THE DISCOURSE OF THE OTHER IN GERMAN TRAVEL WRITING 1800-1860

By

Kamini Prakash

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Linguistics and German, Slavic, Asian and African Languages

1994

THE DISCOURSE OF THE OTHER IN GERMAN TRAVEL WRITING 1800-1860

By

Kamini Prakash

This dissertation analyzes Nineteenth Century German travel writing in the context of colonial discourse. This aspect of travel writing has been largely ignored in German studies, because Germany was never a major colonial power. As a result, literary criticism has focussed on the academic neutrality of the Germans, claiming that they did not travel for economic and political motives but were driven by the desire for knowledge. This dissertation, on the other hand, asserts that while German travel accounts may not stem from a colonial situation, where writing serves the purpose of justifying colonial rule, they still reveal surprising similarities with colonial accounts. They are a form of cultural domination, in that they establish an intellectual authority over other cultures, and have the power to define, interpret and represent these cultures for a European audience.

This dissertation examines three specific models of contact in travel writing: scientific-exploratory, tourist-leisure and missionary writing. It illustrates how non-European cultures and their people are constructed as Europe's essentialized and dichotomized Other through types of writing and imagery. It also shows how travelers'

perceptions of the Other are limited by their conceptual framework and mediated to a large extent by images produced and propagated in Europe. At the same time travel writing is not composed of a single homogenous discourse, but is filled with contradictions, ambiguities and clashing discourses. Despite the fact that German travelers rejected the violence and exploitation associated with colonial rule, and instead framed the purpose of their voyage in terms of the pursuit of knowledge and the advancement of humanity, the discourse, nevertheless, constructs the Other in a manner that opened a space for colonial expansion.

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of several people. My thanks go first and foremost to my adviser, Dr. Karin Wurst, who always managed to find the time in her hectic schedule to read endless drafts, give critical feedback and cope with bouts of panic. I would also like to thank my family for pushing me to finish when I had all but given up. To my friends in E. Lansing, Vibha, Shrihari, Dan, Ron and Neerja - thank you for being there whenever I needed you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Until the fifteenth century, the established center of civilization lay not in the small states of Christian Europe, but in the empires of the East: that of the Ottomans, of the Mughals, Persia, China. The voyages of discovery in the fifteenth century changed the history of Europe decisively. Explorers like Vasco da Gama, Columbus, Magellan and Vespucci exposed the world to the curious gaze of the Europeans, making them aware of continents and people they had never known to exist. Of course, they were familiar with popular stories about wild men, hairy giants, cannibals, and one-eyed cyclopes, but the new accounts were more than mere stories or romance: they bore the authority of the eye-witness. Whereas the fables were peopled by fictive creatures and located in remote, imaginary spaces, the travel accounts clearly defined the geographical location and emphasized the difference between those who had been there and those who had not, by appealing to the primacy of the eye. Unlike the authors of romances, travel writers could count on their direct and unmediated experience of the Other[1] to persuade their readers.

Travel, scientific exploration, colonial activity and trade brought Europe into contact with other continents and cultures. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Europeans had left their mark almost all over the world.

The blank areas in European maps of the world had nearly all been filled in and named. The emergence of the natural sciences as a discipline in the eighteenth century led to the rise of scientific-exploratory writing. Scientists explored different continents, collecting specimens and cataloguing them into a unified classificatory system. Colonialism had also changed the character of travel. The voyages of discovery had given way to inland exploration, trade and transaction, supported by governments pursuing national interests. The British had a flourishing colony in India, the French and the Dutch guarded their interests in Indo-China, the Spanish and the Portuguese had carved up South America amongst themselves. An intricate system of exchange developed between the "mother" country and the colonies: cheap raw material had to be transported to the mother country where it was processed. Ready made goods were then sent back to the colonies, which ensured a market. Thus the colonies supplied Europe, not only with raw materials, like sugar, tobacco, cotton etc, and cheap labor, but also with a market for the finished goods. Besides the transportation of these goods, men and ammunition were also transported to the colonies, to keep a tight rein on the colonized. Consequently there was a wide variety of people traveling during this period - sailors, soldiers, administrators and their families, merchants, scientists and missionaries.

Germany, however, did not possess any colonies until the end of the nineteenth Century because of its territorial fragmentation. Even after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 and the Napoleonic Wars, Germans remained fragmented into several sovereign territorial principalities, without any central power to hold them together. The divisions between the principalities inhibited trade and the growth of industry. As a result, there was no infrastructure to support and finance travelers. Therefore travel was often sponsored by foreign governments. Germany only achieved the status of nationhood in 1871. By this time the non-European world had already been carved up by the other European nations into colonies, protectorates and spheres of influence. German colonization lasted barely thirty years from 1884 to 1919 and was limited to Cameroon, Senegal, Tanganyika, South West Africa and the Marshall Islands in the South Sea Pacific. During the time frame under investigation (1800-1860), however, Germany was politically and financially in no position to embark on a colonial policy.

The lack of economic and political power in Germany was compensated by a moral and intellectual authority. Since Germany did not have a national or colonial interest, German travelers were regarded as unbiased and capable of exercising a disinterested and enlightened judgement.[2] Herder distinguished Germany from the colonial powers,

stressing the spiritual task of all Germans.[3] The German mission was not to conquer, but to be "a nation of thinkers and educators."[4] Germans, it was believed, did not travel for economic and political motives. Instead, they devoted themselves to the pursuit of knowledge and science in the service of progress and the advancement of humanity.

Travel became synonymous with Enlightenment. It disproved old beliefs and emancipated thought from dogmatic authority. It was a means of gaining self-knowledge and a new understanding of human nature through the direct observation of other societies. The Enlightenment, however, became dogmatic in turn, because it considered its philosophy as absolute and universally valid. The quest for comprehensive knowledge became a tyranny of universal standards imposed on the rest of the world. Travelers attempted to understand, assimilate, integrate and finally subjugate the Other's cultural uniqueness and specificity into the ideological framework of the Enlightenment. The knowledge-building enterprise of the Enlightenment became the basis for establishing European authority throughout the world.

Travel accounts from all over the world had a moral and pedagogical value, which was used by the middle class intelligentsia to serve their own political ends in Germany. These accounts were compiled and popularized through publications such as E.A.W. von Zimmermann's Taschenbuch der

Reisen oder unterhaltende Darstellung der Entdeckungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1803) and T.F. Ehrmann's Neueste Länder- und Völkerkunde: Ein geographisches Lesebuch für alle Stände (1811). Regarded as "eine unterrichtende Lectur,"[5] they were produced for mass consumption and aimed at educating the public. However, the focus lay not so much on the information about other countries but on the moral message they contained. They aimed at making the reader a more moral person, who after learning about the piteous fate of the savage, would not only empathize with his or her less fortunate brothers and sisters but also heed civilized values.

Describing the life of the savage became a lesson in moral guidance. The implicit warning in these texts suggested that the readers could also degenerate into a state of savagery if they did not repress and overcome the primeval nature within man, through sexual restraint and the gospel of work. By propagating middle class values of order, discipline and industry, these texts served to reinforce the moral self-assuredness of the middle class, which sought to distance itself from the lower classes.

At the same time, these texts also challenged the nobility. Unable to wrest political power from the nobility by any direct means, the bourgeoisie fought the nobility in the intellectual sphere. These texts encode a set of values used by the politically paralyzed bourgeoisie to define

itself in opposition to the nobility. Whereas members of the nobility were attacked as being insincere, superficial and depraved, the bourgeoisie prided itself in being better humans: upright, honest and virtuous. Its value system set the bougeoisie apart from both the nobility and the lower classes. Caught between two fronts, the middle class wanted to share the privileges of the nobility, while maintaining a social hierarchy, which would keep the lower classes in their place. Thus travel writing was used for a political agenda at home.

The years spanning the time frame 1750-1850 witnessed a series of voyages made by German explorers and scientists around the world: In 1763 Carsten Niebuhr left Europe for the East (Syria, Palestine, India), returning four years later. He was followed by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen in 1805, and Johann Ludwig Burckhardt in 1809. Georg Forster accompanied Captain Cook on his expedition around the world in 1772-1775, Krusenstern and Langsdorff sailed around the world in 1804, sponsored by Czar Alexander I. Alexander von Humboldt (1800) and Eduard Pöppig (1826) explored South America, while Friedrich Konrad Hornemann (1797-1798), Heinrich Barth (1849-1855) and Heinrich Lichtenstein (1803-6) visited Africa. These are only a few of the Germans who travelled during this period, and who recorded their observations to share with those left behind at home. The sheer number of publications falling under the category of

travel literature speaks for the immense popularity enjoyed by this genre in the nineteenth century, for example: M.C. Sprengel published 50 volumes of the journal Bibliothek der neuesten und wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen und geographischen Nachrichten ... between 1800 -1814. Bertuch published 65 volumes Neue Bibliothek der wichtigsten Reisebeschreibungen from 1815 to 1832, and Widmann and Hauff published 44 volumes of Bibliothek der Reise und Länderbeschreibungen from 1835 to 1860. These writings were held to be accurate and unbiased representations of indigenous cultures.

The process of writing about and representing other cultures is, however, rooted in the traveler's own culture and based on the comparative method. Pagden addresses the problems entailed in this method, which he sees as the principle cognitive act of modern human sciences. What cannot be compared remains incomprehensible. Comprehension presupposes the translation of the unfamiliar into something familiar by using "the principle of attachment." In the process, however, the otherness of the country and its people is not eliminated, but made accountable. Simultaneously, the Other's practices and customs are detached from their contexts and relocated in a new European context, making them distorted and unintelligible to the Other. Although this process facilitates a degree of understanding (for the Europeans) and in a sense reduces the

distance between two cultures, at the same time it also leads to the simple assimilation of the unknown or foreign into existing European patterns of thought and perception.

