the *Bulla Aurea* and the *Magna Carta* were commonplace in particular amongst British travellers. John Paget, for instance, referred to both as “the great charters of their [the English and Hungarian aristocracies’] liberties” and concluded that “[t]he accident of geographical position has often worked...in our favour and against the Hungarians.”⁶¹⁶ Thus, he implied that the Kingdom of Hungary had the same potential as England, but failed to develop similarly. Others, such as Scottish physician Richard Bright, dismissed these analogies, since, in his view, the *Magna Carta* secured “the liberty of the *people*; whilst the *golden bull* rendered their slavery only the more abject.”⁶¹⁷ Such extensively differing interpretations shaped the observations of Hungary's political system – either praised for its liberty or condemned for the oppression of its inhabitants.

Another pivotal document was the so-called *Tripartitum* by Stephen Werbőczy, published in 1514. The aim of this document was to collect and codify the common law of the Hungarian Kingdom, including traditional rights such as the tax exemption of nobility and church or the vassalage of the peasantry.⁶¹⁸ These laws remained almost unchanged until the eighteenth century and are referred to by some scholars as the “second serfdom.”⁶¹⁹

The publication of the *Tripartitum* roughly coincided with the momentous dynastic development that brought the Habsburgs onto the Hungarian throne. In 1526, a Hungarian army met an advancing Ottoman force near the town of

⁶¹⁴ Victor Melando and Nora Webb Williams, ‘Judicial Supremacy: Explaining False Starts and Surprising Successes’, in Robert Hazell and James Melton (eds.), *Magna Carta and its Modern Legacy* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 189-191.

⁶¹⁵ László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 77.

⁶¹⁶ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 401.

⁶¹⁷ Bright, *Travels*, p. 302. Similar Michael John Quin, *A Steam Voyage down the Danube: With Sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, and Turkey, &c.*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1836), p. 110. Italics in original – section is missing from earlier editions.

⁶¹⁸ Martyn Rady, *Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts, and the Tripartitum* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 15-26. Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary* (Cambridge and New York, 2001), p. 83.

⁶¹⁹ For a critique of the term ‘second serfdom’ see Markus Cerman, *Villagers and Lords in Eastern Europe, 1300-1800* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 10-39.

Mohács [Hungary] on the Danube. Hungarian King Louis II died without an heir in the ensuing battle, and due to his marriage to Mary of Habsburg, sister of the Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I, the Habsburgs laid claim to the Hungarian throne. Over the course of the next twenty years two developments arose. The Hungarian crown would eventually go to the Habsburg dynasty while the Kingdom of Hungary was tripartitioned: Habsburg-controlled Hungary in the north, which coincides roughly with today's Slovakia; the Great Hungarian Plain as well as Budapest in the centre fell under direct Ottoman rule; and the principality of Transylvania retained limited autonomy but came under Ottoman overlordship in the southeast.⁶²⁰ This changed in the late-seventeenth century, when most of the land occupied by the Ottomans was retaken, while Transylvania accepted Habsburg suzerainty.⁶²¹

It was not until 1767 that Maria Theresa, then crowned Queen of Hungary, attempted limited reform. In the so-called *Urbarium* the duties of the peasantry to their lords were codified in order to prevent the worst excesses. Besides recording the situation of ownership, the document also stated that “a tenure had to provide 104 days' manual labour or 52 days animal-assisted work.”⁶²² Since her son, Joseph II, who was never crowned King of Hungary and therefore jokingly referred to as the ‘King with a hat’, failed to overcome strong aristocratic opposition, this was the situation travellers to Hungary still encountered during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶²³ Only the revolution of 1848 brought major changes to this set-up.

The Diet, which convened less than a hundred kilometres from Vienna in Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia], consisted of an upper and lower house. While the former was composed of hereditary seats of the high aristocracy and high church offices, the lower house consisted of deputies of constituents who were elected by provincial assemblies. This shows the importance of a second

⁶²⁰ Kontler, *Hungary*, pp. 139-143.

⁶²¹ Katalin Péter, ‘The Later Ottoman Period and Royal Hungary, 1606-1711’ in Peter F. Sugar, Péter Hanák and Tibor Frank (eds.), *A History of Hungary* (London and New York, 1990), pp. 116-118.

⁶²² Molnár, *History*, p. 151.

⁶²³ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 83. Molnár, *History*, p. 157.

administrative layer.⁶²⁴ To pass a law, the consent of the king and both chambers were necessary, thus limiting the former's power. This structure lies at the core of the paradox that the same person could be regarded simultaneously as a despot (since his powers as emperor were not limited by a constitutional legal system) and as a ruler of a constitutional kingdom.

But whose voice was represented in the Diet? In comparison to other European regions, Hungary's nobility made up an unusually high percentage of society. By 1839 about 600,000 out of an estimated twelve to thirteen million inhabitants claimed to have noble status, and thus enjoyed electoral rights.⁶²⁵ Additionally, 51 cities were represented in the Diet but had only one vote. However, focusing solely on sheer numbers is misleading, since the power distribution within the aristocracy was highly unequal. While some magnates ruled over vast estates, the lesser nobility often had no more than the title.⁶²⁶ This led to a rather strange situation, as historian Miklós Molnár observed, that "by a 'trick of history', it was up to the nobility, in the absence of a genuine middle class...[to] abolish...the very privileges they had clung to so tenaciously."⁶²⁷

Contemporary travellers were well aware of that contradiction. Julia Pardoe, a British travel writer who was in Hungary in 1840, remarked that while in Britain "the least wealthy of our legislators: men who have nothing to lose, and everything to gain by change" try to push reform, "[i]n Hungary it is precisely the reverse; the Liberal party being, with very few exceptions, at once the most monied [sic] and the most noble."⁶²⁸ It was primarily individuals of high nobility, such as István Széchenyi, Miklós Wesselényi or Ferenc Deák, who pushed for reform.

Lajos Kossuth, a member of the lower nobility, became the leading figure in the 1848 Revolution.⁶²⁹ Only in a matter of weeks this ancient system fell. In a period of ten days in April 1848, the so-called April Laws, a novel, de-facto constitution, were discussed, drafted and put into effect by the king's own signature. Hungary's

⁶²⁴ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 44-45.

⁶²⁵ Molnár, *History*, p. 168.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶²⁸ Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. I, p. 247.

foundations were completely changed. The right to vote was considerably extended, producing a larger electorate than for instance in Britain after the Reform Act of 1832.⁶³⁰ Serfdom was abolished, as well as the tax exemption of the nobility and the church. The revolution soon turned violent and, with the help of Russian troops, Habsburg rule was restored a year later. The Hungarian Diet was dissolved and its administration duties were relocated to Vienna. Nevertheless some of the revolution's achievements were kept, such as the emancipation of the serfs.⁶³¹ A direct corollary of the turmoil was the re-emergence of absolutism, but this time the grip on Hungary ensured a unified approach by a strong bureaucracy. Nevertheless, only about a decade later, constitutional reforms led to the reconvening of the Diet in 1860-1861, ending a period of direct Viennese control in Hungary. Finally, the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 ensured Hungarian autonomy.⁶³²

But how did travellers view and assess Hungary's political system? As already indicated, they can be divided in two opposing camps. In the following their arguments are further analysed.

For some travellers, entering Hungary was not only crossing into another entity as outlined in the previous chapter, it was also entering "an oasis of liberty amid a desert of despotism."⁶³³ This is at least how British traveller Julia Pardoe expressed it in 1840. At the time of her visit she was already an established travel writer, having acquired literary fame due to her publications on Constantinople and Spain. Her visit to Hungary as well as the intention to publish about her experiences was even in the local newspapers. The *Vereinigte Ofner Pester Zeitung* reported that she was attending the Diet as an observer and that honorary dinners were given for her.⁶³⁴ Pardoe continued to write in this vein: "It was strange and startling to remember, that within nine hours' journey of Vienna -

⁶²⁹ Gábor Vermes, *Hungarian Culture and Politics in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1711-1848* (Budapest and New York, 2014), pp. 260-270.

⁶³⁰ Istvan Deak, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians 1848-1849* (New York, 1979), p. 98.

⁶³¹ Kontler, *Hungary*, pp. 267-268.

⁶³² Molnár, *Hungary*, pp. 201-207.

⁶³³ Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. I, p. 217.

⁶³⁴ Vereinigte Ofner Pester Zeitung, 01.12.1839, pp. 1-2, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=opz&datum=18391201&seite=1>[20/01/17].

surrounded by absolute governments like those of Austria, Turkey, and Russia...a race still existed who had resolutely flung the yoke of despotism from their necks.”⁶³⁵ Hungary thus took the position of the last bastion of liberty, surrounded by absolutist governments. Such views were hardly exceptional.

A year earlier John Paget wrote in lofty terms: “My heart beat more gaily, my blood flowed more freely through my veins, as I blessed the land where some trace of personal liberty still existed.”⁶³⁶ Already from these few examples a key term becomes apparent, liberty. Hungary was presented as its last refuge in that autocratic part of Europe. Yet, as outlined in the first section of the chapter, liberty was (and is) also a core component of the ‘West.’

How did travellers determine that they found liberty in an eastern part of Europe? Bavarian physician Ernst Anton Quitzmann, who visited Hungary on his way to Constantinople, did so by emphasising Hungary’s supposed role as an *antemurale*, a bulwark. He noted that the Hungarians saw themselves “als d[ie] Vorkämpfer des Abendlandes gegen den Orient” who were as prepared “wie früher das Christenthum gegen den Islam, so jetzt die consitutionelle Freiheit der abendländischen Civilisation gegen die Völkerbeglückungswuth moskowitzischer Begierlichkeit mit seinem Blute zu verteidigen.”⁶³⁷ These lines were published in 1848, but remained unchanged in the second edition published two years later. For him, tsarist Russia represented the absolute power, while Hungary was instead part of the “Abendland.” Similarities arise to the localisation of Hungary described in the preceding chapter. Quitzmann emphasised this conception in particular during his visit to Transylvania, where he highlighted the democratic elements as well as the republican liberty and equality, “[die] er [the traveller] so nahe am absolutistischen Osten treffen kann.”⁶³⁸ Since Transylvania bordered the Ottoman Empire, the ‘absolute East’ must have been the Ottoman Empire. On these travellers’ mental maps, the Kingdom of Hungary was clearly part of the ‘constitutional West.’

⁶³⁵ Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. I, pp. 217-218.

⁶³⁶ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 4.

⁶³⁷ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 60.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178. Similar Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, p. 359.

But this does not mean that the political system in Hungary was presented as faultless. In the words of Quitzmann, it was “im Verhältnisse zu den Bedürfnissen wohlgeordneter Staaten der Gegenwart morsch und unzureichend.”⁶³⁹ John Paget expressed quite similar concerns. He described Hungary as “labouring to cast off the chains in which the institutions and laws of a more barbarous age have long bound her.”⁶⁴⁰ Thus, Hungary was not idealised. The need for reform was acknowledged, while images of decaying buildings or chains conveyed this message to the readers. Nevertheless it was conceded that this system granted more liberty than elsewhere in the region.

In light of these ambivalences it is highly instructive to ask how these authors justified their stance in favour of the Hungarian political system. John Paget can serve as an example here because he focussed on the situation of the peasantry, a controversial issue also employed by Hungary’s critiques. “No! Hungarian peasants are not vassals; but Heaven knows they have even still enough of injustice to complain of!”⁶⁴¹ He emphasised the future rather than the present to justify his assessment:

A great change has been begun...I see a happy and glorious future for Hungary...I see the nobles contented and wealthy; I see the government strong and feared abroad, because loved and respected at home; I see from the Hungarian peasants arise the future yeomen, the free possessors of the soil, the electors, the jurymen, the militiamen - the citizens in the noblest sense of the word, the bulwarks of their country in war, the guardians of her liberties in peace.⁶⁴²

Paget openly advocated for change within the system. Although there were grievances regarding the peasantry, it did not follow for him that the system in itself was to blame or should be abolished altogether. But this is exactly where other writers vehemently disagreed.

On a steamboat journey from Vienna to Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia], Prussian officer Otto von Pirch, who travelled the Eastern Mediterranean in 1832, described that he met a young Belgian voyager and a Hungarian noble aboard.

⁶³⁹ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 69.

⁶⁴⁰ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 51.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 311.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 314.

From the way the latter is described, it is evident from the outset for the contemporary reader that the Hungarian was not what they understood as nobility. He was a plant trader rather than a landlord, not well travelled or educated – in contrast to the young Belgium bourgeois – yet immensely proud of his “Hungarian liberties.” When, after several delays, the steamboat finally crossed the Hungarian borders von Pirch asked his acquaintance to outline those liberties. The response was the recounting of noble privileges, such as the exemption from tolls or the so-called *Vorspann*, the peasantry’s obligation to provide the nobility with means of transport if they demanded – a cheap way of travelling Hungary as some foreign travellers found out.⁶⁴³ Von Pirch commented, “wie verschieden dies Wort [liberty] gedeutet wird, man könnte das alles, besonders das Absperren der Waaren von den Erbländen, gerade die ungarische Nichtfreiheit nennen.”⁶⁴⁴ He stressed the term’s ambiguity. What some saw as liberty in the highest degree was for others nothing short of oppression, particularly towards the peasantry. George Robert Gleig, who visited Hungary during his tour in 1839, wrote: “The Hungarians are never more gratified than when an opportunity offers of instituting a parallel between their houses of parliament and ours.”⁶⁴⁵ After ten pages, in which these were discussed, he finally reached the following conclusion:

[A] limited monarchy, doubtless, which secures from the oppression of the sovereign a minute fraction of his subjects, and leaves all the rest to the tender mercies, not of one supreme head, whom motives of policy will render humane, and generally just, but of a band of nobles; who, nursed in the most exaggerated notions of their own importance, look upon all beneath them as mere beasts of burden. To speak of it as akin to the constitution under which we live, is to err entirely.⁶⁴⁶

Yet, the most severe assault on supposed Hungarian liberties came in the concluding sentence: “[T]he constitution which so orders matters, is to the people a thousand fold more oppressive than the most absolute despotism.”⁶⁴⁷ It is perhaps even more surprising that this was the view of a Tory clergyman.

⁶⁴³ E.g. John Paget.

⁶⁴⁴ Von Pirch, *Caragoli*, Vol. I, p. 16.

⁶⁴⁵ Gleig, *Germany*, Vol. II, p. 403.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 412-413.

According to Gleig, the Hungarian constitution, which gave absolute power to the nobility, was even worse than despotism, since a despot is a single person while in Hungary an oligarchy of nobles were using their powers to exploit the peasantry. While defenders of the Hungarian constitution conceded that there was room for improvement, critics utilised the same metaphors of decayed and inadequate conditions to argue for a complete change of the political system. German traveller Wilhelm Richter wrote in 1844 about the societal positions of the nobility and peasantry: “Leider ist aber diese morsche Stelle nicht im Dache, wo man leicht einen Sparren einsetzen...kann, sondern im Fundament, und selbst die weisesten Baumeister schütteln die Köpfe, indem sie nicht mehr zu flicken und zu stückeln wissen, damit es nicht zusammenfällt.”⁶⁴⁸ Later in his narrative, the same traveller even evoked the image of Hungary as a future “unübersteigliche Vormauer gegen den Andrang des Ostens”⁶⁴⁹ but only after the removal of the nobility’s privileges.

Criticism of Hungary was formulated by questioning the very nature of liberty. Stressing the situation of the peasantry severely undermined Hungary’s image as the “oasis of liberty” because it showed that only a fraction of the population could enjoy it. The discussion of whether or not the Hungarian constitution was protecting or subducting liberty disappeared rapidly after 1848. The reasons are clear. The April Laws implemented during the Diet of 1848 created a new constitutional base and abolished the laws pre-1848 travellers were discussing. Even after the revolution failed, the reforms made regarding the peasantry remained, and by 1853 the exact details had been worked out. Although it still took decades until all issues were resolved, the state of the peasantry fundamentally altered.⁶⁵⁰ Only a few years after 1848 it was possible to write about the themes which had aroused so much debate in the past tense. One British traveller thus summarised in 1862:

The Hungarian noble is no longer the feudal lord he once was; but, on the other hand, the peasant is no longer the serf...So complete was

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 413.

⁶⁴⁸ Richter, *Wanderungen*, pp. 150-151.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁶⁵⁰ Kontler, *Hungary*, pp. 267-268.

the distinction of classes formerly, that there was absolutely no middle or intermediate class whatever...It is a thing altogether of the past, and the condition of society is rapidly approaching that common in other parts of Europe.⁶⁵¹

Only fourteen years after Hungary's political system was fundamentally altered, it already seemed to be in an almost incomprehensible, distant past.

Hungary's political constitution was widely discussed, but led to different conclusions. While some clearly saw it as a constitutional kingdom, others focussed on the severe living conditions of its peasantry. Interestingly, however, there is no clear tendency between British and German travellers. Both are found in the two opposing camps, expressing similar views based on their political convictions. Although Hungary was located on the fringes of the 'absolute East', it was idealised as a bulwark against it most of the time.