Columbus, for example, translated the Taino ritual of fasting and remaining celibate before panning for gold as a means of acquiring divine favor. The Tainos, however, observed this ritual for totally different reasons. They regarded gold as a substance in a state of transition and therefore potentially dangerous. Although Columbus used what was familiar (fasting and sexual abstention) to understand the unfamiliar (the ritual), he did not comprehend the relevance of this ritual for the Tainos. Instead, he interpreted the ritual according to the customs of his own culture. This example illustrates the problems of overcoming the incommensurability of cultures. They are commensurable only through assimilation. It is not possible to understand the world of the Other "in their terms" without becoming one of them, since their terms cannot be detached from "ours." Travelers had to make the unknown familiar enough to become imaginable: the Other had to be made like "us."[6] All representations of the Other thus entail the imposition of the traveler's conceptual framework on the foreign culture.

Literary criticism exploring travel literature has been extensive. However, most contemporary research in German Studies has been predominantly generic and subject-centered.

In Die Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorie, William Stewart examines the genre of travel writing, tracing its development from an autoptic model of representation, in the service of science and the state, to a more subjective model. He illustrates how the genre changed to serve the interests of the rising bourgeoisie, linking the emergence of subjectivity to the bourgeois struggle for emancipation.[7]

Die Erfahrene Welt by Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow emphasizes the motive of self-exploration through the discovery of the world and the subsequent expansion of one's horizons. This descriptive study examines how travelers perceived and experienced other cultures. It traces the developing degrees of subjectivity in travel accounts beginning with Marco Polo, through the Renaissance and culminating in the eighteenth century. It shows how the impersonal, factual style of the chronicle gives way to a more philosophical and critical form of writing. The traveler, who previously was a passive recorder of facts, now starts to reflect, to evaluate and to question, resulting in a reevaluation of his own values and categories. The impact this knowledge had on Europe's understanding of itself is the primary focus of this study.[8] It does not explore the impact of this knowledge on the cultures which were being studied.

Both Wuthenow and Hans-Wolf Jäger differentiate between the explorers of the Enlightenment (Cook, Bougainville etc.)

and the conquistadors of the New World. Jäger states that the explorers

> ... sehen die entlegensten Gebiete als rechtmäßige Habe des Heimatlandes, ihre Schätze als natürliche Beute der eigenen Zivilisation. Doch möchten sie, rationalistisch erzogen und humanistisch gesonnen, die fremden Gegenden nicht einfach ausplündern, ihre Bewohner nicht roh unterwerfen, sondern die antipodischen Ländern bebauen und die Eingeborenen als Handelspartner gewinnen oder zu Untertanen der eigenen Krone erziehen.[9]

While exploitation and subjugation of the indigenous people are denounced, the claim to enlightened human ideals as the basis for the expansion of European authority throughout the world remains unquestioned.

My goal is to reexamine German travel literature as a part of colonial discourse. The study of discourses shifts the focus of research from genre and subject to language. It shows the use of language as a tool for constructing reality. What matters is not how one literary form differs from another, but how writing works, in whatever form, to produce knowledge about other cultures. Historically speaking, colonial discourse consists of the languages employed by the representatives of colonial powers for the purpose of establishing authority over their colonies during the period of imperial expansion that culminated at the end of the nineteenth century. However, since there was no colonial situation in the German context under

investigation, I have extended this definition beyond the colonial period and the representatives of colonial powers. Rather, colonial discourse is determined by its function: the establishment of authority through the demarcation of identity and difference, i.e. by constructing a binary opposition between the Self and its Other, where the Self occupies the positive pole and the Other is designated the negative pole.[10]

It is true that German travel accounts did not claim any transformative potential and differed considerably from overtly imperial articulations of conquest. But they do bear surprising similarities to patterns of thought and language in writings, which stem from a colonial situation and which were used for justifying colonial rule. They represent a form of cultural domination, by which the traveler establishes an intellectual authority over other cultures and acquires the power to define and interpret these cultures for a European audience.

This dissertation analyzes the writings of three German travelers, a scientist, a countess and a Lutheran missionary, who travelled to different parts of the world in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is not concerned with the comparison of these accounts with the "facts" or the "truth." Instead it demonstrates the way these writers perceived and constructed the indigenous people for their German audience. Although the travelers I

have selected come from varied personal backgrounds and the peoples they studied span the earth from Turkey through Africa to Brazil, there are striking similarities between these texts in their use of language, eg. tense, tropes and speech acts. These surface regularities illustrate that travel texts, like all other texts, are written within established conventions and cannot pose as transcriptions of reality. Travel writing cannot be read as a simple account of a journey, a country and a narrator, but must be seen in light of contemporary discourses which shaped them, and which they, in turn, shape. The travel accounts analyzed in this dissertation illustrate three moments of a larger discursive phenomenon.

Several studies, influenced by Foucault, have problematized the concept of knowledge as a representation of reality. As Ronald Inden points out, this representational view of knowledge assumes that "true" knowledge mirrors a separate reality which the knower, eg. the scholar, transcends. It does not take into account that the knower is in fact situated in that reality, claiming instead that this knowledge is objective truth. It ignores the specific historical context under which these representations and descriptions are produced: the social, economic and political relationship between the knower and the known. As a result, a hierarchical relationship is produced between the two, which privileges the knowledge of

the scholar, while subjugating the knowledge of those being studied. Thus the knowledge of the knower is not an "accurate" representation of external reality. It remains partial, often relying on previous accounts. It can be seen as an artificial construct, but one which actively participates in the construction of reality.[11]

Edward Said's book Orientalism is a critical study of western knowledge about the Orient. Orientalism, according to Said, is a body of disciplinary knowledge produced by texts and institutional practices, responsible for generating authoritative and essentializing statements about the Orient, and characterized by a mutually supporting relationship between power and knowledge. This body of knowledge imposes a disciplinary order over the Orient, turning it into a province of western learning and codifying it in texts, which speak for the "true" Orient. Said also discusses a second order of knowledge, which comprises of a collection of fantasies, popular images, myths and specialized vocabulary used to talk about the Orient. This Orient is a site of romance, haunting landscapes and intoxicating experiences. In both cases, knowledge of the Orient is not based on real encounters but culled from representations, which do not correspond with the external referent.[12]

Mary Louise Pratt focuses on travelers in South America and Africa, outlining several phases of accounts from the

"contact zone."[13] She traces the change in travel writings during the era of scientific travel, from survival stories to scientific exploratory writing. Whereas indigenous people play a prominent role in survival stories through dialogue and interaction, scientific exploratory writing merely describes them, as it would describe a specimen. They are not affirmed as cultural beings with their own distinct history. Instead the naturalist extracts each specimen out of its surroundings and integrates it into European-based patterns of global unity and order. Thus the global classificatory project of science, which claimed to be non-exploitative, amounts to an act of appropriation. This type of writing marginalizes the human element by textually depopulating landscapes and relocating indigenous people to separate chapters or "textual homelands" describing local manners and customs. Encounters between the traveler and the indigenous people are textualized as an enumeration of pregiven traits (eg. the Bushman is cheerful and lively ...), instead of being anchored in a historical context or in an observing self. No textual space is provided for the actual interaction which often entailed exploitation, violence and mutual dependency. The observer is depicted as an innocent producer of information, a "disembodied eye." This self-effacement of the observer gives the text the authoritative, scientific status it requires for making its information "natural" and therefore

"true." It is not seen as a product of a European discipline. [14] Johannes Fabian studies the same phenomenon from an anthropological perspective and explains how anthropology makes its object by placing it in a time other than the present of the producer of the discourse. This "denial of coevalness" prevents communication between the anthropologist and his subject, resulting in a monologic discourse, in which the subject is silenced.[15]

Western writings about other countries, however, do not consist of only one single discourse. These texts are more complex and often contain several discourses which undermine each other. As Sara Mills demonstrates in her study of writings by British women travelers, this is especially evident in the case of women travelers, where colonial discourse and the discourse of femininity intersect. The writer has to negotiate various discursive constraints and decide whether she wants to adopt a position of authority (eg. the adventure-hero), as determined by the conventions of the genre, or whether she should adopt a more self-effacing feminine stance.[16]

Said demonstrates the systematic and invariant nature of Oriental discourse. This view of Oriental discourse has been criticized by Dennis Porter as too monolithic and consistent. According to Porter, Said does not leave room for the emergence of an alternative discourse within the given dominant hegemonic formation. Orientalism is not the

unified discourse that Said describes, but is made up of diverse elements which both contest and affirm the dominant discourses and other discourses of which it is composed.[17] Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg also disagree with Said's definition of Orientalism as "a monolithic, undifferentiated and uncontested Western imposition." They argue instead for a theory of positionality, stating that "there is no universality in the standpoints of authors. Rather, each of us is located very specifically ... within discourses of power/knowledge. We write from these positions." [18]

So, although travel texts do share several common features, they do not constitute a homogenous entity. Texts are produced in situations, where there are several forces at work at the same time: textual, economic, social, political, historical and personal. These varied factors act as constraints on the writing process. Each situation evokes and develops corresponding narrative and descriptive techniques particular to its specific setting and historical context. It is these elements of each text that must be considered.

At the same time, the genre of travel writing is guided by certain conventions. Sara Mills analyzes the conventions of travel writing as a whole and identifies three distinct textual features of the genre, which she classifies as the narrative figure, the narrative incidents and description of objects (74). As Mary Louise Pratt observes, travel texts

oscillate between two basic types of narrative figures: the "manners and customs" (or scientific-objectivist) narrator and the "sentimental" narrator. The former is found more commonly in scientific-exploratory writing, where the narrator is absent and observations emanate from "an unknown site behind the speaking I." [19] The authority of these texts is based on the informational and scientific nature of its content. Little account of human interaction is given. Instead, landscapes are described as if empty of people, who appear only as traces (143). The "sentimental" travel text, on the other hand, foregrounds the narrator and portrays the indigenous inhabitants as part of the dramatic narrative. These texts are more dialogic in nature (151). In both cases, however, the real agenda of European expansionism is mystified.

Certain narrative incidents are so common in travel writing that they have become part of the genre, eg. the moment of arrival, the panorama, where the narrator imagines a landscape transformed by European industry. Similarly, there are informational constraints and taboo topics which determine the kind of information that can or cannot be included. Another common method, especially in scientific exploratory writing, is the descriptive dissection of the anatomy. The Other is not described as an individual, but as a list of features, composed of separate body parts.

These detailed descriptions reduce the Other to the status of objects, deprived of all traces of humanity.

The texts explored in the following chapters represent different models of "contact" in travel writing: scientific-exploratory, tourist-leisure and missionary writing. German travelers in the first of the nineteenth century were predominantly from these three areas. Excluded are the military, administrative and commercial fields, which were not well represented by Germans. Reise in Brasilien (1823-1831) written by Carl Friedrich Philip von Martius, records the observations of a natural scientist sent on an expedition to Brazil by King Maximilian Joseph I. The scientific discourse is characterized by detailed descriptions of the Other, who serves the scientist as a specimen, waiting to be catalogued into European-based patterns of knowledge. The scientific status of the text gives it the intellectual authority to pose as the truth. Although well-known in his field, Martius has never been discussed as a travel writer, despite the fact that he is more typical of the naturalist of the time than someone of the stature of Humboldt. Humboldt's unique personality, his image as the great man of science overshadows everything else in his writings, making his individuality itself the event. His works were appreciated more for their aesthetic value rather than for their scientific-documentary value.

In contrast to the objective and impersonal style of

scientific discourse, my second paradigm, Orientalische Briefe (1844), is a collection of "personal impressions" made by the Middle East on the traveler Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn. Hahn-Hahn has already been discussed by several feminist critics, like Annegret Pelz and Elke Frederiksen. Frederiksen concentrates mainly on the motive of self-exploration and the category of gender in these writings, ignoring the traveler's attitudes towards race.[20] Pelz, on the other hand, explores the ambiguities arising from the encounter between "woman," who is marginalized within her own culture and the "Orient," a colonized and domesticated entity. She concludes, that Hahn-Hahn ultimately chooses to remain an outsider to both cultures, criticizing European norms, undermining Oriental images and at the same time adopting ethnocentric stereotypes about the Orient.[21] My analysis, in contrast, demonstrates that Orientalische Briefe is not very different from other colonial writings, despite the author's gender. Hahn-Hahn employs the same tropes and imagery that occur in colonial discourse to construct the Orient. Even when she exposes and debunks popular myths about the Orient, she remains firmly within the framework of colonial discourse.[22] Although the use of certain tropes may differ slightly due to the writer's gender, such as the Bedouins and the harem, their end effect is the same.

Finally the diaries of Carl Hugo Hahn, a missionary in South West Africa between the years 1837-1860 are governed by evangelical discourse. This discourse is characterized by the story of conversion, which emphasizes the savagery of the indigenous people and simultaneously proclaims their essential humanity, leaving the possibility of conversion open. Conversion was not confined to just religion, but presupposed a radical social and cultural transformation of the indigenous people. The failure of the mission leads to the undermining of evangelical discourse by a more exclusionary discourse on racial differences, which culminates in the request for colonial intervention.

In conclusion, these travel texts, like all representations, are embedded in the language, culture and institutions of the representor. The traveler's perceptions of the Other are limited by his or her conceptual framework and determined to a large extent by the images produced and propagated at home. Although Germany did not have any colonies during the time frame under investigation, the writings analyzed in my dissertation can be placed under the rubric of colonial discourse, because they share the same language and tropes as writing produced by representatives of colonial powers, whose function was the establishment of colonial authority and the preservation of colonial relations. These travel texts construct the Other in a manner that opened a space for colonial

expansion. Finally, these texts share certain common features, but they do not constitute a homogenous entity. Rather, they contain several contradictions, ambiguities and even conflicting discourses.

In Chapter One, I will present some of the contemporary discussions on race. The scientific study of human beings led to the formulation of several theories which tried to account for the differences between the races. Some of these theories surface in the travel accounts, dealt with in this dissertation, illustrating how they colored the travelers' perceptions of the Other and shaped their field of vision.

Chapter II demonstrates how scientific discourse naturalizes racial hierarchies and colonial relations through the disciplinary procedures of description and classification. I will show how this discourse transforms indigenous people from cultural and historical beings into discrete entities of scientific enquiry, which are then catalogued into European paradigms of knowledge. The pursuit of knowledge for the advance of humankind underwrote colonial appropriation, even as it rejected conquest and subjugation.

Chapter III analyzes tourist-leisure travel writing. I will demonstrate how Hahn-Hahn uses the same tropes and imagery that occur in Oriental discourse. For example, the Orient is constructed as a vestige of a glorious past, as an

unchanging tableau vivant, or as a scene of decay and disintegration. These Orientalist constructions are at the same time accompanied by a demystification of other popular images and myths about the Orient. Hahn-Hahn unveils and exposes the "reality" behind the facade of grandeur. She adopts a characteristic authoritative stance over the Other and there is scant room for an alternative discourse. I will show how Hahn-Hahn remains within the model of colonial discourse even while criticizing her own culture.

Chapter IV illustrates how evangelical authority dismantles indigenous socio-economic structures and attempts to replace them with German models. To this end it constructs the Other as savage but also helpless and in need of guidance. The resistance to missionary activity creates a crisis of authority, revealing the missionary's precarious position. I will show how evangelical discourse is replaced by a discourse which emphasizes racial differences in order to explain the failure of the mission.

CHAPTER I

Contemporary Discourses on Race

1. The Science of Man

Ever since the voyages of discovery in the fifteenth century, accounts by travelers to all parts of the world were making Europeans aware of the existence of other peoples, differing considerably in their physical, moral and social characteristics from their European norm. Even though this awareness had existed as early as the first century A.D. in the shape of wonderful stories about the dogheaded Cynocephali of India and the Blemmyae of Libya, who wore their faces in their chests, the newly gained knowledge was no longer confined to the realm of fantasy, but based on authentic eyewitness accounts. Not only did the discovery of America in 1492 decenter Europe, it also posed a challenge to the existing conceptual and intellectual framework in Europe. A new vocabulary had to be invented to describe the novelties encountered and a system had to be developed which was capable of embracing the differences and providing an explanation for the variations in humankind. The authority of the ancients was replaced by empirical sciences, paving the way for the scientific study of man in the eighteenth century. This new science regarded man as a natural species, subject to the

same laws as all other natural phenomena and was based on the techniques of observation, analysis and comparison.[1] For the first time then the interest in other people, their societies and cultures assumed the status of scientific knowledge.

This chapter deals with some of the contemporary discussions on race, which tried to come to terms with the category of difference. The discourse on race encompasses a whole range of views represented by the monogenists and the polygenists, the environmentalists, the biological determinists, and the social evolutionists.

2. The Origin of the Species

By the eighteenth century a number of different theories on race and culture had evolved, based on the reports sent home by travelers. These theories revolved around the basic question of origins: whether the Negro or American belonged to the same human species as the white race. The monogenists ascribed a common origin to all humanity, stressing the essential unity of humankind. Their arguments were based on the official origin myth found in Genesis, according to which all human beings had descended from Adam. They pointed to the similarities between the different races and explained the variations as culturally or geographically determined. The polygenists can be traced back to the Preadamites of the sixteenth century, who defied

the orthodox point of view by daring to question the existence of one father for all humankind.[2] They attributed variations between the races to their separate origins, pointing to the great diversity of cultures as evidence and counteracting diffusionist theories by showing the impossibility of crossing the geographical distances that separate continents.[3] In the eighteenth century, however, this theory became a tool in the hands of those who insisted on the innate inferiority of other races, asserting that they were members of a different species. The ideas of monogenists and polygenists, taken at one level, are opposed to each other. But these ideas converged with regard to the position of the Other vis-à-vis the European. Whether part of the same family or not, the Other was a lower order of creation.

3. The Great Chain of Being

Western thought on nature was deeply influenced by the idea of the Great Chain of Being, according to which the universe was:

> composed of an ... infinite number of links ranging in hierarchical order from the meagerest kind of existents, ... through "every possible" grade up to the ens perfectissimum ... every one of them differing from that immediately above and that immediately below it by the "least possible" degree of difference.[4]

In other words, the chain is a metaphor which constructs nature as a scale, which progresses from the simplest to the most complex organism by imperceptible degrees, resulting in a hierarchy of species.

Classifications, describing and comparing the characteristics of different organisms and placing them under a category became the main task of naturalists. The systematization and ordering of nature resulted in fixed and well-defined species. This rigid scheme was not without its opponents, who saw the divisions between the species as arbitrary and questioned their validity on the grounds of the principle of continuity. They argued, that the gradations from one specie to another were so imperceptible, that it was impossible to determine the boundaries. The classification of nature could only be artificial, because the diversity of nature defied any classificatory scheme. There were bound to be objects belonging to more than one class. Forster observed: "die Ordnung der Natur folgt unseren Eintheilungen nicht, und sobald man ihr dieselben aufdringen will, verfällt man in Ungereimtheiten."[5] Others, like the German anatomist Blumenbach argued that the gaps between the species were too great, for example the chasm between man and apes. But for the most part, naturalists viewed their task as searching for the "missing links" in the chain, and thus supplying empirical evidence to complete the grand scheme of things.