4.5 Conclusion

It is said that more than a century ago the French Orientalist Sylvain Lévy observed about the term 'Orient': "Since the world is round, what can this word mean?"⁶⁵² The inherent ambiguity of geographical designations could not be presented more clearly. Nevertheless, over the course of time these terms acquired different meanings, and some of them were clearly political in nature. For Montesquieu, despotism was obviously a feature of the 'East', although his writings were vague enough to place it in the 'South' or 'North' as well. Already in the 1830s, Palmerston developed a clear sense of a rift developing between a constitutional, liberal 'West' and an autocratic, oppressive 'East' of Europe. Due to the terms' ambiguity, the characteristics were never stable but rather susceptible to temporal change. This becomes especially apparent in the case of the North-South dichotomy. The 'South' was modified from being "the cradle of

⁶⁵¹ Ansted, *Short Trip*, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁵² Sylvain Lévy quoted in Lewis and Wigen, *Myth*, p. 48. Similar Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: 'The East' in European Identity Formation* (Manchester, 1999), p. 15. The same can be said for the 'West' observable in the difference between the United States' 'West' and the term 'Maghreb', which literally means 'West' in Arabic. Both instances convey completely different ideas. Chris GoGwilt, 'True West: The Changing Idea of the West from the 1880s to the 1920s' in Silvia Federici (ed.), *Enduring Western Civilization: The Construction of the Concept of Western Civilization and its 'Others'* (London, 1995), p. 58.

civilization to the epitome of backwardness,” while the barbarian ‘North’ transformed to the locality of liberty.⁶⁵³ Thus, the question emerges of how nineteenth-century travellers viewed the Habsburg Empire from a political stance. In view of the prevalent East-West discourse, in which a liberal West is contrasted with an autocratic East, the general assumption is that the Habsburg Empire was regarded as autocratic and thus described negatively. Moreover, the language of political historians working on the nineteenth century, who often present the realms of the Hohenzollern, Habsburgs and Romanovs as the “eastern courts,” implicitly stresses their internal and political differences to the states of Western Europe. However, the views expressed by both British and German travellers differed from that supposition. The emerging picture based on the examination of a large sample of travelogues is a rather nuanced, varicoloured one. While an author like Charles Sealsfield presented the Habsburg Empire gloomily, almost as a police state with a haughty despot at its head, others vehemently opposed such a view and saw a good-natured, providing government that had only the best of intentions for its people. The emperor thus became a father who cared for and looked after his children.

Surprisingly perhaps, both views are found within British and German travel accounts, indicating that the supposed division between the constitutional ‘West’ and the autocratic ‘East’ did not fully enter the political discourse of the time. That does not mean that such a view did not exist. Travellers who sensed this border like Wolfgang Menzel or Johann Georg Kohl are testimony to that. But it stresses that the East-West discourse was much less prominent than may be expected.

Even more surprising is perhaps how entities within the Habsburg Empire were regarded and examined. As outlined above, travellers employed a fragmented view, examining certain regions differently and independently from the rest. The interpretations regarding the Kingdom of Hungary varied considerably. On the one hand, voices argued that this was perhaps the only location in which true liberty reigned. Arguments in favour of such a view rested mainly on the

⁶⁵³ Schenk and Winkler, ‘Einleitung’, p. 14.

Hungarian Diet. Contemporary travellers saw a constitutional force that restricted and checked the monarch's power, thus preventing any danger of despotism.

On the other hand, some travellers viewed this system with disdain. The Diet might have restricted the powers of the monarch, but this was not true for its members, at least in their view. The high aristocracy could, and did, wield almost despotic powers on their estates, exploiting the workforce of peasants by the *Robot* system, even relying on them for their transport. The state of the peasantry formed the main opposing argument. Nevertheless, both camps could agree on seeing Hungary as a bulwark against the Ottoman Empire and Russia. But this also means that although serfdom still existed and the nobility enjoyed extensive privileges, it was not on a par with these, even more negatively viewed powers. The views on the Habsburg Empire's political system varied, and a public debate evolved during the nineteenth century, in which these differing interpretations were articulated and criticised.

The focus of this chapter has been the political system of the Habsburg Empire, which was an important aspect of contemporary travel writing. But in some cases politics tied in with temporal arguments. John Paget wrote, for instance, after discussing the state of peasantry in Hungary: "But, in Hungary, I see prospects of better things to come. A great change has been begun, from which it is impossible any longer to recede."⁶⁵⁴ In fact, such speculations about the future, whether political in nature or not, were commonplace in travelogues. A sense of change was in the air. But how did travellers perceive this change? What is the relationship between perceived progress and backwardness when looking for change? How did this relate to the Habsburg Empire? These temporal aspects will constitute the main focus of the next chapter.

⁶⁵⁴ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 314.

Chapter 5 Full Speed into the Future

Lecturing architects in 1967, Michel Foucault elaborated on a profound difference between the nineteenth and the twentieth century. He speculated that the latter “will perhaps be above all the epoch of space”⁶⁵⁵ and unknowingly provided lines not to be missed by any reader on the ‘spatial turn.’⁶⁵⁶ His thoughts about the former period, however, have received less attention: “The great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history: with its themes of development and of suspension, of crisis, and cycle, themes of the ever-accumulating past, with its great preponderance of dead men and the menacing glaciation of the world.”⁶⁵⁷ Perhaps, the reason lies in the presentation of his ideas as a truism, a presupposition rather than an observation. But is there certainty about the nineteenth-century relationship to time and space? Centuries ago Augustine wrote about time: “If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks me, I do not know.”⁶⁵⁸ This often-cited sentence succinctly summarises the ambiguity of time – it is a physical reality, identical for everyone, and yet it is also an everyday experience, varying not only in different societies but also on an individual level.⁶⁵⁹

This is even more relevant in the context of this study, since the common associations of the ‘West’ and the ‘East’ with progress and civilisation or backwardness and barbarism, respectively, do not only have a political dimension, as shown in the preceding chapter, but also a temporal one. As will be discussed on the following pages, backwardness implicitly implies lagging behind, being back in time. Anthropologist Johannes Fabian criticised his discipline for not studying and observing the ‘primitive’; it rather studied and observed “*in terms of*

⁶⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, *Diacritics*, 16 (1986), p. 22.

⁶⁵⁶ E.g. Jörg Döring and Tristan Thielmann, ‘Einleitung: Was lesen wir im Raume? Der Spatial Turn und das geheime Wissen der Geographen’ in Jörg Döring and Tristan Thielmann (eds.), *Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften* (Bielefeld, 2009), p. 9.

⁶⁵⁷ Foucault, ‘Other Spaces’, p. 22.

⁶⁵⁸ Augustine, *Confessions and Enchiridion*, newly translated and edited by Albert C. Outler (London, 1955), p. 254.

⁶⁵⁹ Achim Landwehr, ‘Alte Zeiten, Neue Zeiten: Aussichten auf die Zeit-Geschichte’ in Achim Landwehr (ed.), *Frühe Neue Zeiten: Zeitwissen zwischen Reformation und Revolution* (Bielefeld, 2012), p. 18.

the primitive,” whereas ‘primitive’ is a temporal concept.⁶⁶⁰ The object of study was dissolved from the observer’s own temporality and coevalness denied. Thus, it became possible to observe mankind in an earlier stage, which also signified being in a more backward state.

Of course, such temporal relations are not unidirectional. They can point to the past, as a term like ‘primitive’ does, but can also refer to the future. One possible definition of the term ‘civilisation’ the *Oxford English Dictionary* provides is: “The state or condition of being civilized; human cultural, social, and intellectual development when considered to be advanced and progressive in nature.”⁶⁶¹ Therefore, civilisation also incorporates a temporal relationship. While its main concern is the future, it also allows for glancing back at the past.

In a key passage to the introduction of *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Larry Wolff argued:

It was also the Enlightenment, with its intellectual centers in Western Europe, that cultivated and appropriated to itself the new notion of “civilization,”...[and] discovered its complement, within the same continent, in shadowed lands of backwardness, even barbarism. Such was the invention of Eastern Europe.⁶⁶²

If the dichotomy of civilisation and backwardness is comprehended in its temporal dimension, it transforms into the contrast between future and past. The question is thus if nineteenth-century travellers to the Habsburg Empire utilised such a spatial-temporal characterisation as Larry Wolff suggested and located backwardness in the eastern rather than in its western parts.

Given the nature of the sources analysed in this study, the relationship between text and time is key to understanding the travellers’ conception of time. In an essay first published in 1975 on the novel as a literary genre, Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin proposed the concept chronotope, which he defined as “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are

⁶⁶⁰ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York, 1983), pp. 17-18. Italics in original.

⁶⁶¹ Oxford English Dictionary Online, ‘Civilization’, 11.2010, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33584?redirectedFrom=civilization#eid>[20/01/17].

artistically expressed in literature.”⁶⁶³ Although the text was translated into English in 1981 and German a few years later, the concept only gained recognition in recent years.⁶⁶⁴ At closer examination it becomes evident that Bakhtin sought to understand a society’s perception of time as expressed in text. Therefore, he differentiated between an “exterior real-life chronotope” and an “internal [literary] chronotope.”⁶⁶⁵ The former represents the relationship of time and space by contemporaries, while the latter is this observation’s transformation into literature.⁶⁶⁶ Nonetheless, an infinite number of chronotopes are found within each text, thus simultaneously establishing different genres, including travel writing, and thus allowing for the generation of a comprehensive typology. Since, however, the reader of a historical text perceives time differently than the author, it is impossible to get a straight, unobstructed glimpse into the perception of time by historical societies, but only a relative one.

In order to illustrate how Bakhtin applied his concept it is important to have a closer look at one of his analyses.⁶⁶⁷ Chronologically, his starting point is the Greek adventure novel, in particular *Leucippe and Clitophon* authored by Achilles Tatius most probably in the early second century AD. According to Bakhtin, this genre was based on an almost standardised plot: A boy and girl fall deeply in love but are not allowed to marry due to several obstacles, such as their parents’ disapproval. After they are forcefully separated, a number of adventures take them to different places but eventually they are reunited and allowed to marry. Bakhtin identified two different forms of time: On the one hand, the heroes’ biographic time. Boy and girl are described as adolescents. Yet, they remain at the same age throughout the story, which must have taken up a considerable amount of time. This contrasts with Voltaire’s *Candide*. Although based on the same plot it ages

⁶⁶² Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, p. 4.

⁶⁶³ Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays edited by Michael Holquist; translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, 1981)*, p. 84.

⁶⁶⁴ Michael C. Frank and Kirsten Mahlke, ‘Nachwort’, in Michail Bachtin, *Chronotopos*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 2014), p. 203. Frank and Mahlke explicitly state: “Die vorliegende Neuauflage...möchte...zugleich die Aufmerksamkeit auf das in ihm [in this publication] entwickelte, zentrale Konzept des Chronotopos lenken.” *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁶⁶⁵ Bakhtin, *Imagination*, p. 131. Frank and Mahlke, ‘Nachwort’, p. 205.

⁶⁶⁶ Frank and Mahlke therefore emphasise its proximity to the concept of Cultural Memory. Frank and Mahlke, ‘Nachwort’, p. 205.

⁶⁶⁷ The following summary is based on Bakhtin, *Imagination*, pp. 86-110.

its heroes considerably by the time they are finally reunited.⁶⁶⁸ On the other hand, there is the ‘adventure time’ – the timespan between separation and reunification – in which days, even minutes, are of consequence, and contingency plays a key role for the heroes’ safety, such as timely warnings or random encounters with friends. By way of analysing these different relationships to time, Bakhtin extrapolated the underlying portrayal of the individual, which he found as “nothing other than completely *passive*, completely *unchanging*.”⁶⁶⁹ Thus, the different chronotopes employed within texts unearth a deeper understanding of time within a given society. It remains an open question how far one must guard against overinterpretation, since only very few of these ancient texts survived. Yet, if approached with a degree of critical reflection, chronotope does allow understanding the relationship of time and text.

Bakhtin’s main concern was the novel, but the concept can be applied to other types of literature such as travelogues. Although chronotope is a complex, sometimes even contradictory concept, it “describes ways of appropriating historical time, space and actors which are poured into many variations of explanatory and interpretative narratives.”⁶⁷⁰ Applying it to travelogues thus allows for observing and understanding how travellers used and perceived time. Therefore, the main focus of this chapter is on the chronotopes utilised by travellers to the Habsburg Empire. Are there notable differences in descriptions of its eastern and western parts that would justify a differentiation as Wolff suggested? How did travellers reflect on the past and the future? How did they react to novel technologies?

This chapter is organised along three major lines. First, the relationship between technological change and time is the focus. This is followed by an analysis of representations of the past and the future by travellers. Finally, the Danube steamer is analysed as a symbol of progress and the future, and embedded in general reflections of different perceptions of time.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 105. Italics in original.

⁶⁷⁰ Hagen Schulz-Forberg, ‘The Spatial and Temporal Layers of Global History: A Reflection on Global Conceptual History through Expanding Reinhart Koselleck’s „Zeitschichten“ into Global Spaces’, *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 38 (2013), p. 45. He links the

5.1 Technological Change and the Perception of Time

Over the last century, our understanding of time at the physical and social levels has changed considerably. On the one hand, the implications of the relativity theory shattered Newtonian mechanics in which time was considered an invariable, *a priori* condition. Instead, it became clear that time varied according to motion and position.⁶⁷¹ On the other hand, social factors in the perception of time have been more clearly examined. The effects of the differentiation between leisure and work time and the spreading of mechanical clocks are examples of that.⁶⁷²

A key factor in explaining the modified understanding of social time is found in technological change. In particular the new steam-based transportation technologies are often considered crucial. Journey times were reduced immensely, although, as will be argued later, not evenly everywhere. The term ‘time-space compression’ captures the impression of a shrinking world due to decreasing travelling times. David Harvey defined the term as “processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter...how we represent the world to ourselves”⁶⁷³ and thus stressed its ‘revolutionary’ qualities.

The main lines of this argument run as follows.⁶⁷⁴ The rift between modern and pre-modern perspectives on space is placed in the Renaissance, when maps

concept chronotope with Koselleck’s *Zeitschichten* and uses the term *uchronotopia* for the “normative horizons towards which history should develop” found within historical narratives.

⁶⁷¹ It must be noted, however, that already in the sixteenth century thinkers like Vico formulated alternatives. Therefore, historians of philosophy differentiate between “empty time” (time as an *a priori* condition as in Kant’s writings) and “incarnated time” (a multitude of different times as found in Herder). Both strands existed simultaneously. Harry Jansen, ‘In Search of new Times: Temporality in the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment’, *History and Theory*, 55 (2016), pp. 76-78. Lucian Hölscher, ‘Time Gardens: Historical Concepts in Modern Historiography’, *History and Theory*, 53 (2014), pp. 582, 584-585. On the differentiation between Newtonian and Einsteinian concepts of time see Hölscher, ‘Time Gardens’, pp. 590-591.

⁶⁷² Rudy Koshar, ‘Seeing, Traveling, and Consuming: An Introduction’, in Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford and New York, 2002), pp. 1-7. Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time, 1870-1950* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 11-12.

⁶⁷³ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge and Oxford, 1990), p. 240.

⁶⁷⁴ The following condensed overview is based on *Ibid.*, pp. 240-307. Scott Kirsch, ‘The Incredible Shrinking World? Technology and the Production of Spaces’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Spaces*, 13 (1995), pp. 529-555. Jon May and Nigel Thrift, ‘Introduction’, in Jon May and Nigel Thrift (eds.), *TimeSpace: Geographies of Temporality* (London and New York, 2001), pp. 6-10.

became based on the rules of perspective and the first mechanical clocks helped to create a new understanding of time. During the Enlightenment era these ideas and tools were refined, but only since the mid-nineteenth century has the relationship between space and time altered radically. Technological innovations, especially the increased speed of transport, enabled goods and people to be transported over increasing space in less time. Harvey singled out capitalism as this development's main driver because the 'shrinking' of space simultaneously meant the opening of new markets. The underlying argument is that everyone on the globe would share the impression of an ever-shrinking world and an ever-accelerating time. Moreover, 'time-space compression' is not interpreted as an historical phenomenon but one that extends to today, as suggested by metaphors such as McLuhan's 'global village.'

Recent research increasingly emphasises diverse empirical findings, thus challenging this, admittedly simplified, view, by stressing nuances and disruptions.⁶⁷⁵ This has led geographers Jon May and Nigel Thrift to criticise 'time-space compression' for failing "to consider the extent to which the experience of any such changes differed for different people – according in part to *where* a person lived...as well as to a person's social position."⁶⁷⁶ Examining the development of transportation infrastructure within the Habsburg Empire helps to spot similar weak points.