The point in the scale which attracted the most attention in the late eighteenth century was the interval between man and the higher apes. Already in 1699, Edward Tyson had concluded that the "pygmie" i.e. chimpanzee was in fact intermediate between man and the monkey.[6] Linnaeus closed the link by categorizing man and apes under the same species of Quadrupedia, causing an indignant Thomas Pennant, the author of A History of Quadrupeds, to protest: "my vanity will not suffer me to rank mankind with Apes, Monkies, Maucaucos, and Bats, the companions Linnaeus has allotted us ..." (Slotkin 186). But the similarities between apes and man were too great to ignore.

The Great Chain was now applied to human variations in an attempt to enhance the distance between the apes and the Europeans: the different races of mankind formed a "natural" scale, with the Europeans on top and the African at the bottom. The numerous gradations between the two extremes were filled up by all the other races, keeping the European at a safe distance from the apes. This process of classification and hierachization is illustrated in the works of the naturalist, Martius, who places the various races and tribes in Brazil in their appropriate place on the scale on the basis of their appearance. The criterion for a higher position on the scale was aesthetic. Aesthetic conventions were color coded: the Black embodied the antithesis of the Greek aesthetic ideal, while white came to

represent beauty, order, and civilization. As the anatomist, Charles White, states: "ascending the line of gradation, we come at last to the white European; who being most removed from the brute creation, may, on that account, be considered as the most beautiful of the human race" (Slotkin 220).

Aesthetics were linked with the moral character of the person. In "Of the Harmony Between Moral and Physical Beauty," Lavater states: "Beauty and ugliness have a strict connection with the moral constitution of the man. In proportion as he is morally good, he is handsome; and ugly, in proportion as he is morally bad."[7] The hierarchy of the races, based on both external and internal factors was thus made to appear natural.

4. The Missing Link

Several naturalists saw the "Hottentots" as the connecting link between anthropoids and homo sapiens. These speculations about the relationship between human beings and apes created widespread interest in the science of anatomy. Bodies needed for dissection and observation were in great demand in Europe, so that theories could be formulated, denied or confirmed.

One of the earlier theories that linked the African to the apes was Camper's facial angle (1770s). The facial angle was supposed to serve as a measure of intelligence and

reveal the gradual gradations from animal to man. The angle of the line leading from the forehead to the upper lip increases, according to Camper, from forty-two degrees (a monkey with a tail) to fifty-eight in an orangutan, to seventy in a black man, to eighty or ninety in a European man and to one hundred in ancient Greece.[8]

This theory seemed to confirm the prejudices regarding Blacks and their proximity to the apes on the graded scale of being. The mouth was regarded as an organ which took care of the baser needs of humans. Fichte comments, "Wie das Individuum, oder, die Raçe, noch thierischer, und selbstsüchtiger ist, drängt er [der Mund] sich hervor; wie sie edler wird, tritt er zurück, unter den Bogen der denkenden Stirne."[9] A depressed forehead and a protruding jaw, indicated a greater degree of animality in the individual. The Black was thus associated with the ape, by virtue of his or her profile, which became the outward measure of inner animality and intelligence. Placed on the bottom of the scale, the inferiority of the Black is naturalized in the language of science. The impact of such theories on travelers is evident in Hahn-Hahn's comments about the Ethiopian slaves. She interprets their facial features as evidence of their lack of intelligence.

The German anatomist Samuel von Sömmerring also tried to prove the similarities between apes and the Black. In his Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom

Europäer published in 1785, he defines his main objective: "Ob im Baue und in der Einrichtung des Körpers sich etwan Verschiedenheiten ... finden, die dem Mohren eine niedrigere Staffel am Throne der Menschheit anzuweisen scheinen." [10] Drawing an analogy between gender and race, he explains that just as a boy is superior to a girl, based on his physical strength, so too there must be a reason for the differences between Europeans and Blacks. As Nancy Stepan points out, this analogy equating "lower" races with the female type of human species occupied a strategic place in scientific theory about human variation. Women and the lower races, it was said, shared low brain weights, narrow skulls, protruding jaws, and childlike temperaments. These are just a few of the similarities "discovered" by scientists. But, rather than presenting a preexisting nature, these analogies help to construct nature and produce new knowledge by establishing similarities and allowing us to see those similarities in the first place.[11]

Sömmerring paid particular attention to what he considered deeper and fundamental differences caused by nature. After dissecting and examining several black corpses, both male and female, he concludes, "Der Mohr scheint dem Affen näher als der Europäer," but adds that despite this they are "wahre Menschen, so gut wie wir, ... so gut, und nichts weniger Menschen, als eine der schönsten Griechinnen" (xx). Although "der Mohr" is elevated to the

highest position in the scale, Sömmerring is still hard pressed to say whether primordial man ascended to the status of the European or degenerated to become a negro ["ob der ursprüngliche Mensch ... zum Europäer veredelt, oder zum Neger ausgeartet sey"] (79).

Supplementing his observations with those made by various travelers, Sömmerring illustrates the animality present in several features of the Black, emphasizing the well-developed sensory organs, like the nostrils and the ears, the stronger teeth, the larger, more prominent jaw and the proportionally depressed forehead. He cites Herder's observations regarding the structural differences between animals and humans in support of his thesis (27). For Herder, the mouth and the teeth are no longer important to man, who has been bestowed with reason and speech. This shift in functions is reflected in the organization of man: "... der Mund, der am Kopfe des Thiers noch immer der vorstehende Theil war, [tritt] unter die höhere Organization des Antlitzes zurück."[12] In man, the forehead becomes the "Tempel jugendlich-schöner und reiner Menschengedanken" (129). Sömmerring applies these criteria to Blacks and since their features do not conform to the Greek aesthetic ideal, described by Herder, they are declared "affenähnlich." In this manner Sömmerring is able to convince his friend and critic of the scale of nature, Forster, that indeed: "alles in der Schöpfung durch Nüancen

zusammenhängt" (Forster 141). Thus the similarities between the Black and the ape are seen as a fact of nature, symbolized by the chain of being.

5. The Unity of Man

But not everyone had such implicit faith in the chain. Blumenbach rejected the graded scale of human races, arguing that the gulf between man and all other animals was too great. In his book, On the Natural Variety of Man, Blumenbach placed man in a new category, called Bimana in contrast to the earlier Linnaean classification of Quadrumana.[13] He illustrated the difference between man and animals, based on physical characteristics, such as the erect posture, unique to man and his consequent two-handedness (164). He also discusses the "endowments of the mind," the primary feature being the faculty of reason. Whereas animals are furnished with instincts, in order to protect themselves, all man's instincts are artificial, making him dependent on society and education. These external factors "cultivate the dormant germ of reason," which compensates for all the defects in which animals seem to have an advantage over man (82). Speech is the work of reason alone. The "pygmy" speaks although it is destitute of reason, but "it cannot discourse, nor make use of abstract terms, its words are rather directed to the concrete things about which it speaks" (184). Blumenbach

also asks whether brutes have the same affections of the mind as man. Are they capable of expressing joy and sorrow? In this manner, Blumenbach emphasized the similarities between all human beings. In contrast to Sömmerring, he did not regard races as sharply divergent from one another and tried instead to show that racial characteristics, eg. color (110) and shape of skulls (114) are fluid and variable, determined by the environment, rather than biologically innate.

The distinguishing features between humans and animals, however, provided travelers with a vocabulary for writing about the Other. Several travelers, including Hahn and Martius, questioned whether indigenous people have human feelings. Indigenous languages were regarded as primitive, their vocabulary limited to concrete objects and devoid of abstract notions. The European was rational, while the Other was governed by instincts. Sitting on the ground was evaluated as primitive and bestial. Thus, the very characteristics which Blumenbach had identified as being particular to the human species were appropriated by travelers to distinguish themselves from the Other.

6. Man: A Product of His Environment

Building on racial classifications laid out by Bernier and Linnaeus, Blumenbach divides humankind into five principal varieties, but asserts, "No variety exists which

cannot be traced back to the same origin. They are all connected with each other and run into one another by insensible degrees." However, he regards the Caucasians as the primordial species, which then degenerates in two directions: through the American toward the Mongolian and through the Malayan toward the Ethiopian (264). Like most monogenists, Blumenbach explained these physical and mental varieties in terms of environmental and cultural influences.

Environmental and cultural explanations for the variations in humankind were not new to the eighteenth century. They stem from the monogenetic model derived from the Bible: descending from Adam and Eve, humankind was divided by language at the tower of Babel and dispersed as the tribes of Shem (Asia), Ham (Africa) and Japhet (Europe) to different corners of the earth over the centuries, during which they degenerated physically and culturally.[14]

Blumenbach adapts this argument to the contemporary view of naturalism. Drawing an analogy between domestic animals and man, he argues, that just as changes in diet and climate produced variations in domestic animals, so too changes in climate, diet and customs caused variations in the constitution and color of man, which were then inherited over the years and became "second nature" (203). He discusses several causes for different skin color: bile, the influence of the sun, the air and the climate. Diet is held responsible for "the placid countenance of the abstemious

Brahmins and Banyans (sic) of India, and the atrocious aspect, on the other hand, of the man-eating Botocudos of Brazil" (229). The thick nose and swelling lips of Ethiopians are attributed to the manner of carrying and feeding infants on their mothers' backs (232). He also cites several travelers, including Lery, Forster, Kolbe, who confirm his suspicion that "considerable force is used to depress and ... subdue into shape the noses of the new born infants in various barbarous nations, such as the Brazilians, Caribs, Sumatrans and Society Island" (233).

Thus physical differences between the races were attributed to variations in environment, customs and diet, rather than to biology. But the analogy between man and animals provided the lens through which travelers experienced and saw the differences between the races. The Other was regarded as an animal, shaped by the environment, and endowed with animal-like qualities.[15]

External factors did not influence only the physical appearance, but also shaped people's behavior, morals and temperament. This tendency is apparent in Linnaeus' classification of the human species. His racial types are characterized not only by their geographical location and physical differences, but also by humoral, cultural and psychological traits attributed to them. Thus Europeans are sanguine, ingenious, governed by law; Americans are choleric, obstinate, ruled by custom; Asiatics are

melancholic, haughty, governed by opinion, and Africans are bilious, indolent, governed by caprice (Slotkin 178). These traits were treated as fixed genetic types. Such classifications arrange the races within a system of identities and differences and set up a hierarchy of characters, thereby providing a paradigm for the rhetoric of colonial rule.

Montesquieu (1689-1755) divided the globe into climatic zones, attributing the inhabitants of these zones with corresponding temperaments. According to him, the inhabitants of the temperate zone are inventive and capable of a high degree of civil organization, whereas the inhabitants of the Torrid zone are imitative, lethargic and more unstable. In the north, people "have few vices, many virtues," while in the south they are "entirely removed from the verge of morality" (Slotkin 396). Climatic theories reified the hierarchy of human societies and naturalized the process of domination, providing a justification for the conquest of non-European people, who were identified with the forces of nature.

Thus, the environment determined a person's natural disposition. Man was seen as part of nature, subject to nature's laws, like animals. Climate regulated a person's morals, abilities and behavior, erasing differences within these zones and producing a sameness. History was seen as a function of the environment.

Unlike other living organisms, however, men are capable of transcending the conditions imposed upon them by the natural world. Even though savages may be victims of their environment, there was room for improvement, since all men were equally endowed with reason and able to benefit from the civilizing influences of education, work and religion. This argument embodied and allowed the pedagogic outlook of the Enlightenment, which believed in progress and the ultimate perfection of humankind. What distinguished the savage from civilized man was not a difference in the inherent mental makeup so much as the process of refinement and civilization itself. Differences were environmental, rather than hereditary.

However, there was a thin dividing line between those who attributed differences to external, environmental factors and those who regarded them as a result of biology. Herder, an ardent advocate of environmental determinism, illustrates this tendency best. According to him, nature has deprived the Black of all the nobler gifts:

> Die feinere Geistigkeit, die dem Geschöpf unter dieser glühenden Sonne, in dieser von Leidenschaften kochenden Brust versagt werden mußte, ward ihm durch einen Fibernbau, der an jene Gefühle nicht denken ließ, erstattet. (236)

The Black was not made for "das quälende Gefühl höherer Freuden." Instead his whole physiognomy proves he was made "zum tierischen sinnlichen Genuß." Nature had compensated

for the lack of intelligence by molding the anatomy, in particular the thick lips, the breasts and the sexual organs, for the pursuit of sensual pleasures. Herder magnanimously appeals to his readers on behalf of the Black, a victim of his environment: "Lasset uns also den Neger, da ihm in der Organization seines Klima (sic) kein edleres Geschenk werden konnte, bedauern, aber nicht verachten" (236).

7. The Rise of Comparative Anatomy

The trend towards racial biology became more prevalent in the nineteenth century with the rising popularity of comparative anatomy. By measuring skulls, anatomists tried to establish a correlation between race and intelligence. Sömmerring attributed small brains to Blacks, based on the assumption that they have larger sensory nerves, which take up more place in the brain, like in the case of small animals with proportionately larger brains. The perfection of these baser faculties of smell and sound were not required in the civilized state, and consequently the European skull offered more space for a larger brain (63).

For the French anatomist Cuvier it was the organizational complexity of the nervous system which determined the position of an organism on the scale of being, since the brain or the nervous system was the organ of intelligence. This could be measured by calculating the

proportion of the area of the mid-cranial section of the head to the face. The Black's compressed cranium reflected his lower intelligence.

The new science of phrenology, founded by the Austrian anatomist Johann Franz Gall in 1795 also saw human intelligence and moral capacity in deterministic terms. According to phrenologists, the different human faculties were located in particular regions of the brain and were reflected in the external form of the skull. The shape of the head could be used as a sign of the internal nervous organization and mental capabilities (Stepan, Idea of Race 21-28). Thus external differences, like head shapes, were now treated as signs of deeper biological differences. These examples illustrate how scientific discourse constructs and naturalizes differences, precluding any objective observation on the part of travelers.

In the Other, the intellectual characters were reduced and the animal features enlarged and exaggerated. One of these features were the sexual organs. The Other, in particular the Black, was already attributed with a "primitive" sexual appetite. Blumenbach confirms the general assumption that "the penis of the Negro is very large," on the basis of "the remarkable genitory apparatus of an Aethiopien" in his anatomical collection, adding the common belief that women when eager for venery prefer the embraces of Negroes to those of other men (249). Precocious

venery is cited as a cause of large breasts and for a short stature (257). However, Blumenbach points out that this is common under every sort of climate. Forster and Langsdorff believed that the bodies of the women in the South Sea Islands were "debilitated by premature licentiousness."

Several travellers in the eighteenth century, like Le Vaillant, John Barrow and Peron had described the so-called Hottentot apron, a hypertrophy of the labia and nymphae. In the nineteenth century, "Hottentot" women were displayed to the European public and later they were dissected and the genitalia preserved, studied and added to rare anatomical collections. The most famous example of one such woman is Saartjie Baartman, known as the Hottentot Venus, who was exhibited in 1810 in London and then in Paris, till her death in 1815, after which she was dissected and her parts analyzed and described first by Henri de Blainville and then by Cuvier.[16] Similar dissections were carried out by other anatomists throughout the century.

The German anatomist, Johannes Müller got his chance in 1834, when the museum was donated a badly preserved, decaying but entire corpse of a female !Kung (Bushman) "acquired" by a Mr. Krebs at the Cape of Good Hope. In his article "Über die äusseren Geschlechtstheile der Buschmännin," Müller discusses the controversy about the Hottentot apron, which centered around the question as to whether this phenomenon is peculiar to the !Kung or whether

it is also common among the Khoisan (Hottentot).[17] The former point of view was based on the evidence provided by Governor Janssen, who spent five weeks among the !Kung studying the various facets of their lives, their customs and habits and particularly "ihre besondere Organization." This brief visit convinced him that all the women, without exception, were afflicted with the apron, and that this organ sometimes grew upto 7-8 inches in length. Peron, who spent three weeks at the Cape, denies the occurrence of the apron in the case of Khoisan women. His diagrams attest to the veracity of his observation, and they do not match Cuvier's diagrams. Besides, all the members of the expedition were witnesses to the examination of the women. Thus he concludes, Cuvier's "Venus" must have been !Kung and not Khoisan (338). Moreover, he states that the apron has nothing in common with the female sexual organs of other races; it is not an artificial or natural elongation of the "Schamlippen," as suggested by Vaillant, and it is also not pathological (321). In effect, all Peron does say, is that it is unique to the !Kung.

This obsession with the true owners of the apron seems totally incomprehensible, unless it is placed in its historical context. Müller himself unwittingly gives the reader a clue, stating that the identity of "his" black is clear: She is a "Buschmännin," because she was shot as revealed by the bits of shrapnel found in her skull (339).

The resistance against the Cape colonists was largely on the part of the !Kung and not the Khoisan. Thus, it is likely that by attributing the apron to the !Kung, colonists like Jenssen were trying to prove the polygenist argument of a separate species. This organ was sufficiently well marked to distinguish it at once from those of any of the ordinary varieties of the human species. By proving that the sexual parts were inherently different (and not, as claimed by the monogenists, pathological malformations), they could prove that the !Kung were indeed closer to the orangutan than to the Europeans, and thereby justify their eviction and decimation. But these power relations are concealed in the text through the discursive structure. The predominantly descriptive style endows the text with an objective, scientific stance.

Whether Khoisan or !Kung, the black female (as indeed all females) was reduced to her sexual parts. Although the above discussion was limited to the "apron," anatomists and pathologists were equally fascinated with steatopygia or protruding buttocks and the clitoris.[18]

The obsession with skull measurements and genitalia was essentially an attempt to fix racial differences as unchangeable, permanent, hereditary features, based on scientific evidence. It regarded man as primarily a biological being, embedded in nature and governed by biological laws. Culture and social behavior became a

function of biology. Race determined everything: in the words of the Scottish scientist, Knox "it stamps the man."

8. The Evolution of Man

The discussions about the physical nature of the Other were accompanied by studies emphasizing the social and cultural nature of the Other. These studies were based on Western concepts of civilization and progress. They tried to make sense of contemporary society in all its varied forms in terms of evolutionary stages. This approach presupposed a new understanding of time itself.

The eighteenth century witnessed a change in the Biblical interpretation of history, according to which time was conceived as a movement from the Fall to ultimate Redemption through faith. This interpretation was replaced by a more secular concept of history, which was now conceived in terms of a goal-oriented unilinear progress, culminating in the moral and spiritual perfection of humankind, through the use of universal reason. Faith was replaced by nature's laws or reason.