The development of novel technologies is only a first step and does not necessarily have an immediate, radical impact. The 'simple' improvement of roads might have had a more profound impact on everyday life than the introduction of railroads and steamships.⁶⁷⁷ This interpretation is not only supported by historians of transportation but also by the observations of

⁶⁷⁵ Osterhammel emphasises that the 'net metaphor' highlights connections rather than missing links and that each net has its holes. Osterhammel, *Verwandlung*, 2nd ed., pp. 1010-1017. Stein argues, that, although changes may appear rapid they were "experienced as an incremental process, the effect of cumulative changes observable over a period of years." Jeremy Stein, 'Reflections on Time, Time-Space Compression and Technology in the Nineteenth Century', in Jon May and Nigel Thrift, *TimeSpace: Geographies of Temporality* (London and New York, 2001), p. 113.

⁶⁷⁶ May and Thrift, 'Introduction', p. 12. Italics in original.

⁶⁷⁷ Weber argued, based on the French example, that only in the late 1870s was the building of local roads intensified and its unifying, homogeneous effects were added by the large-scale efforts to construct railways. Weber, *Peasants*, pp. 196, 203-204, 219-220.

contemporaries. A German traveller, for instance, mused on board a Danube steamer in 1840: “Mit den ersten Kunststraßen wurde die Bahn gebrochen; man überzeugte sich bald, daß ein schnelles und sicheres Fortkommen nur auf guten Chausseen erzielt werden könne.”⁶⁷⁸

Of course, the introduction of steam-powered railroads and ships brought changes, but it is far from certain that they were perceived as sudden or revolutionary. The introduction of steamers on the Danube is a case in point. The river’s topographic features affected their predictability and regularity. Passenger service came to a halt in each winter season until 1889.⁶⁷⁹ The Danube’s shallow waters and numerous sandbanks sometimes caused lengthy delays. Judging from numerous travellers’ remarks, running aground on a sandbank was a rather frequent occurrence.⁶⁸⁰ In 1834, one British observer wrote about the steamer’s captain, an Englishman himself, “[t]hough he had gone up and down several times, he knew no more of the caprices of the sandbanks than he did of the bed of the yellow sea.”⁶⁸¹ Another even claimed that in 1839 a steamer got stuck near Belgrade for four days.⁶⁸²

Thus, it was far from certain whether this technology would succeed. One German observer argued in 1832, two years after the first steamer was launched, “die Dampfschiffahrt sei theurer als die bisherige, und die Mehrzahl der Passagiere werde immer die Landreise vorziehen” and added that its main advantage, speed, was hardly of importance for the projected main source of income – merchants, since “[ihnen] liege wenig daran, ob die Waaren dahinunter ein paar Tage länger unterwegs [sic] sind.”⁶⁸³

⁶⁷⁸ Von Haacke, *Erinnerungen*, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁹ Wiener Zeitung, 31.10.1889, p. 6, [http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18891031&seite=6\[23/01/17\]](http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18891031&seite=6[23/01/17]).

⁶⁸⁰ [Vane], *Narrative*, pp. 64-65, 79. Johann Georg Kohl, *Die Donau von ihrem Ursprunge bis Pesth* (Trieste, 1854), p. 236.

⁶⁸¹ Quin, *Steam Voyage*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 11.

⁶⁸² Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. II, p. 382.

⁶⁸³ Von Pirch, *Caragoli*, Vol. I, p. 9. Similar about attempts on the Bavarian section of the Danube see Franz Xaver Weilmeyr, *Donau-Reise durch Bayern und Österreich, nämlich von Ulm bis Wien. Mit geographischen, statistischen und historischen Notizen, auch Legenden und Märchen aller an der Donau, oder ferne liegenden Ortschaften, Berge und Gegenden sowohl, als der mit derselben sich vereinigenen Flüße und Bäche* (Regensburg, 1829), p. 13.

Finally, obstacles such as the Iron Gate were impassable by steamers until the construction of a canal, inaugurated in September 1896.⁶⁸⁴ Before then passengers had to disembark at Drenkova [Drencova, Romania], circumnavigate the barrier either by coach or on small boats, and embark on another steamer that carried them further on to Skela-Cladova [Kladovo, Serbia], about 100 kilometres downriver.

Moreover, substantial differences in transport services persisted. In the Habsburg Empire, Dalmatia's hinterland was perhaps the most isolated region.⁶⁸⁵ Figure 6 is a so-called isochrone map that visualises the time needed to travel to a particular destination. Areas in dark red took two hours or less, whereas areas in purple took the longest, up to 32 hours – based on railway times in 1912. The map reveals that even more than half a century after the construction of the first railroads in the Habsburg Empire, Dalmatia was not even reachable by train from Vienna. However, it took about the same time to arrive from Vienna in the regional centres of Lemberg [Lviv, Ukraine], Klausenburg [Cluj-Napoca, Romania] or Innsbruck – cities much less connected today.

Jeremy Stein raised a highly relevant question for this study: “Is it right to assume that the experiences of time and space documented by privileged travellers were equally felt by the general population, or that the rapidity of change was the same for everyone?”⁶⁸⁶ As outlined in chapter two the sociocultural background of the travellers was similar and they were, with few exceptions, drawn from the middle strata of society. Thus it is important to note that representation of time in their accounts refers to this particular group only. Therefore, generalisations need thorough analysis and must consider this factor carefully.

⁶⁸⁴ Neue Freie Presse, 28.09.1896, p. 2, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=nfp&datum=18960928&seite=2>[20/01/17].

⁶⁸⁵ See also Chapter 2.

⁶⁸⁶ Stein, ‘Reflections’, p. 107.

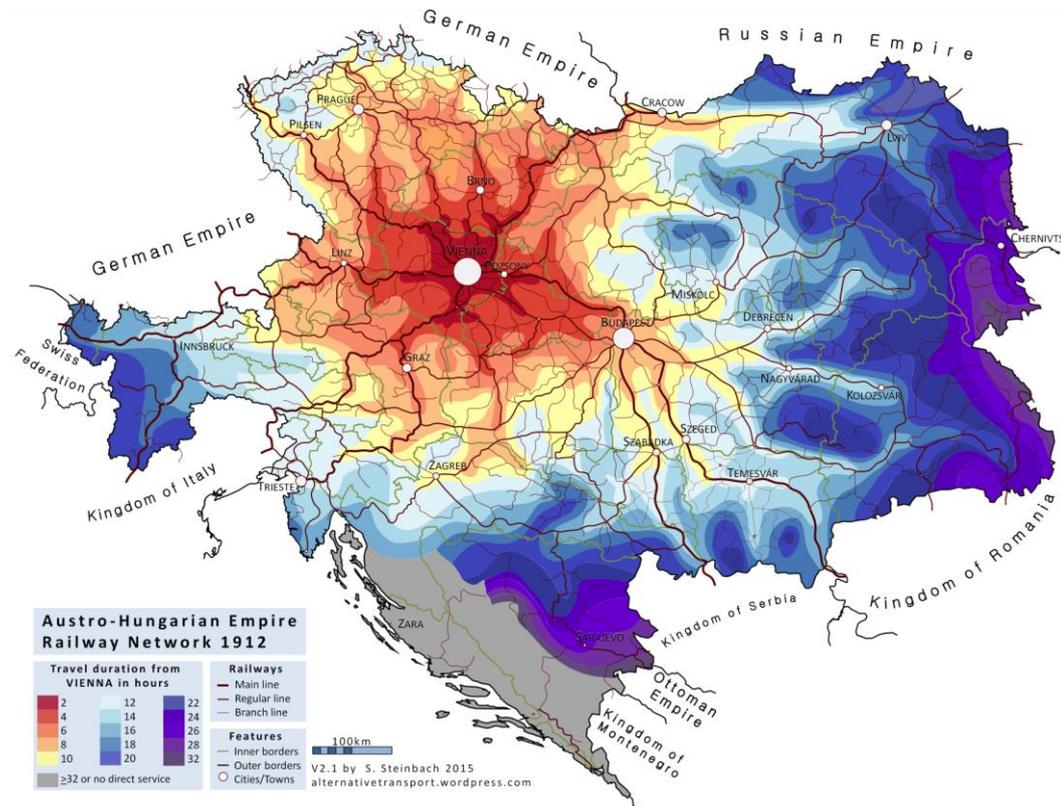


Figure 6 Isochrone Map of Railway Times from Vienna (Based on Data and Boundaries of 1912)

Source: Original map created by Albrecht Penck in 1912; digitised and updated by Ing. Stephan Steinbach in 2015. Austro-Hungarian Empire Railway Network 1912, V2.1, 2015, <https://alternativetransport.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/austro-hungarian-empire-railway-network-1912-2-1-smallmid-size.png>[21/12/16].

The outlined observations stress the restraints of the concept ‘time-space-compression.’ It was not a uniform process but affected different geographic regions and social groups at different times.

Thus, Jon May and Nigel Thrift proposed the concept TimeSpace. Based on four interrelated domains, it allows for the integration of such nuances. The first domain concerns “timetables and rhythms set according to the inter-relations of Time and Space in the natural universe,” for instance the seasons or the body’s rhythm. The second domain is “shaped by and enacted through various systems of social discipline – be they broadly secular or religious.” This concerns the differentiation between work and leisure, or sacred times according to social norms. The third incorporates “our relationships with a variety of instruments and

devices,” the clock being the obvious example. Finally, “a sense of time emerges in relation to various texts that may be more properly understood as vehicles of translation (attempts to render social meaning from new conceptualisations of Time self),” exemplified by the Book of Hours. The latter dimension in particular represents a potential link to Bakhtin’s chronotope, since in his view chronotopes within texts are shaped by any contemporary society’s portrayal of the individual. In conclusion “[a] sense of social time is made and re-made according to social practices operating within and across each of these [four] domains,” which leads to “a radical unevenness in the nature and quality of social time itself, with this spatial variation a constitutive part rather than an added dimension of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of social time.”⁶⁸⁷ Therefore, TimeSpace stands in singular as it allows the incorporation of different, interconnected dimensions of time dissembling hierarchies as well as the teleology inherent to ‘time-space compression.’

Despite these reservations it is nevertheless hardly doubtful that a novel perception of the relationship between space and time developed during the nineteenth century, since the introduction of steam-powered locomotives and boats meant that “[m]otion is no longer dependent on the conditions of natural space, but on a mechanical power that creates its own new spatiality.”⁶⁸⁸

In his influential study on the railway journey Wolfgang Schivelbusch further emphasised that the shift from natural to mechanical power led to a resetting of attitudes and perceptions. Not only the pace of travelling changed but also its rhythm. “[T]he railroad,” Schivelbusch argued, “does not appear embedded in the space of the landscape the way coach and highway [sic] are, but seems to strike its way through it.”⁶⁸⁹ Thanks to the railroad, travellers no longer felt the harshness of roads. But this also meant that landscapes were greatly altered by the construction of viaducts and railway lines. Rapidity led to a shifting perception of landscape, making the panoramic vision dominant.⁶⁹⁰ This, in turn, influenced the experience of time in the novel means of transportation. While the crossed space

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁸ Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, p. 13.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-65.

between the beginning and the end of the railway journey was vanishing, the time spent on trains, at least for those not accustomed to this mode of transport, became boring, since it was no longer possible to experience the landscape in the same way as in a much slower coach.⁶⁹¹

If the emphasis shifts from an historical analysis of technological innovations to the analysis of perceptions of time, another important aspect becomes evident: historicity. Embodied in concepts such as Aleida Assmann's *Zeitregime der Moderne*⁶⁹² or François Hartog's *Regimes d'Historicité*⁶⁹³ is the idea that understandings of the past and expectations of the future are susceptible to change. What is regarded as history and what is expected from the future is socially constructed and, as the concept of TimeSpace reminds us, must not be uniform but can exist in multitudes depending on geography and social status. Thinking of the past as progressive and teleological is but one variant. But, and this will become clearer throughout the following pages, it was the dominant form for mid-nineteenth century travellers to the Habsburg Empire.

5.2 Past and Future

Johannes Fabian reminded us that travelling played a crucial role in the formation of the (western) European perception of time. In the Enlightenment era, when travelling gained almost scientific status and tremendous efforts were undertaken to chart the last unexplored territories, encountering another space could also imply encountering another time.⁶⁹⁴ In 1801, French philosopher Joseph Marie Degérando thus argued: "The philosophical traveller, sailing to the ends of the earth, is in fact travelling in time; he is exploring the past; every step he makes is the passage of an age."⁶⁹⁵ Reinhart Koselleck made a similar observation: "The geographical opening up of the globe brought to light various but coexisting

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 61.

⁶⁹² Aleida Assmann, *Ist die Zeit aus den Fugen?: Aufstieg und Fall des Zeitregimes der Moderne* (Munich, 2013), pp. 131-206.

⁶⁹³ François Hartog, *Régimes d'Historicité: Présentisme et Expériences du Temps* ([Paris], 2003), pp. 26-30.

⁶⁹⁴ Hölscher stresses the striking similarities between historiography and geography in the eighteenth century, which "both aimed to measure the empirical world by defining the exact place of a fact within the universe of time and space." Hölscher, 'Time Gardens', p. 578.

⁶⁹⁵ Degérando cited in Fabian, *Time*, p. 7.

cultural levels which were, through the process of synchronous comparison, then ordered diachronically.”⁶⁹⁶ This view of Enlightenment thinkers was based on a conception of time in stages as Harry Jansen recently outlined: “The new historical beliefs were universal in character, with stages of progress ending in Europe in the eighteenth century.”⁶⁹⁷ In that era, visiting people in an allegedly backward state meant travelling back in time and thus offering a look into the past, while entering countries perceived as more advanced equalled a journey into the future. The latter was reserved for the United States or Britain, in particular London.⁶⁹⁸ This, however, implies a hierarchy based on comparison, in which backwardness signifies the past, while progress stands for the future.⁶⁹⁹ Koselleck termed the process of determining the proper place on this scale ‘progressive comparison’, which was “drawn from the fact that individual peoples or states, parts of the earth, sciences, *Stände*, or classes were found to be in advance of the others.”⁷⁰⁰ Backwardness and progress are thus understood as chronotopes expressing temporal, comparative relationships.

The application of evolutionary theory to society and the scientific acceptance of earth’s advanced age corroborated this view in the nineteenth century. According to Fabian this led to ‘evolutionary Time’,⁷⁰¹

promot[ing] a scheme in terms of which not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of Time - some upstream, others downstream. Civilization, evolution, development, acculturation, modernization (and their cousins, industrialization, urbanization) are all terms whose conceptual

⁶⁹⁶ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, p. 238.

⁶⁹⁷ Jansen, ‘New times’, pp. 70-72. Here p. 70.

⁶⁹⁸ Alexander Schmidt, *Reisen in die Moderne: Der Amerika-Diskurs des deutschen Bürgertums vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg im europäischen Vergleich* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 275-279. Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, pp. 165-167, 187-191, 372. According to Schulz-Forberg London lost the status of the ‘city of the future’ in the early-twentieth century to New York. Thus, Brits could look to the United States and see the future there as even a very sceptical Wells conceded in the last pages of his 1906 travelogue. H. G. Wells, *The Future in America: A Search After Realities* (First published 1906; London, 1987), pp. 190-194.

⁶⁹⁹ Jansen, ‘New Times’, p. 70. He highlights in particular Condorcet’s stage theory.

⁷⁰⁰ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, p. 238. Italics in original.

⁷⁰¹ May and Thrift argue that geological thought of the nineteenth century, implying that the Earth is much older than previously thought, meant an ‘expansion’ of time ‘time-space compression’ is unable to explain. May and Thrift, ‘Introduction’, p. 12.

content derives, in ways that can be specified, from evolutionary Time.⁷⁰²

The temporal hierarchy embodied in a term like ‘savage’ is evident. It no longer denoted an objective quality but rather a temporal relationship. In Fabian’s words: “What makes the savage significant to the evolutionist’s Time is that he lives in another Time.”⁷⁰³ If Fabian is correct, the shift to thinking in terms of ‘evolutionary Time’ dates to the second third of the nineteenth century,⁷⁰⁴ a time when the western parts of Europe generally displayed optimism and trust in the future, although some exceptions can be found as well.⁷⁰⁵

There is, however, another aspect to be taken into account. The hierarchical positioning is unstable; expressed in Fabian’s terms: there are temporal slopes. Thus, reaching the top does not mean occupying that place eternally. In 1866, for instance, William Gladstone, then Britain’s Chancellor of the Exchequer, warned about diminishing coal reserves and its consequences for Britain’s advanced position vis-à-vis the United States.⁷⁰⁶ As a consequence a feeling of transition, for good or bad, marked the perception of time.⁷⁰⁷ Although Gladstone refused to date the depletion of the British coal deposits, he nevertheless emphasised that the ‘coal era’ was transitory and would come to a close at some point in the future. The pace of transition was not necessarily stable. Perceptions of acceleration, in particular during revolutionary times, and periods of stagnancy alternated.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰² Fabian, *Time*, p. 17.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷⁰⁴ Thus roughly coinciding with the end of the *Sattelzeit* dated around 1850.