But progress had not occurred at an equal rate: some societies had developed or evolved faster than others, resulting in a scale of various degrees of civilization or epochs. These epochs, based on economic factors, divided societies into hunters, pastoralists and agriculturalists. The various societies coexisting in the present, were placed

on "a temporal slope, a stream of time" (Fabian 17), presenting the various stages of historical time. By studying the Other, who still lived in an earlier stage of development, philosophers attempted to reconstruct their own past, and study their origins. The Other represented a universal type symbolizing what all men had once been before they became "domesticated." The indigenous peoples of America and Africa were used to provide empirical data needed to write conjectural histories of humankind. Thus spatial distances were separated now by a temporal element too, as suggested by the French philosopher, Degerando, who wrote in The Observation of Savage Peoples that the traveler, "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." [19] This comparative method which located the Other in relation to a specific European past, disregarded the Other's own past, which consequently assumed a stagnant and essentially unchanging character in the minds of most Europeans. It is exactly this aspect of anthropological discourse that Johannes Fabian criticizes. By using time to distance those who are being observed from the time of the observer, the anthropologist removes the Other from the dialogical situation, thereby reducing him to a non-person.

But if the Other is Europe's primeval ancestor living in the past, he is also a child, as illustrated by Schiller:

> Die Entdeckungen, ... zeigen uns Völkerschaften, die auf den mannigfaltigsten Stufen der Bildung um uns herum gelagert sind, wie Kinder verschiedenen Alters um einen Erwachsenen herumstehen und durch ihr Beispiel ihm in Erinnerung bringen, was er selbst vormals gewesen und wovon er ausgegangen ist.[20]

In contrast to the European who has evolved into a mature adult, the Other has been arrested in its development and remains an infant. Isaak Iselin voices the same sentiment, when he states: "Ehe der Mensch ein Mensch wird, muß er durch den Stand der Kindheit hindurch gehen. Dieses Alter kann billig die Wildheit des einzelnen Menschen genannt werden." [21] Turgot, an exponent of the theory of social progress, also equates evolution with the ages of man, stating, "The human race, considered from its origin, appears ... to be an immense whole, having like every individual its own childhood and its own stages of growth" (Slotkin 358). So, although the Other is contemporary with the European, he belongs to a period of human infancy. He is like Europe once was.

This method did not doubt the potential of the Other to ascend the scale of civilization. Human nature was fundamentally the same everywhere, governed by the same universal and natural laws. Thus the Other had the same abilities and aptitudes as Europeans. It was only historical time that separated them. With exposure to the civilizing influences of Europe, and freed from the forces

of superstition, the culturally unformed Other could be elevated to the level of his European brothers. As Isaak Iselin, who believed in the perfectibility of man, asks:

> Unsere Ahnen waren vor wenig Jahrhunderten noch unvollkommene Barbaren. Wir können uns schmeicheln, die Helfte von ihrer Barbarey abgelegt zu haben. Warum sollten unsre Nachkömmlinge sich nicht von allen Überbleibseln derselben nicht befreyen können? (XXXIV)

The fact that several "Wilde" had in fact resisted being forcibly "civilized" by rejecting European society, and fleeing back to their own, did not diminish this belief in "progress." Iselin admits to a "Widerwillen des Wilden gegen einen besseren Zustand," but writes it off as a lack of nobler feelings: "Es braucht eine gewisse Übung, bis man zu dem Gefühle der Vollkommenheit und der Schönheit reif wird" (300).

As Stocking observes, this concept of civilization tied to progress, underwent a change in the nineteenth century. Earlier it was regarded as the natural capacity of all men. Now it became the unique achievement of the European race. Although the scale of social evolution was retained, it was no longer assumed that all men would ascend to the top. Cultural contact had after all decimated the Tasmanians and nearly wiped out the American Indians. Consequently, the Other was moved from "the foot of a single upward ladder of

progress" to "the bottom of a diverging ladder of degeneration." [22] Either way he remained at the bottom.

This chapter demonstrates how the naturalization of humans had far reaching consequences on the study of the Other. Humans, who were earlier seen as the center of the universe, were now represented and studied in terms of natural species and natural phenomena. Like the rest of nature, humans too were products of their environment. Climate determined both the organization and the morals of humans. Travelers, conscious of their status as external observers, did not see themselves as part of nature. Instead the Other was represented as nature, or as animals, shaped by their environment and endowed with bestial characteristics.

Monogenists like Blumenbach ascribed a common origin to all humanity, stressing the differences between animals and humans, and explaining the variations between the races as culturally or geographically determined and thus variable. The polygenists, on the other hand, believed that the members of different races belonged to a different species. The systematization and ordering of nature resulted in a hierarchy of fixed species, symbolized by the chain of being. This scale was also applied to human variations. The different races were placed on the scale according to aesthetic and moral criteria. Several theories, like Camper's facial angle, were formulated to prove that the

"Hottentots" were the missing link between anthropoids and homo sapiens. Anatomists, like Sömmerring and Cuvier also drew analogies between the Black and apes, stressing similarities like the depressed forehead, prominent jaw, enlarged sensory and sexual organs, and thereby "proving" the intellectual inferiority and primitiveness of Blacks. As the examples of Sömmerring, Müller and Cuvier illustrate, the language of science was used to construct and naturalize the differences between the races, legitimizing their inequality, which was seen as innate and biological, rather than contingent on existing power relations.

The philosophy of the Enlightenment, on the other hand, believed in progress and the ultimate perfection of humankind through the use of universal reason. However, while postulating the uniformity of human nature, the Enlightenment imposed its own criterion of development on other societies, creating a temporal scale of epochs. These epochs illustrated different stages of evolution. Whereas the enlightened cultures of Europe belonged to the most advanced stages, the others were relegated to Europe's past. Since they had evolved at a slower rate, they also represented the childhood of Europe.

In the following chapters I will show how these discourses served as lenses to shape the travelers' perceptions and construct their field of vision.

CHAPTER II

Scientific Discourse and the Other

The publication of Carl Linne's Systema Naturae in 1735 introduced a new breed of travelers to the non-European world: the naturalist. This work, the first classificatory system designed to categorize all species of plants in the world, clearly defined the task of the naturalist. He had to locate, name, and describe new species, gather specimens, and build collections for Europe. In this way every specie on the planet could be located and placed in its appropriate spot in the system. The systematizing of nature became a knowledge-building project on a global scale. By extracting "specimens" from their unique cultural environment and assimilating them into European paradigms, this global classificatory project amounted to a cognitive appropriation of the non-European world.

Collections of specimens acquired prestige value and were displayed in museums and botanical gardens, with the aim of not only educating but also impressing the public. For the naturalist of modest origins, like C.F.P. Martius, expeditions to South America were a chance to climb up the social ladder.

In The Order of Things, Foucault explains how writing the natural history of a plant before the Linnaean watershed

included litteraria like the virtues a plant was thought to possess, the legends associated with it, its place in heraldry etc.[1] Linnaean scientific discourse, on the other hand, was limited to a rigid classificatory system, devoted to the detailed description of the elements and the organs of plants and to their arrangement in a spatial configuration. This "squared and spatialized development" of natural history had consequences on scientific-exploratory writing and the representation of the Other. In this chapter I will analyze the works of Martius, to illustrate how scientific-exploratory writing constitutes its object of inquiry.

1. Carl Friedrich Philip Martius: Biographical Details

Carl Friedrich Philip von Martius was born in 1794 in Erlangen, the son of an apothecary and an honorary professor of pharmacy at the University of Erlangen, Ernst Wilhelm Martius. He studied medicine at the university and later worked for the Royal Bavarian Academy at Munich in the capacity of an assistant to the conservator of the Botanical Garden. In 1816 Martius was selected by the king of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph I, to go on an expedition to South America. He was accompanied by the zoologist Johann Baptist Spix. Spix was born in 1781, in Franconia, the son of a doctor. He studied theology and later decided to pursue medicine instead. After graduating, he joined the

Royal Bavarian Academy and later became the curator of the zoological collections.

The expedition was sanctioned by the king and financed by the state treasury. In 1817 the Austrian Archduchess Leopoldina, who was engaged to the crown prince of Brazil, Dom Pedro I, left for South America. Martius and Spix were given permission to sail with her retinue. They were instructed to explore the main provinces of Brazil and to build a collection of specimens. After nearly four years in Brazil, they returned to Munich and were awarded the aristocratic title (Ritterkreuz des Zivilverdienstordens).

2. The Bavarian Context

With the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, Bavaria attained the status of a monarchy. Its coalition with France enabled Bavaria to extend its borders by absorbing several smaller principalities and ecclesiastical territories. In 1813, however, with a shift in the balance of power, it seceded from the Confederation of the Rhine and joined the anti-French alliance of Russia, Prussia and Austria. After the defeat of Napoleon, Bavaria joined the German Confederation, a loose political association in which most of the rights of sovereignty remained in the hands of the member governments.

A reform movement had already started in Germany under French hegemony. Foreign domination also gave rise to the

first calls for unity and nationhood. In order to quell radical demands and secure the status of the monarchy, the government promulgated a constitution in 1818, which established representative assemblies elected by propertied citizens, whose assent was required for the enactment of legislation. Their purpose was to win for the crown the support of the educated classes of society, and to safeguard the monarch's position by forestalling demands for radical changes. The king, in turn, was anxious to increase his prestige and his reputation as an enlightened monarch, who encouraged and furthered the advance of science. The expedition to Brazil fulfilled this purpose.

A detailed account of Martius and Spix' travels have been recorded in their work, Reise in Brasilien, published in 1823-1831 in Munich.[2] It consists of three volumes and an atlas containing maps, pictures of the landscape, objects of European curiosity, plants, animals and members of different indigenous tribes. The great influence this work had on the leading figures of the field is summed up by Martius' pupil and biographer, A.W. Eichler, who compares the importance of Martius' writings on Brazil with Humboldt's writings on the rest of tropical America, and includes them both in the canon for exploratory writing.[3] Martius was awarded 12 medals, he was a member of 10 academies, and an honorary member of 52 natural science societies and clubs. He has three monuments built in his

honor - one in the Botanical Garden in Munich, and two in Brazil, in Belem and in Rio de Janeiro. He attained the status of an expert on Brazil and was called "Der Vater der brasilianischen Völkerkunde."