⁷⁰⁵ Malthus theory of population expansion is a case in point. Yet, in his preface he claims that he did not anticipate the pessimistic results. Lucian Hölscher, *Entdeckung der Zukunft* (Frankfurt/Main, 1999), pp. 56-64 in particular p. 64.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘The Budget-Financial Statement’, *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, Third Series: Commencing with the Accession of William IV*, 183 (London, 1866), pp. 397-401. I am indebted to Prof Donald Sassoon, who mentioned this fact during a paper entitled “Civilization and the Unleashing of Anxieties: Europe and Asia” delivered at the Modern History Research Seminar at the University of St Andrews on 27/10/2016.

⁷⁰⁷ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, p. 241. Based mainly on French examples Göran Blix, ‘Charting the “Transitional Period”: The Emergence of Modern Time in the Nineteenth Century’, *History and Theory*, 45 (2006), pp. 52-55, 61-64.

⁷⁰⁸ Ernst Wolfgang Becker, *Zeit der Revolution! – Revolution der Zeit?: Zeiterfahrungen in Deutschland in der Ära der Revolutionen 1789-1848/49* (Göttingen, 1999), pp. 364-366.

The following sections take up the thread outlined above. The guiding question is where travellers classified the Habsburg Empire on the hierarchical scale of progress. For them, as noted above, it certainly was not a trip to the future. Nonetheless, it is unclear where the past was encountered – in the entire country or only in specific regions? Are there discernible differences between the eastern and western parts? But the past is only half the story. Did these travellers find signs of progress? By identifying the chronotopes employed in the travelogues, it is possible to engage with these questions further.

In 1820, Mariana Starke's *Travels on the Continent*, a thoroughly revised fourth edition of her earlier *Letters from Italy*, was published.⁷⁰⁹ Based on her travel experiences on the Apennine peninsula between 1792 and 1798 as well as 1817 and 1819, this oeuvre was specifically designed as a guidebook.⁷¹⁰ Trying to deliver the full picture, she also described routes across the Alps, thus incorporating a few remarks on regions outside of Italy. In a curious section she described the route from Pontebba [Italy], at the time a border town between the crownlands of Venetia and Carinthia, to Vienna, as follows: "The passing through this part of Germany seems like living some hundred years ago in England; as the dresses, customs, and manners, of the people precisely resemble those of our ancestors."⁷¹¹ These lines do not only strikingly echo those written by Joseph Marie Degérando, cited above; they are also without precedent in her text.⁷¹² This is all the more surprising, since she was editing a guidebook and must have visited rather remote regions of Italy. Why was it possible for travellers to regard a more remote, but certainly not the remotest corner of Europe, as a century old effigy?

Mariana Starke's description is of course not the only instance in which travellers to the Habsburg Empire fancied themselves in another time. In fact, such remarks can be found across the first half of the nineteenth century and in accounts by British and German travellers.

⁷⁰⁹ Withey, *Grand Tours*, p. 69.

⁷¹⁰ Starke, *Travels*, pp. v-vi.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

⁷¹² The only section somewhat exhibiting resemblances is on the excavations at Pompeii, where she drew parallels between the 'Ancients' and the modern inhabitants. But this section is much less pronounced and selective. *Ibid.*, p. 479. Surprisingly, Boner likened Transylvania to a living Pompeii, Charles Boner, *Transylvania: Its Products and its People* (London, 1865), pp. 222-223.

Walter White, an attendant in the Royal Society library who was later promoted to the post of assistant secretary, regularly published on his tours undertaken during his one-month-long summer vacation. While in 1855 he visited Tyrol; a year later he spent his vacation in Bohemia. In both travelogues a number of remarks suggest an understanding of travel as experiencing the past. In Neustraschitz [Nové Strašecí, Czech Republic], a little town about 50 kilometres from Prague, he described a peasant's dwelling by citing Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England*, first published in 1662.⁷¹³ In the account of his Tyrolean adventures, he justified the choice of the destination by remarking: “[I]n the heart of the Continent there is much to be seen that sets actually, before our eyes the olden time of England, such as we read of in the pages of historians and story-tellers.”⁷¹⁴ After touring Vorarlberg, at the time the western-most region of Tyrol, he concluded: “For those who study history as a science the Vorarlberg is a singularly, interesting country, from the diversity of races and of tongue yet discoverable within its border.”⁷¹⁵ Thus, even in the 1850s some authors still linked the field of historical research to travel, which represented a device to observe, if not to experience the past.

Yet, similar reasoning is also apparent in accounts of German travellers. Wilhelm Richter, for instance, who published on Hungary in 1844, described the *Puszta*, the Great Hungarian Plain, as the place, “wo wir noch den Ungarn so wieder finden, wie ihn schon vor hundert Jahren in seinen nationellen Gebräuchen Schriftsteller geschildert haben.”⁷¹⁶ In 1839, the Swiss Catholic cleric Friedrich Hurter spent a night in the small town of Amstetten, situated near the Danube in Lower Austria. He was woken by the night watchman's morning cry, which contained references to the Holy Trinity and found this,

ebenfalls ein Ueberbleibsel jener Zeit, in welcher die Faden des individuellen wie des häuslichen Daseyns, des Gemeinde- wie des Staatslebens, noch von dem Christenthum, als von goldener Spindel, sich abwickelten, oder dieses als goldener Zwirn durch das Große wie durch das Kleine, durch Alltägliches wie durch

⁷¹³ White, *July Holiday*, pp. 103-104.

⁷¹⁴ White, *On Foot*, p. 2.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40. Similar pp. 89, 201. On Transylvania, Boner, *Transylvania*, p. 126.

⁷¹⁶ Richter, *Wanderungen*, p. 160.

Aussergewöhnliches, durch Raum und Zeit sich durchschlang, und es noch niemand zu Sinn kommen konnte, über christliche Alterthümer zu schreiben, ein Zweig der Wissenschaften, welcher wahrscheinlich immer mehr sich ausbilden wird.⁷¹⁷

But these examples also show the enormous breadth time-space relations can take on. While Hurter's reflections were clearly marked by a Catholic-Christian sense of loss, White interpreted his observations almost as a scientific framework for historical research.

An exceptional section is found in Wolfgang Menzel's *Reise nach Oesterreich*, published in 1832. As seen in the preceding chapter, Menzel was one of the few authors who saw a clear rift between the constitutional 'West' and the absolute 'East.' It is thus even more surprising to see how he linked both spatial conceptions to time. Rather unsurprising for a supporter of constitutionalism, the observation of serfdom in the eastern parts of the realm signalled for him the past: "[L]ängst verschwundenen Jahrhunderte der Barbarei treten uns wieder so unmittelbar in die Gegenwart."⁷¹⁸ But he linked this remark to a "verwandte Erscheinung im europäischen Westen."⁷¹⁹ What he meant by that were the "Proletaires," the serfs of commerce, as he called them. He thus created a tie between Eastern and Western Europe:

Im Osten Europas leben Millionen Menschen als Sklaven in der strengsten Bedeutung dieses Worts, und im Westen leben andere Millionen, die trotz ihrer politischen Freiheit sich beinahe in einer eben so schlimmen Lage befinden, indem die durch Uebervölkerung erzeugte Armuth sie hindert, von ihren politischen Rechten einen Genuß zu ziehen.⁷²⁰

In spite of the spatial link, a fundamental temporal difference remained. In his reasoning, the Western European situation shows nothing less than the future of the Eastern European serfs. "Des Ostens künftige Geschichte ist vielleicht und wahrscheinlich in der des Westens schon vorgespiegelt," he argued. In other words, Eastern Europe represented the past, Western Europe the future. Menzel

⁷¹⁷ Hurter, *Ausflug*, Vol. II, p. 305. Similar regarding a sense of loss Zarbl, *Erinnerungen*, p. 2.

⁷¹⁸ Menzel, *Reise*, p. 136.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

went on employing Malthusian ideas of overpopulation as the source of the workers' miseries, and cited the ideas of Henri de Saint-Simon as possible solutions.⁷²¹ Improving the lot of the "Proletaires" meant automatically improving the lot of their Eastern European brethren, since this was their next stage. Western Europe's future was also Eastern Europe's only temporally delayed.

Further questions arise, based on these findings. Firstly, where was the past 'found' and, secondly, what explanations were offered for the backwardness? If carefully examined, it becomes evident that 'time travel' was predominantly placed in rural districts. Observing the rural population, particularly in the mountainous regions, formed the base on which conclusions about the past were drawn. Mariana Starke, for instance, specifically highlighted "dresses, customs, and manners." Walter White similarly evoked Fuller after describing a peasant's habitation.

This fits well with more general observations about changing perceptions of nature in that era. For instance, the concept of the climatic spa was developed in the Alps in the 1860s. Historian Alison F. Frank argued that "[t]he belief in the power of the mountains to reinvigorate was furthermore connected to a newly dominant essentialization of people who lived in the mountains as fundamentally healthy."⁷²² This was a rather profound shift since hitherto mountaineers had been associated with filth, sickness and deformations.⁷²³ The change of perception did not solely pertain to foreigners, but also to Habsburg elites. Archduke Johann of Habsburg wrote in 1850: "Our Alps have what I need, they have an unspoiled people, may God preserve them."⁷²⁴ Being unspoiled also meant being pristine, untouched, in an original state – or in other words living in the past. It is the same

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁷²¹ For a brief yet profound overview of Saint-Simon's economic ideas see Riccardo Faucci and Antonella Rancan, 'Transforming the Economy: Saint-Simon and his Influence on Mazzini', *History of Economic Ideas*, 17 (2009), pp. 79-86.

⁷²² Alison Frank, 'The Air Cure Town: Commodifying Mountain Air in Alpine Central Europe', *Central European History*, 45 (2012), p. 193.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, p. 194. In some travelogues this transition becomes evident. Hermann Scherer, for instance, described the Tyrolese as "hohe kräftige Figuren...[mit] der klassischen Gesichtsbildung." Yet a few pages later he described them as "elende Jammergestalten...mit dem apathischen Ausdruck der Kretins." Scherer, *Oestreich*, pp. 18, 35.

⁷²⁴ Archduke Johann cited in Frank, 'Air Cure Town', p. 195. See also Jelavich, *Modern Austria*, p. 32. Karl Vocelka, *Geschichte Österreichs: Kultur-Gesellschaft-Politik*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 2002), p. 194.

chronotope that appears in these early nineteenth-century writings analysed above. ‘Travel back in time’ was not an attribute exclusive to the Habsburg’s Eastern dominions. It was the countryside that incited these associations, thus helping to explain why rural and particularly mountainous regions allowed a glimpse into the past.

There was, however, another explanation; one that took into account the entirety of the Empire and focused on its political state. Charles William Vane, third Marquess of Londonderry, British ambassador to Vienna between 1814 and 1822, wrote in his travelogue published in 1842: “In no state is the horror of change so remarkable as in Austria, she partakes not with the times we live in, she partakes not of the irresistible movements that agitate other nations.”⁷²⁵ Since he was a supporter of the conservative cause, this was not necessarily a negative characteristic for him, claiming that “quietude [is] her [Austria’s] real strength.”⁷²⁶ This nevertheless shows that the Habsburg Empire could be comprehended as if within a time capsule, untouched by outside developments. Other contemporaries, however, saw an untenable situation and linked the “horror of change” to an uncertain future. Willibald Alexis argued in 1833: “Ueber Oestreichs Zukunft schwebt ein dunkler Schleier...Bleiben, wie es ist, kann es nicht...eine kleine Reparatur könnte einen großen Riß verursachen. Aber einmal, wenn nicht Stürme von Außen Alles zertrümmern, muß an die Reform gegangen werden.”⁷²⁷ He outlined possible hazards by explicitly referring to the British Reform Act of 1832. Condensed within these few lines is a fundamental consequence of ‘progressive comparisons’: escape is futile, atemporality not an option and progress inevitable.

The mentioned authors provide evidence that visiting the Habsburg Empire allowed for an experience of an otherwise lost past. It needs to be stressed, however, that this chronotope was tied to particular spaces (mountains, countryside). Although the findings could underpin the argument of its

⁷²⁵ Vane, *Steam Voyage*, Vol. I, p. 358.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 69. Von Strombeck took a remarkably similar stance. Von Strombeck, *Darstellungen*, p. 238.

⁷²⁷ Alexis, *Wiener Bilder*, p. 410.

backwardness, such an interpretation needs careful consideration since only a minority of travellers followed that vein. More prevalent is a related, yet essentially different interpretation, in which the Empire was still placed in the past, yet not in a distant but very recent one, emphasising the near future. Instead of experiencing the past and hence backwardness, the signs of progress and thus future gained recognition.

In the preceding chapter, Peter Evan Turnbull's *Austria*, published in 1840, was analysed as an account that depicted the merits of the Habsburg Empire's political system. But there is another relevant aspect of his travelogue. It is perhaps the most outspoken piece of work on the Habsburg Empire that hailed and observed progress in almost any area. Turnbull made explicit what other writers only hinted at, making it an ideal starting point to engage with conceptions of progress regarding the Habsburg Empire.

The second volume, in which Turnbull thematically arranged his gathered data and observations, begins by presenting statistics, background information on the internal, administrative delimitations and some general remarks about society. But after only about a dozen pages he writes "it will be my endeavour [sic] fairly to express the results of my own observations and impressions; and I shall rejoice should I have in any respect the means of throwing a true light on some points, wherein, as it appears to me, error has prevailed."⁷²⁸ The following seven pages set the traditional narrative against Turnbull's vision, apparently based on his own experiences. The former is a gloomy picture depicting a government with an active interest in keeping education low, even encouraging immorality to keep the inhabitants under tight control. The secret police maintains oppression and keeps the circulation of foreign books out of the state's boundaries. Quite to the contrary, Turnbull argued that "[i]n no country of Europe has national improvement in its most important branches gone on more steadily and decidedly during the last twenty years, than in the Austrian German Possessions." His different vision of the Habsburg Empire struck a completely different tone:

[W]here there is a general and elastic tendency to amelioration; where agriculture, manufactures, and national wealth advance; where

⁷²⁸ Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. II, p. 15.

the bulk of the people are contented and enjoying, thriving almost universally in worldly prosperity, save in localities which defy the labours of man; where education is held forth gratuitously to all; where the milder and gentler qualities of character abound; the poorer classes are honest and sober, and crimes of malignity and bloodshed are rarely heard of; where, finally, the Princes of the reigning family are regarded with a degree of personal affection unseen elsewhere in Europe; it seems difficult to suppose that the government is very defective in the discharge of its duties, or ill calculated for the well-being of the people.⁷²⁹

Although Turnbull reserved these observations for the “Austrian German Possessions” – he argued that there the government exerted more direct influence in contrast to the regions where the nobility maintained its grip – the impression of steady progress in a multitude of fields is evident. From increasing commerce to higher yields in agriculture, from the letter of the law to educational concerns; the narrative of cautious and thus slow, yet relentless improvements dominated his analysis. About the state of education, for instance, he argued:

The Austrian government proceeds on its usual principle in those parts where its sway is unrestricted, of seeking to improve the moral character by education, and by a mild and paternal (though absolute) administration; and if its aversion to violent changes may have rendered the progress of improvement not so rapid as may suit the impatience of certain philanthropists, its solidity and durability may on that very account be the more secure.⁷³⁰

The “aversion to violent changes” forced the authorities, according to Turnbull, to adopt a slower pace. Yet, he judged this as fitting to its general state. Whereas Alexis, cited above, mused about the possible effects of reform, Turnbull saw them already in place. But due to its slow pace, the Habsburg Empire was comparatively behind and the prospect of overtaking those nations ‘in front’ not a conceivable possibility.

Turnbull himself provided proof for that. While in Styria, he conversed with a local ironmaster, who was apparently acquainted with British iron works. The local commented that tasks performed by one British toiler, require two or three

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17.

Styrians. Turnbull thus openly argued, “[b]efore they can hope to compete with us in any branch of industry, the masters and the men must alike improve their habits and propensities.”⁷³¹ The workers and owners alike, “must acquire an activity and an energy now foreign to their character - they must cease to devote hours to their stupefying pipes, and to their heavy greasy repasts.”⁷³² Although progress had been made, certain qualities that would potentially set the Habsburg Empire on a par with the ‘advanced nations’ were still missing. In the words of a German traveller, written in 1845:

Mit großem Interesse weilt das Auge dessen, der nicht bloß die Vergangenheit studirt [sic] hat, sondern auch die Gegenwart verstehen möchte, auf Oesterreich, wo das Keimende, das Werdende, das gegen Wind und Wetter aus vollem Schöpfungsdrange über Nacht sich entwickelnde...seine Aufmerksamkeit in Anspruch nimmt.⁷³³

That it was a country in transition became even more evident in travelogues on the Kingdom of Hungary, published before 1848. In particular its main cities Ofen [Buda] and Pest (which were later merged with Óbuda into the capital Budapest) excited reflections about past, present and future. When Ernst Anton Quitzmann stopped there shortly before the revolution he mused:

Ofen [Buda] ist die Stadt der Erinnerung und Geschichte. Wie ganz anders ist es dagegen drüben [in Pest on the opposite bank of the Danube]...Da ist Leben, da herrscht die Gegenwart mit ihren Freuden und Schmerzen, da blüht die Zukunft mit ihren Kämpfen und Hoffnungen.⁷³⁴

Wilhelm Richter enthusiastically wrote a few years earlier: “Es ist eine Gährung geistiger Art in den Principien und Meinungen des Staates eingetreten und Pesth ist der Mittelpunkt, in dem sich alle diese Strahlen vereinigen, aus welchen die

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 358. For an analysis how the local implementation of policies rested on the main principle of centralisation see Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 127-130.

⁷³¹ Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. II, p. 278.

⁷³² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 278.

⁷³³ Kahlert, *Reiseschilderungen*, p. 45.

⁷³⁴ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 58. See also Quitzmann’s remarks about Hungary cited in Chapter 3.

Sonne der zukünftigen Stellung des Magyarenreiches emporsteigen soll.”⁷³⁵ John Paget wrote in 1840: “One hundred and fifty years ago, Pest, now so beautiful and flourishing, was a mere heap of ruins...In one hundred and fifty years, then, has this place grown to its present size; from a miserable ruin, it has become one of the capitals of Europe!”⁷³⁶

These observers offered a clear explanation as to why Hungary was ‘lagging behind.’ Paget, for instance, added to his eulogy of Pest, that “[a]t that time [150 years ago], too, a Turkish Pasha sat in the fortress of Buda, and nearly half of Hungary was subject to his sway.”⁷³⁷ The Ottoman conquest and the alleged neglect of resources were easily identified as the main reasons for Hungary’s backward state. Travellers who ventured further on to the Ottoman Empire make this even more evident.

Charles Colville Frankland, nephew of Lord Colville, admiral in the Royal Navy, wrote in 1829 that it was without precedent that a people “who witnessing the advancing civilization, and the increasing power, moral and physical, of all the nations around it, remains nearly in the same condition as it did when first it forced its way into Europe.”⁷³⁸ Edmund Spencer argued about twenty years later: “It is not alone the absence of any change for the better that so forcibly arrests the attention of the traveller, as the deep-settled gloom that characterizes country, town, village, people, wherever the Osmanli rules.”⁷³⁹ What he explicitly expressed is implicitly found in a number of travelogues that link the inhabitants of the Ottoman-controlled shores of the Danube directly to the ancient Dacians. This equation allowed for a glimpse at ancient times by dissolving the temporal

⁷³⁵ Richter, *Wanderungen*, p. 64.

⁷³⁶ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 253.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

⁷³⁸ Charles Colville Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople in the Years 1827 and 1828: or Personal Narrative of a Journey from Vienna, through Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Roumella, to Constantinople; and from that city to the capital of Austria, by the Dardanelles, Tenedos, the Plains of Troy, Smyrna, Napoli di Romania, Athens, Egina, Poros, Cyprus, Syria, Alexandria, Malta, Sicily, Italy, Istria, Carniolia, and Styria* (Vol. I; London, 1829), p. 189.

⁷³⁹ Edmund Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey, in 1850, through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a Visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles: and a Homeward Tour through Hungary and the Slavonian Provinces of Austria on the Lower Danube* (Vol. II; London, 1851), p. 362. These descriptions strikingly invoke Said’s observation that “‘Arabs’ are presented in the imagery of static, almost ideal types, and neither as creatures with a potential in the process of being realized nor as history being made.” Said, *Orientalism*, p. 321.

relationship between observer and observed.⁷⁴⁰ The reason for the inhabitants' state was, however, attributed to Ottoman rule.⁷⁴¹ Thus, the comparative position of the Habsburg Empire was situated in between Britain occupying the most advanced position and the Ottoman Empire representing the contrary.

Transition, however, was a long-term development. When British traveller David Thomas Ansted visited the Kingdom of Hungary in 1862, he started his travelogue by comparing the state of affairs at the time of his writing with a quarter of a century earlier. Looking back, he wrote: "Bad speed, bad accommodation, bad food, very uncertain progress, and very certain delays, combined to limit the passenger traffic to a very small amount."⁷⁴² During his visit, however, he found virtually everything in a better state. For him the journey in Hungary was considerably simplified so that anyone could take advantage of "a district in Europe where it is possible to obtain new sensations, to visit scenery not hackneyed, to study a people not yet spoiled by a large influx of travellers, and to meet those moderate difficulties and little hardships that are not only perfectly endurable, but almost pleasurable by their novelty."⁷⁴³ What the authors of the 1830s and 1840s comprehended as the signs of a new age signified for Ansted Hungary's backwardness. Only in his time was 'true' progress observable. Although the improvement was visible, the transition had not come to a successful end.⁷⁴⁴ Charles Boner wrote as late as 1865: "At present in Austria all is in a transition state: and it is well that it is so, if only each step taken be a remove from the old system to one more adapted to an awaking land."⁷⁴⁵ There was a sense of perpetual transition.⁷⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the chronotope of teleological progress was imbued with unbounded optimism and shaped not only these travellers' views on the future but also on the

⁷⁴⁰ This is what Fabian called "denial of coevalness." Fabian, *Time*, pp. 31-35.

⁷⁴¹ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, pp. 124-125. Claridge, *Danube*, p. 64.

⁷⁴² Ansted, *Short Trip*, p. 2.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁴⁴ Here I offer a different interpretation than Blix, who emphasises the negative connotations of transition. Blix, 'Transitional Period', pp. 54-55.

⁷⁴⁵ Boner, *Transylvania*, p. 2.

⁷⁴⁶ Although coming to different conclusions this is in agreement with Blix's observation of perpetual transition. Blix, 'Transitional Period', pp. 68-69.

past. This does not get any clearer than in Johann Georg Kohl's conception of progress:

Wie ungenießbar, wie öde und wie unromantisch mußte nicht den Römern die geschichtlose Donau erscheinen; sie hatten das saure Geschäft, diesen wilden Gewässern den Anfang zu einer Geschichte zu bereiten. Wie reich erscheint uns Kindern des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht schon der hier aufgehäufte historische Apparat, die übereinander polternden Trümmer, die sich drängenden Schlachtgefilde und die Kämpfe auf- und abwärts, hinüber- und herüberwärts, und nach 1000 oder 2000 Jahren wie wird da einem Donaureisenden nicht der Rückblick sein, und zu welchem Enthusiasmus wird ihn dieser Rückblick nicht befähigen! Ich bedauere es immer, daß ich nicht einige tausend Jahre später zur Welt gekommen bin; am liebsten aber möchte ich kurz vor dem Untergange dieses Sternes geboren sein, um das ganze volle Maß der Geschichte zu übersehen und um Quelle wie Mündung, Geburt wie Ende der Donaugeschichte zu schreiben.⁷⁴⁷

According to Kohl, pre-Roman times equal times without history. This is not surprising Trajan's campaign against the Dacians on the lower Danube was well known, and the remnants of a Roman bridge across that river, today situated between Serbia and Romania, was a sight no traveller wanted to miss.⁷⁴⁸ But it is only the starting point. In this conception, time accumulated from the Roman period, which is visible in the numerous ruins and relics from later periods. This process, however, does not stop at the present. The unrelenting optimism and teleology becomes manifest in Kohl's wish to explore the Danube only shortly before Earth vanishes. There is no sense of catastrophe that might sweep up these remnants and thus the past. To write the Danube's *complete* history, it is necessary to wait until all possible historical facts are added. This approach to history strongly recalls Michel Foucault's characterisation of museums and

⁷⁴⁷ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. III, p. 430.

⁷⁴⁸ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, pp. 120-124. Beattie, *Danube*, p. 214. Claridge, *Danube*, p. 55. [Robert Snow], *Journal of a Steam Voyage down the Danube to Constantinople, and thence by way of Malta and Marseilles to England* (London, 1842), p. 34. Carl Eduard Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Reise in den Orient in den Jahren 1837 und 1838. Über Wien, Venedig, Florenz, Rom, Neapel, Malta, Sicilien und Griechenland nach Saloniki, dem Berge Athos, Konstantinopel und Trapezunt, Mit einer Charte des Berges Athos* (Heidelberg, 1840), pp. 332-333. Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. IV, pp. 19-21.

libraries as “heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time,”⁷⁴⁹ which he comprehended as a defining idea of the nineteenth century in the west of Europe. Kohl’s thoughts as expressed in his 1842 travelogue are then a prime example for understanding history as ever-accumulating past.

In fact, it may even serve as an example for the time-space conceptions at the end of Reinhart Koselleck’s *Sattelzeit*. In its original form, the term encompassed a period roughly between 1750 and 1850, in which a fundamental shift in the meaning of sociopolitical terms occurred during which they acquired today’s meanings. This profound change enunciated, in Koselleck’s view, “ein sich änderndes Verhältnis zu Natur und Geschichte, zur Welt und zur Zeit, kurz: den Beginn der ‘Neuzeit.’”⁷⁵⁰ Four criteria serve to underpin the *Sattelzeit*’s importance.⁷⁵¹

Firstly, more people than ever used sociopolitical terms such as nation or *Volk* in their writings and therefore participated in the negotiations of meanings. Secondly, the terms’ meanings became directed to the future; they acquired *Erwartungsmomente*. For instance, ‘democracy’ was no longer one form of government amongst others, but tied to certain expectations, while terms such as ‘development’ or ‘progress’ expressed this temporal aspect. Thirdly, the level of abstractness increased and thus allowed for linking terms to ideology. As a consequence many of them lost their ‘plurality’, the most important term being ‘History’ (*Geschichte*) as opposed to a multitude of ‘histories’ (*Geschichten*). Finally, the meanings were broadened, thus allowing for utilisation in different contexts.⁷⁵²

In this sense *Sattelzeit* becomes a means for periodisation and thus denotes the beginning of modern history (*Neuzeit* in German historiography).⁷⁵³ But, in its core the concept tries to capture a novel perspective on history, a new concept of

⁷⁴⁹ Foucault, ‘Other Spaces’, p. 26.

⁷⁵⁰ Reinhart Koselleck, ‘Einleitung’, in Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Vol. I; Stuttgart, 1993), p. xv.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xviii. In Koselleck’s terminology these four aspects are: Demokratisierung, Verzeitlichung, Ideologisierung and Politisierung.

⁷⁵² Assmann particularly emphasises this point. Assmann, *Zeit*, pp. 55-58.

history. Modernity is the main concern as it was outlined in the guiding question of the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*: “Die leitende Fragestellung ist, die Auflösung der alten und die Entstehung der modernen Welt in der Geschichte ihrer begrifflichen Erfassung zu untersuchen.”⁷⁵⁴

Sattelzeit did not remain uncontested and different scholars have pointed out a number of problems, first and foremost its vagueness and impreciseness. Koselleck himself claimed that the term occurred spontaneously and was not intended to be linked to any form of theory.⁷⁵⁵ It has been questioned whether the periodisation captures either a global or European development or is only applicable to the German experience.⁷⁵⁶ Others have criticised some of Koselleck’s interpretations as overinterpretations.⁷⁵⁷

Therefore recent debates reinterpret Koselleck’s ideas rather than take them at face value. Daniel Fulda thus wrote: “Nutzen bringt es [the concept of *Sattelzeit*] darüber hinaus als idealtypische – zu betonen ist: als *idealtypische* – Beschreibung des Übergangs von der alteuropäischen zur modernen Geschichtsauffassung.”⁷⁵⁸ Stefan Jordan took this even a step further. He suggested that *Sattelzeit* should not be read in terms of a closed period that acts as a link between ancient and modern. Instead, Jordan argues, it should be understood as a fundamental paradigm shift in the understanding of history.⁷⁵⁹

Bakhtin argued that chronotopes reveal a given society’s general view of time. Although the travelogues analysed here are based on a narrow group of ‘middle class’ authors, thus making such large generalisations problematic, there can be

⁷⁵³ Daniel Fulda, ‘Sattelzeit: Karriere und Problematik eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Zentralbegriffs’, in Élisabeth Décultot and Daniel Fulda (eds.), *Sattelzeit: Historiographiegeschichtliche Revisionen* (Berlin and Boston, 2016), p. 2.

⁷⁵⁴ Koselleck, ‘Einleitung’, p. xiv. The guiding question thus resembles strikingly Bakhtin’s idea that a society’s image of the human can be found in their chronotopes.

⁷⁵⁵ Koselleck cited in Stefan Jordan, ‘Die Sattelzeit Transformation des Denkens oder Revolutionärer Paradigmenwechsel?’, in Achim Landwehr (ed.), *Frühe Neue Zeiten: Zeitwissen zwischen Reformation und Revolution* (Bielefeld, 2012), p. 375.

⁷⁵⁶ Jan-Werner Müller, ‘On Conceptual History’, in Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn (eds.), *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History* (Oxford and New York, 2014), pp. 80-81. Jordan, ‘Transformation’, pp. 375-376. Cornel Zwielerlein, ‘Frühe Neuzeit, multiple modernities, Globale Sattelzeit’, in Achim Landwehr (ed.), *Frühe Neue Zeiten: Zeitwissen zwischen Reformation und Revolution* (Bielefeld, 2012), pp. 400-403.

⁷⁵⁷ Fulda, ‘Sattelzeit’, pp. 7-10.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Italics in original.

⁷⁵⁹ Jordan, ‘Transformation’, p. 380.

little doubt that progress and a generally positive view on the future prevailed. There might have been scattered voices of doubt, such as the Bavarian authoress Josephine von Drouin, who mused in the early 1820s: “Ich wage nicht den Blick dahin, wo ein dichter Schleier die Zukunft deckt, wenn gleich so viele Ritter des modernen Zeitgeistes das volle Sonnenlicht hinter eben diesem Schleier schon zu erblicken glauben.”⁷⁶⁰ Yet, the voices hailing progress and the advent of a new time dominated. The optimism and belief in a better future harks back to Enlightenment thought. Even within the variations of different strands of thought unity is found in the fact that progress was the underlying base.⁷⁶¹ The general sentiment of time becomes even more apparent when the focus moves on to one ‘manifestation’ of technological advancement within the Habsburg Empire, namely the Danube steamer.

5.3 The Steamboat: A Heterotopia as Herald of Progress

In the same lecture cited at the beginning of this chapter Michel Foucault also advanced the notion of ‘Other Spaces’, or heterotopias.⁷⁶² These are linked to utopias, but contrary to them, exist. Foucault identified them in such diverse institutions as the cemetery, museums or libraries. He defined them using six principles, of which one, number four to be precise, relates to time. “The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity,” he wrote, “when men arrive at a sort of absolute breach with their traditional time.”⁷⁶³ The cemetery is Foucault’s prime example, since it is the place to commemorate the end of life, yet its very existence, assures that the dead are not forgotten. Therefore, eternity (death) and the present (commemoration) are linked by the heterotopia of the cemetery. Foucault concluded his lecture by focussing on the boat as “the heterotopia par excellence.”⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶⁰ Von Drouin, *Meine Reisen*, p. 126.

⁷⁶¹ Jansen, ‘New Times’, p. 78.

⁷⁶² Foucault first employed the term *Heterotopia* in the preface of *The Order of Things* first published 1966 and translated into English 1970. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. Translated from the French* (London, 2002), p. xix.

⁷⁶³ Foucault, ‘Other Spaces’, p. 26.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[it] is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from tack to tack, from brothel to brothel, it goes as far as the colonies in search of the most precious treasures they conceal in their gardens, you will understand why the boat has not only been for our civilization, from the sixteenth century until the present, the great instrument of economic development...but has been simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination.⁷⁶⁵

In this interpretation the space of the ship is separated from its surroundings; it is closed off. Yet, it does have relations with the outside world by way of calling at ports. Since Foucault specifically placed it in “the infinity of the sea” but allowed links to the outside world, it becomes the perfect place of imagination. This very idea that the ship has been “the greatest reserve of the imagination” provides the inspiration for this section. By comprehending the Danube steamers as heterotopia, or in following Aleida Assmann as a “Hetero-Chronotop,”⁷⁶⁶ that embodies the future, it will be possible to gain a better understanding of contemporary relationships of time and space.

As outlined in chapter two, the introduction of steamships rendered a journey on the Danube more agreeable than ever before, and as a consequence an increasing number of travellers took the opportunity to visit Budapest or even ventured further to the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, steam engineering in general and the steamship in particular transformed into more than a mere symbol of technological advancement. It signified the general improvement and progress of society. As a corollary, the steamship ruptured time as it allowed a glimpse into the future. This is perhaps more evident for ships on the Danube than on other waterways since their ultimate destination, Constantinople, remodelled them as floating links to the ‘East.’