I would now like to turn to Reise in Brasilien and analyze the interplay of discourses which influence Martius' perception of the indigenous societies of Brazil.

3. The Discourse of Improvement

Martius' first impressions of Rio are contrary to European expectations of South America, and he hastens to rectify this image, which reduces the whole continent to "eine rohe, gewalthätige und unbesiegte Natur." This image of America as primeval, savage and indomitable had been invented by Columbus and propagated further by Humboldt for European readers.[4] Martius, on the other hand, reassures his readers that Rio, the capital of Brazil, is not the wilderness one imagines, but has been tamed by the civilizing influence of European culture. European influence is apparent in the language, the architecture and the customs prevalent in Rio. In contrast to Humboldt, who had idealized nature, Martius portrays nature as something that needs to be subjugated and improved through European intervention. Wilderness is interpreted as a sign of chaos and neglect, the failure of human enterprise.

Nature is not the only factor that is in need of improvement. This discourse also includes the "natives," "das bunte Gewühl von schwarzen und farbigen Menschen" (90) who remind the travelers that they, in fact, are not in Europe, but in America. Again the collective noun "buntes Gewühl" gives the impression of a disorderly, chaotic throng of people, undifferentiated by social hierarchies and unrefined: "Die niedrige, rohe Natur dieser halbnackten, zudringlichen Menschen verletzt das Gefühl des Europäers, der sich so eben aus dem Vaterlande feiner Sitte und gefälliger Formen hierher versetzt sieht" (91). In this statement we see a reversal of roles: the European, who is historically the agent, is depicted as the passive object, whose refined senses are being assaulted by an aesthetically offensive people. The discourse suggests that the European did not come to South America of his own free will. He was involuntarily transferred or "versetzt". The absence of the agent implies that the European is the martyr, the persecuted, while the indigenous people are the persecutors inflicting the pain.

The first Europeans to arrive in Brazil were the Portuguese. In 1500, an armada under Pedro Alvares Cabral landed by mistake in South America en route to India. The region was promptly claimed by the Portuguese, since it lay within the zone assigned to Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). The approximately 2,000,000 Amerindians

who already inhabited this area lived partly by fishing and farming in the tropical forests of the Amazon Basin, like the Tupi, or they lived by hunting and gathering in the drier savanna regions. The Europeans, however, were at first attracted by the valuable red dyewood and later by the deposits of gold and diamonds. The settlers turned the existing economy from a subsistence, use-value economy into a colonial, exchange-value economy. Plantation products like sugar, tobacco, cotton and coffee were grown for export. This economy could not function without the labor of slaves. The Amerindians were mostly protected from the rigors of slavery by the Jesuits, whose mission was to convert them to Christianity. As was the case in most colonies, the missionaries did the ground work for the colonial administrators, by stabilizing the indigenous people and teaching them European modes of thought. The flag soon followed the cross. The Jesuits, however, were expelled from Brazil in 1759. The Amerindians captured and enslaved later during the bandeiras (raids) organized by the Paulistas usually died due to inhuman conditions and diseases contracted from Europeans. Their rapidly diminishing numbers were replenished by a flourishing slave trade continued across the Atlantic. The transatlantic slave trade, between the 16th to the 19th centuries, brought 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 Africans to Brazil. These slaves formed the foundation of the society. They suffered from an

enormously high mortality rate. Brazil was the last American state to abolish slavery in 1888.

Martius visits the slave market in Rio as a prospective buyer. The sight of the slaves, according to him, arouses contradictory feelings in the Europeans:

> Er bemerkt nämlich einerseits mit Freude die Spuren von Humanität, welche sich allmälig in dem Neger durch die Nähe der Weissen entwickeln, andererseits muß er darüber trauern, dass es eines so grausamen und die Menschenrechte verletzenden Institutes, wie der Sclavenhandel ist, bedurfte, um jener erniedrigten, in ihrem Lande selbst verwahrlosten Race die erste Schule für Menschenbildung zu geben. (118)

At the very moment the Africans are dehumanized, i.e. when they are turned into slaves, Martius attributes them with the first traces of humanity. It is slavery that first makes human beings of them. Like children, who need to attend school to become productive members of society, so too do the slaves need the institution of slavery to uplift them and make them useful. The blame for their dehumanized condition is removed from the slave traders, because, as Martius explains, the slaves had already degenerated to their present condition in their natural setting. "Verwahrlosen" implies "von der Natur, von der Vorsehung stiefmütterlich behandelt [sein]." [5] Martius suggests that not even nature cared for these slaves in Africa, where they would have had to pass their existence as wild savages,

little better than animals. In America, at least, they are cared for by their European masters, who teach them to work, and raise them from neglected creatures to profitable members of society.

In an attempt to counteract the accusations of a growing anti-slavery movement in Europe, Martius feels compelled to justify the institution of slavery. He insists that the condition of the slaves [Macuas] is not as pathetic as it is claimed to be in Europe: "sie leiden nicht Mangel an Nahrung, sind, so weit es das Klima verlangt, bekleidet, und durch Arbeiten selten übermässig angestrengt" (652). The language used is modified to suit the argument. Earlier the indigenous people were described contemptuously as "half-naked". Now the half-naked slaves are "dressed as much as the climate demands," in order to describe the relative prosperity of the slaves. Martius also regards slave songs and dances as proof of their contentment and well being, confirming the image of the happy, healthy and cheerful slave.

Admitting that the inhuman conditions of the journey to America often kill hundreds of Africans, he explains that this, however, is the price paid for civilization ("Veredlung") and that several slaves prefer this life to the one they left behind. The word "Veredlung" underscores the need for improvement and refinement. The rhetoric of religion is also used to justify slavery: "sie erkennen den

Werth moralischer Verbesserung, welche ihnen durch das Licht des Christentums möglich geworden ist ..." (653). Again the discourse suggests ennoblement: a move away from darkness towards light, from physical hardship to spiritual rewards through the elevating influence of Christianity. Both morality and religion served as arguments to prove the superiority of the Europeans. Physiognomy was a third factor in this complex.

4. The Physiognomy of the Other

The appearance of the indigenous populations is a topic which every traveler writes about. Nothing makes a more lasting impression than the visual, and this is evident in the popularity enjoyed by physiognomy through the centuries in Europe. In her essay, "The Face and the Soul," Patrizia Magli demonstrates how physiognomy attributed a precise meaning or a moral characteristic to every part of the body, from the head down to the toes. These meanings were based on arbitrarily assigned relations of equivalence, e.g. hooked nose = greed, fleshy lips = sensuality etc., and were established by convention. Thus a system of formal semantic correspondences linking a person's facial traits and moral inclinations guide our perceptions. The human form becomes a symbol, waiting to be decoded. At the same time, the arbitrary construction of the categories is concealed by the implication of "naturalness" and consequently permanence.[6]

Physiognomy was applied to decode the character of members belonging to marginal groups: women, lunatics, criminals, Jews. The indigenous people of Brazil were also subjected to the same treatment. Because Martius did not know the language of the tribes he encountered, he had to rely mostly on what he saw, i.e. on the visual appearance of the people. As a result, long descriptions of the tribe's physical characteristics dominate his accounts. For example, the description of the Miranhas reads like a virtual lesson on anatomy: Martius describes 26 body parts: neck, pelvis, chest, shoulder blades, breasts, feet, toes, hands, nails, navel, hair, head, the back of the head, temples, forehead, face, cheek bone, nose, nostrils, eyes, eye socket, eyebrows, mouth, upper and lower lips, teeth and chin (1182). This is a common feature of scientific-exploratory writing. The explorer and surgeon, Langsdorff, for example, gives the exact measurements of Mufau, an inhabitant of the South Sea island of Nukahiwa. Besides his height, the length, breadth, periphery and circumference of various body parts were recorded.[7]

This process whereby the body parts of the indigenous people are textually dismembered from the whole and scrutinized, results in the objectification of the people described. They are not seen as cultural beings, but as mere bodies and appendages. Trained in dissections as a student of medicine, Martius subjects the Miranhas to a

descriptive dissection, taking them apart and examining each section in isolation. Thus the Miranhas are reduced to mere objects, pinned down and exposed to the scientific gaze of the European eye. This objectification extracts them from their social and historical environment. As Pratt observes, they are not described as interlocutors, who provided the travelers with valuable information, transportation and labor, but as discrete entities of scientific enquiry (Imperial Eyes 53). This is also evident in the illustrations. Like the different species of trees (Fig. 1), the "specimens" from different tribes (Fig. 2) have also been identified, classified and catalogued. These eight faces are detached from their particular environment and viewed in isolation as deculturated beings. They are represented only because of their different physical appearance: elongated earlobes, tattoos, nails pierced through the cartilage of the ear etc. These unique features are now relocated from their original context and assimilated into European paradigms.