Unfortunately, the historiography of Danube steam shipping is riddled with impreciseness and outright falsehoods that have lured even established scholars

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷⁶⁶ Assmann, *Zeit*, p. 36.

into pitfalls.⁷⁶⁷ Despite experiments in the early 1820s, a few more years had to pass before the conditions were ripe for a successful commercial enterprise.⁷⁶⁸ On April 1828, two British entrepreneurs, John Andrews and Joseph Pritchard, obtained a *Privilegium*⁷⁶⁹ to build and exclusively operate improved Danube steamers.⁷⁷⁰ Both gained experience in this business by operating steamers on the lakes Como and Geneva as well as the Po river. To finance the steamers they formed a stock corporation under the name *Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft*.⁷⁷¹ Its first general assembly took place on 13 March 1829. The Marquess of Londonderry later commented enthusiastically, “[n]othing more enlightened or patriotic was ever projected,”⁷⁷² even though John Paget complained, “I wish they had a more euphonious name!”⁷⁷³ Its first steamer *Franz I* was launched on 26 July 1830,⁷⁷⁴ and the maiden voyage on 4 September of the same year took it from Vienna to Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] and Budapest, where it arrived the next day.⁷⁷⁵ Since it was already autumn, the waters were too shallow to allow for regular services between Vienna and Budapest, so they decided to commute between Raab [Győr, Hungary] and Budapest.⁷⁷⁶ However,

⁷⁶⁷ For instance, Jürgen Osterhammel wrote: “Zwischen Wien und Budapest wurde 1826 ein regelmäßiger Dampferdienst eröffnet, seit 1829 durch die berühmte Donaudampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft betrieben.” Osterhammel, *Verwandlung*, p. 1014. It is unclear why 1826 is mentioned, 1829 was the founding year of *Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft* but its first steamer was active only a year later and only in 1837 was the regular steam ship service extended from Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] to Vienna. Wiener Zeitung, 04.03.1837, p. 249, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18370304&seite=21> [20/01/17].

⁷⁶⁸ A first commercial Danube steamship corporation never realised regular operations and was dissolved in 1829. Amtsblatt zur Oesterr. Kaiserl. priv. Wiener-Zeitung, 14.10.1829, p. 757, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18291014&seite=5> [19/01/17]. Amtsblatt zur Oesterr. Kaiserl. priv. Wiener-Zeitung, 08.11.1823, p. 173, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18231108&seite=13> [19/01/17].

⁷⁶⁹ In this context the term *Privilegium* effectively describes a monopoly to private investors granted by the state. In other contexts the term is related to patent.

⁷⁷⁰ Wiener Zeitung, 30.05.1824, p. 1, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18280530&seite=1&zoom=33> [23/01/17].

⁷⁷¹ Later *Erste königlich kaiserliche privilegierte Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft*.

⁷⁷² Vane, *Steam Voyage*, Vol. I, p. 110.

⁷⁷³ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 186.

⁷⁷⁴ Österreichischer Beobachter, 25.07.1830, p. 898, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=obo&datum=18300725&seite=4> [20/01/17].

⁷⁷⁵ Wiener Zeitung, 03.09.1830, p. 992, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18300903&seite=4> [20/01/17]. Wiener Zeitung, 03.09.1830, p. 1023, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18300913&seite=3> [20/01/17].

⁷⁷⁶ Österreichischer Beobachter, 09.10.1830, p. 1264, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=obo&datum=18301009&seite=4> [20/01/17]. Apparently rumours incited fears that an accident was the reason why the steamer did not return to Vienna. To counteract them the

in the following year, regular though not very frequent service was inaugurated between Raab [Győr, Hungary]⁷⁷⁷ and Semlin [Zemun, Serbia].⁷⁷⁸ By 1836 the corporation already operated six steamers between Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia] and Constantinople and a seventh between Constantinople and Smyrna [Izmir, Turkey].⁷⁷⁹ The swift expansion and success helped to turn the Danube steamers into symbols of progress and civilisation, despite unresolved issues regarding delays and predictability. The fact that it connected Constantinople to the Habsburg Empire considerably strengthened the symbolism.

There was, however, a more practical impact as well. Punctuality suddenly became a necessity, since otherwise trains or ships would be missed, but it was not immediately diffused into society. The practice of time, as it were, only changed slowly. Analysing the travelogues by steamship travellers allows for a glimpse at how novel norms clashed with more traditional approaches.

Travelling in 1836, Moritz von Haacke, a civil servant of the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, described how he managed to board the steamship in time despite being late.⁷⁸⁰ Since the steamers did not operate during the night, they left early in the morning. Therefore he instructed the hotel staff to wake him two hours before the ship would set sail and arrange transport to the quay, but his plan failed, since neither was he awoken nor was any means of transportation ready. By chance he found another straggling traveller, who offered him a seat in his coach. Von Haacke claimed that they were the last to be allowed on board, although another five coaches as well as a number of pedestrians arrived after them. But, as he described: “Auf ihr Bitten und Rufen wurde keine Rücksicht genommen, der Befehl zur Abfahrt war gegeben und langsam entfernte sich das

corporation was compelled to publish a correction in the *Wiener Zeitung Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt zur Österreichisch-Kaiserlichen privil. Wiener Zeitung*, 05.11.1830, p. 659. <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18301105&seite=5>[20/01/17].

⁷⁷⁷ The steamship connection to Vienna was too uncertain, due to shallow waters. Instead subcontractors were commissioned to transport passenger first over land and later on sailing vessels to Raab [Győr, Hungary] and later to Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia].

⁷⁷⁸ According to advertisements in the *Wiener Zeitung* three round trips took place during the summer.

⁷⁷⁹ *Österreichischer Beobachter*, 08.02.1836, p. 182, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=obo&datum=18360208&seite=4>[19/01/17].

⁷⁸⁰ Von Haacke, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 47-50. A similar description set in Budapest is found in Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, pp. 79-80.

Dampfschiff von den Ufern der Donau.”⁷⁸¹ Perhaps surprisingly, he criticised the captain’s punctuality: “Diese Härte des Capitains erregte übrigens den allgemeinen Unwillen der Schiffsgesellschaft.”⁷⁸² A similar incident occurred in Pressburg [Bratislava, Slovakia], where he again emphasised that “die von Seiten des Capitains bei dieser Gelegenheit abermals bewiesene Härte erregte, wie bei Wien, den allgemeinen Unwillen der Schiffsgesellschaft.”⁷⁸³

British travellers often characterised themselves in their accounts as “impatient,” thus implying a better acquaintance with the novel pace of social time.⁷⁸⁴ Julia Pardoe, who published a few years later than von Haacke, tartly remarked: “The German hour meant three English ones.”⁷⁸⁵ Charles Boner, who visited Transylvania in the mid-1860s, complained about the unpunctuality of Bavaria, which he visited first, yet added “[b]ut in this country absolutely *no one* kept to time.”⁷⁸⁶ It would be wrong, however, to attribute unpunctuality exclusively to continentals.

In a striking section, Scottish traveller John Aiton described how he managed to catch the steamer to the European continent he had almost missed.⁷⁸⁷ Expecting that the ship would be late anyway, he arrived a few minutes after the scheduled departure time. But he was taken aback when his assumption turned out to be wrong. “Thus, by a minute or two every thing [sic] was exactly in time to be too late,”⁷⁸⁸ he wrote. Judging from his description he was not the only traveller making the same miscalculation. Aiton eventually managed to get on board by procuring a place in a cab that engaged in “a race of steam versus horse-flesh”⁷⁸⁹ to the steamer’s next halt. He concluded the passage: “Be that as it might, the lesson was so well learned that it would not likely soon be forgotten, nor will so bad an example be followed by any tourist who may happen to cast an eye on this

⁷⁸¹ Von Haacke, *Erinnerungen*, p. 50.

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷⁸⁴ Shelley, *Rambles*, Vol. I, p. 266. Anonymous, *Travels in Bohemia*, Vol. I, p. 196. Slade, *Travels*, p. 125.

⁷⁸⁵ Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. II, p. 48.

⁷⁸⁶ Boner, *Transylvania*, p. 227. Italics in original.

⁷⁸⁷ [Aiton], *Eight Weeks*, pp. 63-67.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

page.”⁷⁹⁰ Since the practice of time did not change immediately, as these descriptions attest to, it rather resembles a process that changed the meanings of schedules from mere indicators to precise keepers of time.⁷⁹¹

In the spring of 1836, British traveller Edmund Spencer commenced in Vienna his rather adventurous tour to the eastern shores of the Black Sea by boarding the brand new steamer *Nador*.⁷⁹² Within his narrative he claimed to have been “the first traveller who had journeyed down the whole of the lower Danube in a steam-boat to the Black Sea,”⁷⁹³ but such a bold claim should be taken with a pinch of salt.⁷⁹⁴ More important than the factuality of his statement is how he crafted the first lines of his account:

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am sure you will agree with me in thinking, that among the various modern discoveries which have had their origin in British genius, none is fraught with more important consequences to the welfare of mankind than the steam engine, none since the invention of printing more likely, ay, more certain, to prove the means of diffusing knowledge and civilization over those regions of the globe, where ignorance and fanaticism chain down the intellect of man.⁷⁹⁵

In Spencer’s reasoning, the steam engine was singled out as an essentially British innovation but also almost mystified as a device that hailed progress, or in his words “diffuse[d] knowledge and civilization.” These ideas were closely linked to time, since they placed Britain at the top and opened the possibilities for ‘progressive comparisons’ in Koselleck’s sense. In another account, Spencer

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷⁹¹ May and Thrift, ‘Introduction’, p. 13.

⁷⁹² The *Nador* was launched in 1836 and began its first voyage on 24 April 1836. Wiener Zeitung, 19.04.1836, p. 489, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=18360419&seite=3>[20/01/17].

⁷⁹³ Edmund Spencer, *Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary, &c.: Including a Steam Voyage down the Danube, from Vienna to Constantinople and Round the Black Sea, in 1836* (Vol. I; London, 1837), p. 68.

⁷⁹⁴ Besides the fact that hardly anything is known about his biography, there are also uncertainties about his time and date references. For instance he begins his account which is styled as letters dated “Preßburg April 5th, 1836.” But from contemporary newspapers it can be reconstructed that the *Nador* first left Vienna on 24th April 1836 (see footnote 792). Also the *Quarterly Review* was highly sceptical of Spencer’s timing and if the reviewer did not accuse him openly of plagiarism he nevertheless strongly hinted at such a possibility. ‘Circassia, Krim Tartary, &c.’, *The Quarterly Review*, 56 (October 1837), pp. 362-363.

described himself as “a denizen of ‘go a-head’ England, where every man, from the peasant to the prince, is eagerly rushing forward in the march of improvement.”⁷⁹⁶ Rather unsurprisingly he was but one voice in a chorus praising the steamboat. John Paget, who published on Hungary in 1839, argued that recounting the prime advantages of the Danube steamships – developing commerce and resources and opening “the road to civilization by the spread of intelligence” – was only to “narrate what every one knows steam navigation has effected, and will effect, wherever it is introduced.”⁷⁹⁷ Peter Evan Turnbull, who visited the Habsburg Empire between 1834 and 1836, reasoned that the steamships’ main benefit might not be its commercial success. “Its *political* results, however,” he argued,

will be of the highest value. Through its channel the tide of civilisation will be gradually poured on the distant regions of Wallachia, Servia [sic], and Bulgaria. It will introduce Hungary into the bosom of Europe. It will bring her hitherto secluded population into social intercourse with travellers from distant lands. It will be the means of dispelling the clouds of prejudice, ignorance, and error; and, auspicious alike to the vassal and his lord, it will improve the condition of man in every stage of society.⁷⁹⁸

Members of the British aristocracy, such as the Marchioness of Londonderry, also attested to its civilising effects. At Orsova [Orșova, Romania] near the Ottoman border, she wrote: “The captain, a gentlemanlike, intelligent man, told me that, when the steam-navigation first commenced, these poor people where in a state of absolute barbarism.”⁷⁹⁹

It is apparent from these remarks that British travellers employed ‘progressive comparisons’ in regard to the future. They clearly adhered to a conception of time as steady progress. The German sociologist Hartmut Rosa has characterised the comprehension of history during the mid-nineteenth century as taking “on the

⁷⁹⁵ Spencer, *Circassia*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁹⁶ Spencer, *European Turkey*, Vol. II, p. 362.

⁷⁹⁷ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. I, p. 223.

⁷⁹⁸ Turnbull, *Austria*, Vol. II, p. 383. Italics in original.

⁷⁹⁹ [Vane], *Narrative*, p. 67.

character of a directed and politically shapable [sic] movement.”⁸⁰⁰ Its base – progress – linked past and future. There was a degree of confidence within society that progress would ensure a better future. The steamships thus became an icon expressing this understanding. These were the devices to bring “civilization” and provide the means for “social intercourse” with more advanced foreigners that help to “diffuse knowledge.” This is by no means a novelty of the nineteenth century, but reaches back to Enlightenment ideas. Britain’s leading position was evident for these travellers, not only due to the ‘British’ invention of the steam engine but also by way of its diffusion to continental Europe in which compatriot entrepreneurs such as Andrews and Pritchard played a key part.

Due to the national dimension raised by British travellers the question of what German travellers thought about this technology needs to be raised. Moritz von Haacke, whom we encountered above as a belated steamship passenger, continued to reflect on the technology’s benefits in his account. He opened a section dedicated to the development of transport by citing an anonymous author, who claimed: “Wir leben in einer Zeit, die in einem fortwährenden siegreichen Kampfe mit dem Widerstande des Raumes begriffen ist.”⁸⁰¹ This clearly echoes ‘time-space compression’, as discussed above. Von Haacke painted a picture of steady progress, although he placed the pivotal breakthrough in the large-scale construction of *Chaussées*. Yet, the advent of the ‘steam age’ seemed to him a profoundly novel epoch,

sowohl in der Geschichte der Erfindungen als in allen Lebensverhältnissen der Erdenbewohner...Wunderbar ist der Aufschwung, den die Gewerbe schon jetzt durch die Anwendung der Dampfmaschine erhielten. Wunderbarer noch sind die Leistungen der Dampfwägen auf den Eisenbahnen, der Dampfschiffe, bei den Communicationen zu Wasser.⁸⁰²

⁸⁰⁰ Hartmut Rosa, *Social Acceleration: A new Theory of Modernity; Translated by Jonathan Trejo-Mathys* (New York, 2013), p. 313. Similar Assmann, *Zeit*, p. 62.

⁸⁰¹ Von Haacke, *Erinnerungen*, p. 51. He took this quote from *Der Wanderer*, 14.08.1836, p. 1, anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wan&datum=18360814&seite=1 [20/01/17].

⁸⁰² Von Haacke, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 52-53.

The near future, maybe only a generation away, was in his view a time, in which “ein Verkehr zu Lande und zu Wasser in das Leben gezaubert wird, von dessen umfassender Ausdehnung und fabelhafter Schnelligkeit, selbst die kühnste Phantasie sich schwerlich ein anschauliches Bild zu entwerfen vermag.”⁸⁰³ Von Haacke’s thoughts are focussed on the future; the innovations were already there and would unfold their merits shortly. There is no link, however, to Britain in his thoughts. The invention of the steam engine is seen as the deed of mankind rather than of one particular nation.

Johann Gottfried Elsner, a traveller to Hungary, writing a few years after him, even employed mythic terms by comparing the steamship to the struggle between Vulcan and Neptune. Yet, just as British traveller Peter Evan Turnbull, cited above, he valued the social benefits more than the pecuniary return for investors. But there is a decidedly different twist to his argument:

Wien und Pesth sind sich dadurch [by way of the steamship line] näher gerückt, und ihre gegenseitige Wirkung auf einander zeigt sich schon und wird sich in der Folge noch mehr zeigen. Deutsche Cultur und Civilisation haben ohnehin seit Jahrhunderten schon ihren Einfluß auf Ungarn gezeigt, aber mit der Dampfschiffahrt nimmt dies in einem erstaunenswerthen Grade zu. Und um es noch zu vermehren, trifft es gerade mit einem Zeitpunkte zusammen, in welchem das Licht mit Gewalt in diesem Lande hervorbricht, eine Folge des vielen Reisens und der hohen geistigen Ausbildung seiner Großen.⁸⁰⁴

In his argument the steamship is a herald of progress and wealth, but Elsner is much more explicit about the ‘type’ of civilisation. He specifically mentions “deutsche Cultur und Civilisation.” This is an evident difference between the writings of British and German travellers. While the former remain comparatively vague and general, the latter emphasise a national dimension.

Johann Georg Kohl argued similarly in 1842: “Die Dampfschiffe tragen ohne Zweifel den Samen zu vielen kaufmännischen und industriösen Unternehmungen mit sich und verschleppen ihn an der ganzen Donau hin.”⁸⁰⁵ Indeed, this was one

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸⁰⁴ Elsner, *Ungarn*, Vol. I, p. 43.

⁸⁰⁵ Kohl, *Hundert Tage*, Vol. III, pp. 418-419.

of the few instances in which Kohl explicitly talked about Western Europe, arguing: “Die Träger und Pfleger dieses Samens sind aber die Deutschen und andere westeuropäische Nationen weit mehr als die Magyaren selbst.”⁸⁰⁶ Hungary is not interpreted as the ‘Other’, but its temporal difference is emphasised. The Germans have already managed to attain a similar position to the Britons, leading to the advancement of their culture. As a consequence, Kohl rhetorically asked: “[J]e mehr man das ganze Land [Hungary] in die Netze der Chausseen, Eisenbahnen und Dampfschiffahrtlinien einzuspinnen im Stande ist, wird sich nicht Alles desto mehr mit Deutschland verassimilieren?”⁸⁰⁷

It would be too simplistic, however, to conclude that German travellers exhibited more nationalistic tendencies than British, especially given the vagueness of what ‘Germany’ meant, outlined in chapter three. The reason is more likely to be found in the differing significance of the Danube. For British travellers it certainly was one of the principal rivers of Europe, but nevertheless one amongst a few. But for German travellers the Danube bore an additional significance – the Danube was also a *German* river. When Prussian traveller Friedrich von Raumer, who wrote shortly after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, first got a glimpse of the Danube at Linz, he wrote, referring to the Ottoman presence at the lower Danube: “Zorn ergriff mich, daß die Donau, diese Königin der deutschen Ströme, seit Jahrhunderten von ungläubigen Händen gemißhandelt [sic] wird.”⁸⁰⁸ Bavarian Johann von Gott Bundschue, who published a guide for travellers on the Danube before steam shipping was introduced, included a poem written by Aloys Blumauer, an eighteenth-century Austrian writer, which equated the Danube “mit dem Charakter der deutschen Nation.”⁸⁰⁹ It was thus possible to link the Danube to an imagined German nation. Bavarian physician Ernst Anton Quitzmann wrote about both the Danube and Rhine: “Ueberhaupt sollen wir [we Germans] uns freuen, zwei solche Stromgebiete zu besitzen, welche, unerreicht von andern, würdig mit einander wetteifern und, wie unser alter Doppeladler, uns ein ewiges Flammenzeichen seyn müssen, nach welchen Gegenden das Geschick zu schauen

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 419.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 419.

⁸⁰⁸ Von Raumer, *Herbstreise*, Vol. I, p. 76.

⁸⁰⁹ Bundschue, *Reise*, p. 28.

uns gebot.”⁸¹⁰ The Danube acquired an additional, symbolic meaning and German travellers linked it more strongly to the German nation than their British counterparts.

Although there were differences in the views of British and German travellers regarding the Danube and the steamships ploughing its waters, a general tendency is observable. The *Hetero-Chronotop* steamship was strongly linked to progress and thus to the future. But May’s and Thrift’s warning of the “failure to consider the extent to which the experience of any such changes differed for different people”⁸¹¹ is likewise important in this context. Even though most descriptions fit the analysis outlined above, critical reactions to the introduction of steamships on the Danube were nonetheless present. Interestingly, if examined closely, their underlying chronotopes are similar, but exhibit an inversed vision. Instead of glorifying the future, these voices were in search of a golden past.

A common feature of the travelogues that included a ride on the Danube was a comparison to the Rhine. William Howitt’s 1842 description is fairly exemplary for that. Contrary to the Rhine, he wrote,

[o]n the Danube you have solitude; an air of neglect; a stern and brooding spirit, which seems to belong to the genius of the past; of trackless woods; of solitary miners; of rude feudal chiefs hunting the boar and the hart in the wild glens and deep forests—a genius which gives reluctantly way to the spirit of Steam, which has invaded it.⁸¹²

While the Danube “make[s] you feel that you are in a far wilder and more savage region,”⁸¹³ the Rhine’s densely populated and highly cultivated shores, represented the contrary. In this sense, the Danube signified a past before man took action and forced it on the path of progress. As the aforementioned Quitzmann described it: “Ueberhaupt hat die neue Zeit mit ihren Eisenbahnen und

⁸¹⁰ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 7. He also called the Danube “vaterländischer Strom.” *Ibid.*, p. 338.

⁸¹¹ May and Thrift, ‘Introduction’, p. 12.

⁸¹² William Howitt, *The Rural and Domestic Life of Germany: with Characteristic Sketches of its Cities and Scenery; Collected in a General Tour, and During a Residence in the Country in the Year 1840 41 and 42* (London, 1842), p. 360.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

Dampfmaschinen, mit ihren Fabriken und Aktiengesellschaften, eine eigene Poesie, für die vielleicht uns, die in einer andern Schule aufgezogen wurden, der Sinn noch nicht aufgegangen ist.”⁸¹⁴ These voices were nevertheless in favour of progress.

However, a few travellers styled the steamship as a symbol embodying the opposite chronological direction. For them the *Hetero-Chronotop* was anchored in the past. These travellers emphasised loss rather than gain and uncertainty in their answer to the question whether the future was indeed as bright as predicted.

James Robinson Planché, a British playwright who sailed down the river on a traditional boat in 1827, compared Danube and Rhine similarly, yet drew completely different conclusions. According to him, on the Rhine there was “scarcely one mile of uninterrupted wild scenery” to be seen. But this mattered little, since the vista would be interrupted anyway by the density of traffic and especially by “the monstrous anachronism of a steam boat, splashing, sputtering, and fuming along at the rate of twelve miles an hour.”⁸¹⁵ On the Danube, however, “[t]he mouldering towers...are surrounded by scenery rude as the times in which they were reared, and savage as the warriors who dwelt in them.”⁸¹⁶ The choice of a traditional boat ‘transferred’ him into the distant past, although the exact point in the past varied considerably – in one section 300 hundred years, in another the time of the Crusades.⁸¹⁷

Milder critique was expressed in the form of anticipated loss as a consequence of progress. While the introduction of novel transportation technologies would bring the local population in contact with more ‘enlightened’ travellers, as a result their positive characteristics would vanish as well. Writing in 1838, Charles Boileau Elliott, for instance, argued: “As soon, however, as a system of steam navigation is organized on the Danube, and an influx of strangers into Wallachia takes place, civilization will be promoted, and primitive hospitality will necessarily

⁸¹⁴ Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 61.

⁸¹⁵ Planché, *Descent*, p. 107.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

decrease.”⁸¹⁸ In this case, hospitality as a positive virtue would be replaced by interactions based on commercial interest.⁸¹⁹

The steamers operating on the Danube became icons of progress and civilisation – a *Hetero-Chronotop* that allowed for imagining the future. Although there were also sceptical voices, the majority of travellers revealed almost unbound optimism, embodied by the Danube steamer. At the same time this technology ensured that progress came to regions imagined as untouched by civilisation. These were, however, not those under Habsburg sway but those across the border ruled by the Ottomans. This underpins the observation that the ‘East’ was associated with the rule of the Ottomans instead of a general characterisation of Eastern Europe as backward.

5.4 Conclusion

In September 1835, the newly constructed Danube steamer *Zriny* was launched. The ship was intended to maintain the connection between Budapest and Moldova [Moldova Nouă, Romania]. At Waitzen [Vác, Hungary], John Paget boarded the steamer and joined a small but illustrious party that even included Count Széchenyi, one of the driving forces behind the undertaking. It was the *Zriny*’s first voyage downriver.⁸²⁰ John Paget made the following observation near Semlin [Zemun, Serbia], opposite the Ottoman administrated city of Belgrade:

It was curious enough to see the Hungarian, Turkish, and English systems of navigation in use at the same moment: upwards of forty men were toiling to drag a huge barge against a strong stream on the Hungarian bank; on the Servian, the lattine sail bore the Turkish boat gaily before the wind; while, in the middle, the glorious invention of Watt urged on the magnificent *Zriny*, and threatened to swallow up the crazy craft of the others in her wake. One might have fancied three ages of the world in presence of each other at the same moment.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁸ Elliott, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 155.

⁸¹⁹ Travellers also used similar arguments for other regions of the Habsburg Empire as shown in Chapter 2.

⁸²⁰ Vereinigte Ofner Pester Zeitung, 01.12.1839, pp. 1-2. <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=opz&datum=18391201&seite=1>[20/01/17].

⁸²¹ Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, Vol. II, p. 93.

In particular the last sentence stresses the interrelation between space and time. Given Paget's tendency to paint a positive picture of Hungary, it is perhaps no coincidence that this observation took place near Belgrade, the first spot where the Danube reached Ottoman-controlled territories.⁸²² Here not only did two empires border but 'different times' as well. Foucault's understanding of the ship as an imaginary reserve becomes powerfully evident in the possibility of comprehending different types of ships as representatives of different times. Before the introduction of steamships, boats had to be towed upstream. Using sails was only possible for small boats on the lower Danube. Both methods represented the past, techniques on the verge of becoming obsolete. The mighty *Zriny*, in contrast, was the future. The three different ship types became a *Hetero-Chronotop* and thus three 'times' in one spot.

Paget published the observations made in 1835 a few years later in 1840. At about the same time, hundreds of kilometres away a similar event was taking place. In 1838, the Royal Navy sold a number of discharged ships, including the battleship *Temeraire*. These were towed to their dismantling site in Greenwich. The occasion provided the backdrop for J. M. W. Turner's famous *The Fighting Temeraire tugged to her last Berth to be broken up, 1838*, first exhibited a year later.⁸²³ The painting provoked (and still provokes) very similar reactions. Here too, two 'ages' met in one place. The past represented by a now antedated technology, the sail, while the future is embodied by a steamer hauling off the battleship. Of course, there is more to provoke reactions, such as the setting sun or the *Temeraire*'s particular history, but the important point here is that Paget's descriptions and Turner's painting were crafted in the same period. The Danube and Thames steamers inspired almost identical reactions.

The accounts of German travellers were not much different. Similar to British travellers, they expressed deliberations about progress, the future and civilisation.

⁸²² Jelena Bulić, 'Mid-Nineteenth Century British Travellers on the Border between Austrian and Ottoman Empires', in Marija Wakounig and Karlo Ruzicic-Kessler (eds.), *From the Industrial Revolution to World War II in East Central Europe* (Münster, 2010), pp. 79-91. She uses the same section as evidence that Semlin [Zemun, Serbia] was interpreted as the border between East and West. I would argue instead, that Semlin had a special significance because it was the first spot to see Belgrade and thus the 'East.' However, since the opposite shore was Habsburg-controlled, the 'East' was later encountered when the Danube left the territories under Habsburg sway.

⁸²³ Monika Wagner, *William Turner* (Munich, 2011), pp. 115-116.

Due to the tendency to turn the Danube into a ‘German river’, however, their interpretation had a much stronger nationalistic dimension. This does not mean that this was missing from British accounts. When Edmund Spencer, for instance, envisaged the creation of monuments in praise of James Watt along the Danube, he did so with a patriotic, British undertone.⁸²⁴

Drawing on the Danube steamer to generalise about the travellers’ relationship to time and space would be short-sighted, because this might overemphasise the focus on the future. It is more useful to think of the steamer as the future’s manifestation, but at the same time as only one amongst a number of possibilities. If the focus is widened other chronotopes become apparent and not all of them were directed at the future. In fact, as shown above, within the Habsburg Empire it was possible to imagine oneself in the distant past. Larry Wolff argued: “The crucial binary opposition between civilization and barbarism assigned Eastern Europe to an ambiguous space, in a condition of backwardness, on a relative scale of development.”⁸²⁵ If travellers to the Habsburg Empire could imagine themselves visiting centuries long past, would that not mean that they were travelling in Eastern Europe? As shown above, this was not necessarily the case. Wolff’s argument is based on the idea that barbarism and backwardness were exclusive to Eastern Europe. But a mid-century traveller like Walter White, who described Vorarlberg – modern-day Austria’s westernmost region – as a place where traits vanishing elsewhere were still observable, demands another explanation. ‘Time travel’ was tied to certain spaces, in particular the rural, mountainous areas, but not exclusively to the space ‘Eastern Europe.’

The ‘transitory state’ that the majority of travellers described makes this even more evident. The Habsburg Empire was described as in a state of gentle progress. This is a different understanding to, for instance, French Romantic thought of the first half of the nineteenth century, which Göran Blix succinctly summarised: “Whatever Promised Land may lie beyond the transition, it inevitably appears itself as a stretch of desert, an undefined no man’s land sandwiched between more substantial cultural formations.”⁸²⁶ There was

⁸²⁴ [Spencer], *Sketches*, Vol. II, p. 216.

⁸²⁵ Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, p. 360.

⁸²⁶ Blix, ‘Transitional Period’, p. 55.

backwardness to be observed, but also to soon be overcome. For some regions, in particular the Kingdom of Hungary, a not-too-distant bright future was envisioned. The same path of development was shared. The Ottoman Empire, the alleged prime reason why Hungary had to catch up in the first place, was assigned a different role. Here stagnancy still held sway. If there was a rift between 'East' and 'West' within Europe it was still found at the border to the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

How did British and German-speaking travellers from outside the Habsburg Empire perceive it in the period between 1815 and 1869? Driven by this admittedly broad research question, particular emphasis has been put on travellers' mental maps as expressed in their published travelogues. In particular their alignment of 'East' and 'West' transformed into the focal point of interest. Larry Wolff argued that the Iron Curtain as outlined in Churchill's famous speech – "[f]rom Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic" – was but the manifestation of an intellectual artifice constructed by thinkers and travellers in the later eighteenth century.⁸²⁷ Drawing on Edward Said's arguments, 'East' and 'West' carries a moral dimension, expressed in dichotomies – 'backwardness' and 'barbarism' versus 'progress', 'civility' and 'modernity.'

In light of his ideas, researching the Habsburg Empire promises to be a particularly fruitful object of study, since the dividing line presumably cut it into western and eastern halves. Moreover, a narrative of backwardness, oppression and the inevitability of its fall have long dominated the historiography of the Habsburg Empire. In the words of historian Gary B. Cohen: "Either implicitly or explicitly, most of the general histories concluded that there was no hope in Austria and Hungary's industrializing multi-ethnic societies for transforming a rigid, old dynastic state into a modern constitutional, representative government."⁸²⁸ Since these lines were written two decades ago, alternative interpretations have been put forward, particularly in more recent publications.⁸²⁹ Analysing the observations and interpretations travellers 'on the ground' offered takes up this thread and provides challenging, at times even surprising, conclusions that contribute to a more nuanced picture of this entity at the heart of Europe.

⁸²⁷ Churchill, *Sinews*, p. 100.

⁸²⁸ Gary B. Cohen, 'Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy: New Narratives on Society and Government in Late Imperial Austria', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 29 (1998), p. 39.

⁸²⁹ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*. Deak, *Multinational State*.

The published travelogues upon which this work is primarily based are more numerous than previously assumed. Up until the 1990s it was commonplace to assume that only a handful of travelogues on the Habsburg Empire were published during the nineteenth century. But this turned out to be a serious underestimation. For this study 66 British and 54 German travelogues have been identified, without any claim to completeness. The rapid increase of travel activities throughout continental Europe after 1815, an increasingly expanding and improving transportation infrastructure, comparative inexpensiveness and safety as well as the historical appeal of its major cities, helped attract travellers. In terms of this study, the unexpected breadth of sources ensures that the analysis of the ‘view from the outside’ rests on a broad base that encapsulates a multitude of voices, and therefore provides a balanced narrative.

Comparing the biographies of British and German travellers emphasises the socio-cultural similarities between the two groups. Publishing about one’s travel experiences attracted primarily members of the middle strata of society. In general, the authors were well-educated, often at university level, well versed in classical and modern languages – a fair number of remarks attests that Latin was utilised to communicate – and politically interested. Moreover, women were not absent, and their accounts, as for instance Frances Trollope’s *Vienna and the Austrians*, were fiercely debated. Yet, there is variety in their professional backgrounds, which included civil servants, military personnel and members of the clergy, as well as an increasing number of professional writers.

Likewise, a similarity of travel routes is apparent. In fact, three ‘beaten tracks’ of the time can be differentiated. The first connected Saxony via Prague to Vienna, the second linked Vienna to the port of Trieste and a third followed the Danube, often including a westward and eastward extension to Salzburg and the Ottoman Empire, respectively. The latter option particularly gained popularity after the introduction of steamers on the Danube.

When consulting a map of mid-nineteenth century Europe, the Habsburg Empire is often depicted as one unified entity. But maps are misleading as they tend to homogenise and present clear borders. Analysing travellers’ accounts, however,

suggests that they followed a rather different understanding of space. Although markers of state authority signified the entry into the territory of the Habsburg Empire, it was hardly viewed as one coherent entity. Instead the travellers applied a 'fragmented view', singling out regions and assessing them differently.

This becomes particularly apparent with regard to one important spatial-political concept that was negotiated within the travelogues: 'Germany.' Vaguely defined and without an anchor in an existing German nation state, one theme travellers pondered on was the inclusion of regions. Bohemia was a case in point. If an intra-European dividing line as outlined by Wolff is accepted, the treatment of Bohemia by nineteenth-century travellers is indeed surprising. For instance, any edition of Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany* – this guidebook was published for about half a century – routinely refers to Prague as a prime city of Germany. Other travellers pointed at Bohemia's administrative tie to the Holy Roman Empire and the German Confederation as an argument for its inclusion. Although the different languages were observed, both British and German travellers showed hardly any doubt about why Bohemia should not be a part of their conception of Germany.

The border to 'Italy', as another example, was an equally ambiguous spatial-political term. Instead of a clear-cut borderline it rather resembled a transitory space, in which one entity slowly morphed into the other. There is, however, another important element to be observed. Some travellers 'found' Italy in surprising places. Salzburg, Linz but also parts of Bohemia were perceived as 'Italian.' The main reasons for this seemingly strange geographical alignment of these travellers' mental maps are found in the difference between southern and northern Germany and the discernible markers of Catholicism, such as wayside crosses, which provoked associations with the 'South.' Since Italy was undoubtedly part of this metageographical area, a link between 'the south of Germany' and the 'South' emerged.

Analysing travelogues on the Kingdom of Hungary emphasises another important observation. The 'East' was not found within the Habsburg Empire but rather at its gates. Intensified by the system of quarantines at the border, for many a traveller the Ottoman Empire remained the major focal point of the 'Orient.' Just

as the administrative ties of the German Confederation superseded the differences in language in the case of Bohemia, the Ottomans' authority over large parts of the Balkans determined their location on the travellers' mental maps. This highlights the surprisingly small role language played, at least until the 1860s, for orienting mental maps. Travellers also did not attempt to include the German-speaking minority within the Kingdom of Hungary into any conception of Germany – most even argued for the opposite and found the adoption of the Hungarian language quite natural – nor was the cosmopolitan character of a major port town such as Trieste questioned.

Political terms have a long-standing pedigree of changing spatial connotations. 'Despotism' is a prime example. Although firmly placed in the 'Orient' by Enlightenment thinkers such as Montesquieu, it was soon used to polemically denote European monarchies, but also employed as an analytical term for monarchs, whose powers were unrestricted by a constitution. Particularly in British debates during the 1830s a liberal 'West' was constructed against the despotic governments of Europe's eastern parts. Nonetheless, only a handful of travellers embraced this way of spatial thinking and crossed into the absolute 'East', although the Habsburg Empire was counted amongst the absolute powers. When closely examined the complexity of the spatial dimension inherent in political terms becomes even more evident. Despotism, as Montesquieu conceived it, can be seen in terms of the East-West antagonism, but, as Pierre Bourdieu has argued, also to differentiate between North and South. The reason lies in the affinity of central elements. On the one hand, both 'East' and 'South' evoke hot climates and thus stand for similar character traits. On the other hand, 'barbarians' were as much placed in the 'East' as in the 'North', although the latter sometimes incorporated a notion of liberty. Far from unambiguously defined analytical terms they rather resemble palimpsests in which different meanings intersect and overlap.

Histories of the *Vormärz*-era often tend to depict it as a period of repression and inertia. However, the majority of travellers ascribed to a rather positive interpretation of the political system at that time. Travellers of conservative

persuasion emphasised what they perceived as its virtues: a tranquil and content people paternally cared for by the emperor, especially if the political state of the whole empire constituted an author's interest. Due to the application of a fragmented view, an entity such as the Kingdom of Hungary could be seen as bitterly oppressed, due to the feudal character of its constitution, or as "an oasis of liberty," since the same constitution considerably limited the king's powers.⁸³⁰ Yet, even for critics Hungary was not placed within the 'absolute East' but at best at its fringes. In light of the neighbouring Ottoman Empire and Hungary's historical role a tendency of interpretation as an *antemurale* against the 'East' becomes evident.

Finally, there is a temporal dimension to spatial terms. Backwardness can also denote a situation of 'being back in time', in contrast to progress. Thus, spatial thinking in terms of a backward 'East' versus a progressive 'West' equally implies thinking in different times.

Indeed, only a minority of travellers imagined themselves as having travelled back in time. The majority experienced a country on the path of progress, in a state of transition. Although not a member of the most advanced European powers, its progressive character was in little doubt. This becomes even clearer if a symbol of progress, the Danube steamer, is examined closely. For most authors, it was not only a mere icon; it was perceived as a herald of progress. It seems that the river's geographic location, as a waterway between the southwestern German lands and the Ottoman Empire to which civilisation ought to be brought, only added to the steamer's appeal. The Kingdom of Hungary, whose backward state was primarily attributed to former Ottoman rule, was perceived and described as already embracing progress. Visiting the Habsburg Empire still meant visiting the past, but only a very recent one, since the signs of progress were clearly discernible.

6.1 The Bigger Picture

Although this study presents findings that suggest different interpretations than those put forward by Larry Wolff, it is nonetheless deeply indebted to his ideas.

⁸³⁰ Pardoe, *City of the Magyar*, Vol. I, p. 217.

His publications sparked intense debates and fostered a profound discussion on conceptualised spaces and mental maps. The main aspect this study is concerned with is Larry Wolff's insistence on the line once suggested by Winston Churchill as the boundary between Eastern and Western Europe and its construction during the Enlightenment era. However, at least for travellers to the Habsburg Empire until the 1860s, this indication does not hold true. Although a few voices embrace a rift between an autocratic 'East' and a liberal 'West', these were clearly a minority.

This also stresses that spatial discourse was not uniform, but contained counter-voices and reinterpretations. As Katarina Gephardt recently argued in her analysis of British travelogues to the fringes of Europe: "The 'othering' characteristic of colonial discourse is undermined by identification with Eastern and Southern Europeans through shared history, institutions, religion, and the idea of Europe itself."⁸³¹ The emerging picture is thus a complex, nuanced one rather than a set of binaries.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that there was no dividing line between 'East' and 'West' to be found on the travellers' mental maps, but it was located at the border to the Ottoman Empire. This suggests that the Ottoman presence on the European continent still heavily influenced travellers' assessments.

Another key aspect according to Larry Wolff is a clearly observable redirection from the once dominant North-South division of Europe to a novel East-West antagonism during the Enlightenment era. As a corollary, 'North' and 'South' faded from contemporary mental maps, while 'East' and 'West' constituted the new line of differentiation. In light of recent literature and the findings of this study, such an interpretation seems equally disputable. 'North' and 'South' did not at all vanish from mental maps of nineteenth-century travellers to the Habsburg Empire. In particular, those who travelled the contact zone of Catholicism and Protestantism or ventured into the Apennine peninsular displayed an engagement with these spatial terms. This suggests, however, that both

⁸³¹ Katarina Gephardt, *The Idea of Europe in British Travel Narratives, 1789-1914* (Farnham, 2014), p. 13.

divisions of Europe were in use at the time and thus that both spatial discourses existed in parallel.

In his conclusion, Larry Wolff takes his argument further by assessing the situation during the time of his writing in the early 1990s. Although the Cold War was over and the Iron Curtain dismantled, he observed that the division between East and West still existed by reviewing recently published newspaper articles.⁸³² Perhaps, it was this observation that gave impetus to the idea that this very borderline must be older and firmly ingrained in the imagination of Europe, but the lack of widespread references to this division by a group that perambulated the region at a time when Europe's partition should have been established years for a different interpretation.

It seems to be more conclusive to consider the emergence of different dividing lines less as a continuous process, leading from one to another, but to regard spatial discourses in parallel. In a recently published article, Heinrich Kirschbaum described the discourses on Orientalism and Ossianism in early nineteenth-century Polish literature as "Doppelgängertum der Diskurse" (discursive doppelgängers).⁸³³ Although his argument is restricted to a small field, the parallelism he puts forward merits further engagement. Instead of displacing spatial conceptualisation, it allows for an understanding of spatial discourses as a grid of graphs of fluctuating amplitudes that vary according to period, region and theme. This helps to explain why the Habsburg Empire was simultaneously discussed in terms of the 'South', due to the 'southern associations' of Catholicism, while the 'East' was found and discussed at the Ottoman border.

Moreover, this rearrangement helps to explain why hitherto different periodisations of the emergence of Europe's East-West divide have been proposed. Larry Wolf suggested the Enlightenment Era, while Nancy Bisaha pointed at the Renaissance. In the German context Hans Lemberg saw the term 'Eastern Europe' firmly established in the late 1850s, while Ezequiel Adamovski puts the late 1830s forward based on French examples.⁸³⁴ Instead of searching the

⁸³² Wolff, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 371-374.

⁸³³ Kirschbaum, 'Orientalismus', p. 263.

⁸³⁴ Bisaha, *East and West*. Wolff, *Eastern Europe*. Lemberg, 'Osteuropabegriff', pp. 60-62, Adamovsky, 'Euro-Orientalism', p. 599.

definitive date of rearrangement, all of these moments could then be seen as points in time in which the East-West discourse increased in intensity, while debates on North-South waned without eclipsing each other.

Finally, parallelism also helps to explain more recent phenomena. When the geographers Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen reflected in 1997 about the Cold War division of Europe, they construed it as “highly useful for tidying up old ambiguities.” Since all Slavic-speaking states were assigned to Eastern Europe and the partition even allowed that Prussia and its autocratic, militaristic history was separated from the constitutional western and southern German *Länder*, “longstanding metageographic structures [were brought] into agreement with the map of Cold War geopolitics.”⁸³⁵ Although they speculated about a novel conception soon replacing this division, their insistence on the unambiguousness of the Cold War map also contains a degree of stability.

A good measure of precaution is required by the historian who approaches the very recent past. Nevertheless, it seems to me that about twenty years after the publication of Lewis and Wigen’s work, another spatial discourse, an old acquaintance, is again gaining momentum within Europe. The ‘South’ that has developed into the new target, associated with ineffective administration, financial imprudence, laziness and backwardness. Perhaps nothing epitomises these characteristics more than the pejorative acronym PIGS, meaning Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain.⁸³⁶ Philipp Ther summarised this in the chapter *Der Süden als neuer Osten* of his recently published study: “In der Selbst- und Außenwahrnehmung des Kontinents wird die Ost-West-Achse zunehmend durch eine Unterteilung in Nord und Süd ersetzt.”⁸³⁷ However, this does not mean that all stereotypical ascriptions of Eastern Europeans have vanished. Very recent debates, particularly on migration, emphasise differences between a liberal, cosmopolitan Western and a conservative, nationalistic Eastern Europe.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁵ Lewis and Wigen, *Myth*, p. 60.

⁸³⁶ Dainotto, *Europe*, pp. 2-3. Patricia Hertel, Martin Baumeister and Roberto Sala, ‘Zwischen Zentren und Peripherien. Vorstellungen von Westeuropa in Expertendiskursen der Nachkriegszeit’, *Comparativ*, 25 (2015), pp. 7-17.

⁸³⁷ Ther, *Neue Ordnung*, p. 276. For his assessment of the new mental mapping of Europe see in particular *Ibid.*, pp. 272-283.

⁸³⁸ Oliver Schmitt, ‘Der konstruierte Osten Europas: User fragen, ein Wissenschaftler antwortet’, <http://derstandard.at/2000034697590/Der-konstruierte-Osten-Europas-User-fragen-ein->

Thus, both spatial discourses exist in parallel, but their focus and intensity varies according to the concerned space, timeframe and theme. The European mental map contains dividing lines along both axes, North-South and East-West, yet, their efficacy varies. Thus, it would be in vain to look for an exact periodisation of shifting mental maps. Instead the emphasis should be on the intensity of certain discourses at a given time, theme and area.

6.2 Reassessing the Outside's View

There are three areas to which the insights of this study can contribute a more nuanced understanding of the Habsburg Empire.

More traditional accounts of the *Vormärz*-era that comprehend it as a period of almost complete oppression are increasingly challenged. The main argument put forward is that the Habsburg Empire neither had the financial means nor the personnel for an effective police and spying network.⁸³⁹ To be sure, its policies had a strong conservative, restrictive, if not reactionary character, which included censorship and surveillance, but it was far from the police state as it is sometimes depicted. The analysis of travelogues supports the latter view by incorporating the views of foreign contemporaries into this framework. In particular, the dominant descriptions of the process of border crossing, expressing astonishment about its simplicity and lack of rigour, show that the reality on the ground must have considerably deviated from travellers' own expectations. Sure enough, most of them only hint at the real reason behind the simplified procedure, namely their social standing and a healthy amount of *Trinkgeld*. Nonetheless, these descriptions emphasise a different side to common narratives.

A second observation is similarly concerning more traditional narratives. The majority of British travellers emphasised a number of positive characteristics of the political system, even though its absolute nature was contrary to a (self)image

[Wissenschaftler-antwortet](http://derstandard.at/2000034162332/Europas-neuer-Osten-ein-neues-Feindbild)[05/12/16]. Oliver Schmitt, 'Europas neuer Osten, ein neues Feindbild?', <http://derstandard.at/2000034162332/Europas-neuer-Osten-ein-neues-Feindbild> [05/12/16]. Michael Martens, 'Die Eingeklemmten, Interview mit Oliver Schmitt und Iwan Krastew', <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/iwan-krastew-und-oliver-jens-schmitt-zu-osteuropa-14250809.html>[05/12/16].

⁸³⁹ Sked, *Metternich*, p. 177. Vermes, *Hungarian Culture*, p. 156.

of “the proud rock of Albion” as “the Bulwark of Liberty.”⁸⁴⁰ The reason is mainly found in the conservative leanings of these authors and thus an ingrained scepticism about the extension of enfranchisement and democratic processes. For them the Habsburg Empire provided the model of a state that paternally cared for its inhabitants and thus provided the base for tranquillity.

The third and final area concerns the rise of nationalism. Many travellers noticed ethno-linguistic differences, yet did hardly deduce nationalistic claims, even though a fair number was biased towards a certain national group. This is particularly evident in the travelogues describing a journey to the Kingdom of Hungary. It seems that the underlying appreciation of the term ‘nation’ of these bourgeois travellers in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century was much less acute and exclusive than in later periods.⁸⁴¹ Neither did they question the affiliation of Bohemia to a vaguely conceptualised Germany, nor did they scathe German-speaking inhabitants of Hungary for learning another language. Even ardent supporters of a unified Germany that incorporated the German speakers under Habsburg rule, such as Ernst Anton Quitzmann, found this a natural development.⁸⁴² The importance of language for national identity cannot be doubted, of course, but this shows that in the early-nineteenth century language was only one amongst a number of ‘national markers.’⁸⁴³ The lack of an administrative and historical link between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire or the German Confederation seems to have possessed larger significance than the incorporation of all German speakers. This is in line with more recent studies that suggest that only in the 1860s, and therefore at the very end of the period under investigation, language increasingly became the dominant factor of domestic tensions within the Habsburg Empire.⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴⁰ [Sealsfield], *Austria*, pp. 21-22.

⁸⁴¹ Judson, *Habsburg Empire*, pp. 84-88, 292-293.

⁸⁴² Quitzmann, *Deutsche Briefe*, p. 53.

⁸⁴³ Brian E. Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 15-47.

⁸⁴⁴ Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists*. Cole, *Different Paths*. Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, 2006). Haslinger, *Nation*.

6.3 Further Leads – New Avenues

Unfortunately, due to the limitation of time and space not all potentially fruitful leads could be followed.

With regard to the Habsburg Empire in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the ‘East’ did not play a decisive role, except when the Ottoman Empire was approached. Nonetheless, at the very latest in the wake of the Cold War, a division of Europe along an East-West axis marginalised all other spatial discourses. This, however, means that the intensity of this particular discourse must have increased considerably sometime between the end of this study’s observation period and the beginning of the Cold War era. Although a number of studies attest to the role nationalism could play in tourism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, it was impossible to incorporate these periods as well.⁸⁴⁵ In spite of the challenges the analysis of travel writing during that later period would face – an even greater number of potential sources and changes within the genre⁸⁴⁶ – such work would certainly further the understanding of conceptualised spaces and of mental mapping in a longer time frame.

The focus on the view from outside as it was expressed in published travel accounts means also that the ‘polished end product’ constitutes the main research interest. The advantage of this approach is to work on sources that the reading public had at its disposal. But the process of turning a journey into a published book included numerous revisions, the incorporation of literature read before, during and after the journey, which fostered a leaning towards intertextuality and comments by publishers and editors.⁸⁴⁷ Observing these diverse influences on the manuscript level with particular regard to spatial terms would allow glimpsing into the construction of texts. Although this might further our understanding why

⁸⁴⁵ Pieter M. Judson, ‘The Bohemian Oberammergau: Nationalist Tourism in the Austrian Empire’, in Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (eds.), *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York and Oxford, 2005), pp. 89-106. Jill Steward, ‘“Gruss aus Wien”: Urban Tourism in Austria-Hungary before the First World War’, in Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk and Jill Steward (eds.), *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 132-133. Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford and New York, 2000).

⁸⁴⁶ Particularly serial publications in newspaper feuilletons became popular. Schulz-Forberg, *London-Berlin*, p. 100.

⁸⁴⁷ Exemplified Murray’s publications: Keighren, Withers and Bell, *Travels*, pp. 175-193.

authors reverted to certain terms in certain contexts, the constraints this study was subject to led to this aspect's omission.

Finally, the wealth of relevant sources prevented the inclusion of travelogues written by inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire, who travelled their native land. In particular comparing their writings to the findings of this study would hold potential for further research. Did the views of German speakers from outside the Empire's border differ to those living under the sway of the Habsburgs and if yes how? How did the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary, especially in the wake of increasing Magyarisation, regard and describe their native land? Of course, a number of challenges are to be met. Due to censorship, travelogues published within the Habsburg Empire must be approached with a certain measure of precaution and books published outside its borders would need particular attention. Nevertheless, it would constitute a fruitful supplement to the findings of this study.

The rich and diverse history of the Habsburg Empire still holds quite a few promising areas of work for the historian...

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