Similarly, the artifacts (Fig. 3), such as bows and arrows, pottery, items of adornment etc. are extracted from their cultural context. As Pagden points out, these deculturated objects "served less to provide evidence of the identity of alien cultures than they did to illustrate what was believed to be a universal past, of which Europe had once been part." [8]

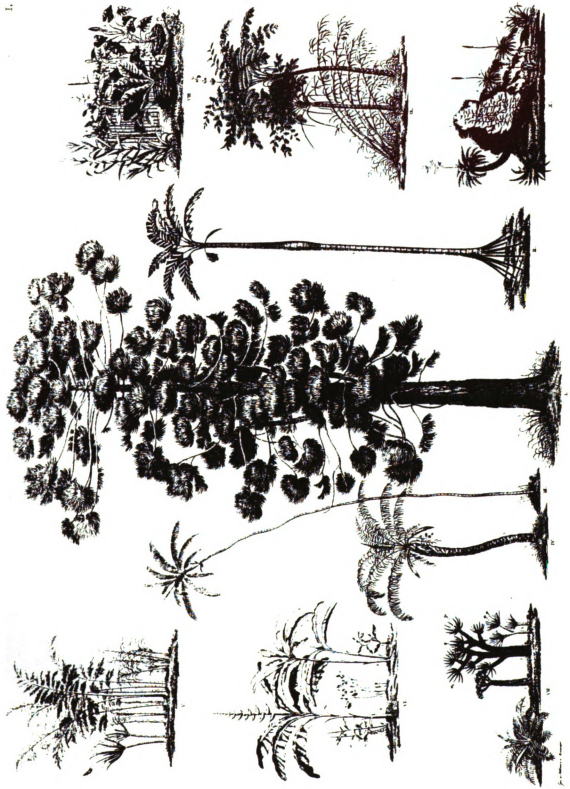

Figure 1 Pflanzenformen des tropischen Amerika, 1

Figure 2 Indianer

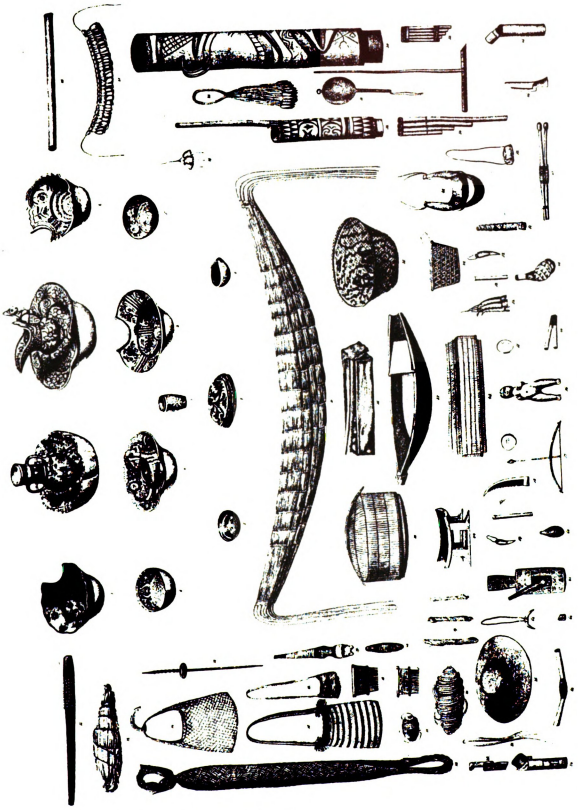

Figure 3 Indianische Gerätschaften

This European classificatory project imposed a disciplinary order on the rest of the world. The world was conceived as a chaos out of which scientists produced an order (Pratt, Imperial Eyes 30). They located every species on the planet, extracting it from its particular, arbitrary surroundings (the chaos) and placed it in its appropriate spot in the system (the order). Although this process may seem benign at first, ideologically, it formed the basis of European authority. The scientist was the expert and his knowledge was privileged over local knowledge. From this privileged position, he had the power to define the Other. Classification also resulted in the reduction of the visible. The established categories canalized the eye, making the traveler see only those characteristics that the category could accommodate. All new species were contained within a precise and finite definition. Thus a new field of vision was constituted, founded on European-based categories of knowledge.

5. The Hierarchization of the Races

The description and classification of members belonging to different ethnic groups eventually led to a hierarchization of the races. While describing the Purís, Coropós, and Coroados, Martius constantly refers to the "negro," (the terminology of the time) as a basis of comparison:

> die weiblichen Brüste [sind] nicht so schlaff herabhängend wie bei den Negerinnen; ... der Nabel sehr wulstig, jedoch weniger als bei dem Neger; die männlichen Theile sind viel kleiner als die der Neger, und nicht wie bei diesen in einem beständigen Turgor; ... . Das Antlitz ... springt nicht so sehr hervor wie beim Neger, ... die Nase ist ... nicht so breit gedrückt wie bei dem Neger; die Lippen bei weitem nicht so dick und wulstig wie bei dem Neger. (376)

The physiognomy of the Other seems to be the placement test, to see where on the evolutionary ladder a certain race is going to be placed. Clearly the negro occupies the lowest rung. He is on the borderline of humanity, lower than any other race in the world. Martius attributes this to the degree of difference in appearance between the negro and all the other races. The category of difference thus excludes him from the family of human beings, whose model of perfection is the Caucasian race. The other races also have different characteristics, but none as obvious and distinct as the negro. The "Indian" is barely a few notches above the negro, while the Chinese, who is compared not with the negro, but with the "Indian" is placed still higher on the evolutionary scale, by virtue of his appearance: "Sein Gestalt [ist] schlanker, die Stirn breiter, die Lippen sind dünner ..., die Züge überhaupt feiner ... als jene des in den Wäldern aufgewachsenen Americaners" (184). Thus the

classification of human beings was explicitly comparative, leading to the hierarchization of the races.

Classification of different races and of children of mixed parentage becomes almost an obsession on the part of the Europeans. Different names are designated to the children depending on the "Abstufungen der Farbe" [9] or the degree of European blood in them. Educated Germans could thus talk in terms of Tercerons, Quarterons, and Quinterons. These denominations illustrate the process of hierarchization as a result of rigid classification. The chart in W.B. Stevenson's Narrative of Twenty Years Residence in South America (1825) depicting the mixture of blood in children of mixed parentage takes into account even the most minimal of fractions, such as the existence of 1/16 white blood in a Zambo (Pratt, Imperial Eyes 152).

Racial characteristics are not regarded as something inherent and unalterable. They are linked with the different stages of evolution and can begin to disappear by means of civilizing factors, such as religion, education and mere contact with the Europeans. The Macuanis, for example, are Indians used by Brazilian settlers to fell trees and fight against other tribes. In the words of Martius:
"sie waren wohl gebaut, ihre Gesichtzüge waren von dem ersten Strahle der Bildung erheitert, und ihre Farbe nicht sehr dunkelroth, sondern vielmehr, ähnlich der der Mongolen, gelblichbraun" (492). These physiognomic traits are

attributed to the civilizing influence of the Europeans. It is, however, evident, that only those Indians who cooperate with the Europeans and willingly work for them are permitted to "become fairer" and climb the evolutionary ladder.

Indigenous people, whose physical features resembled the essentialized Caucasian, are regarded to be more civilized than their darker counterparts. For example, Martius is tempted to call the Passé "almost beautiful" because of their "whiter complexion," "slimmer extremities," "longer neck," and "narrower hips." All these similarities between the appearance of the Passé and the Caucasian lead him to conclude: "Manches in der Körperbildung dieses Volks auf eine höhere Stufe desselben hindeutet" (1206). The men however do not quite come up to Martius' expectations, because of the absence of hair on their faces: "wahre männliche Schönheit erheischt die Zierde des Bartes" (1204). The recurring reference to beauty reveals that aesthetics was an important criterion in science. A close resemblance to the Caucasian model was evaluated as "beautiful" and therefore more civilized, because this model was familiar. The lack of a beard, the symbol of virility, was seen as a sign of inferiority and degeneration.[10] At the same time the Passé men are placed on the same level as women. This feminization of indigenous men, which construes them as weaker, is another form of control. It also illustrates the

hierarchies and power relations present within the Caucasian race, i.e. within categories themselves.

6. Sexuality and the Other

Race intersects once again with gender in the discourse of sexuality. This discourse explains the secondary status of women and Blacks to European men by tracing its causes to their nature. Women were determined by their sex or "das Geschlecht," which was also a synonym for the concept "Frau." She, however, could restrain her sexuality through modesty and virtue. The Black, on the other hand, like the prostitute was attributed with unrestrained and deviant sexuality.

Unbridled sexuality was regarded as a sign of the swamp or the earliest stage of human history. It was a manifestation of the beast in man, his primeval nature, which had to be repressed and mastered so that the higher faculties of reason could rule. The Europeans were proof of how far man had advanced in establishing control over the world and himself. The Other, in the form of the Black, represented the embodiment of European fears and repressed desires. He symbolized the loss of control and the regression into a dark past, ruled by the primitive expression of emotions in the form of unrestrained sex.

The Black's sexuality is emphasized by Martius when he describes the penis, using decidedly botanical terms, as if

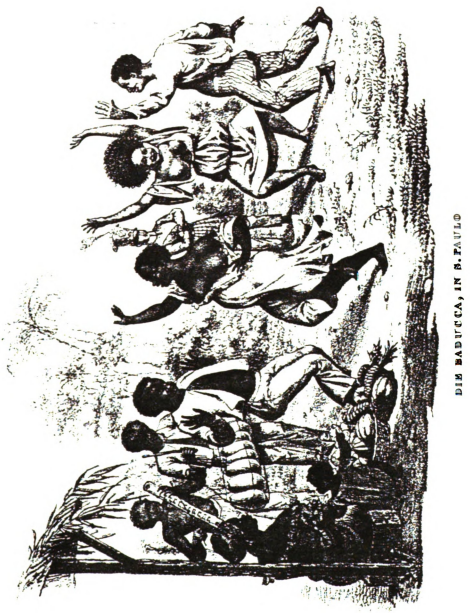

Figure 4 Die Baducca, in S. Paulo

it were in a state of permanent erection. The Black's enlarged penis was interpreted as a sign of uncontrolled desire and deviant sexuality. Martius argues that while the Africans may be "well endowed" with sexual prowess, as indicated by the size of their sexual organ, it has been at the cost of their intellect. The Europeans, on the other hand, are not as well qualified as the Africans with respect to sexuality, but they have been well compensated by way of spiritual and intellectual abilities (259). This compensatory theory establishes clearly which race has been endowed with qualities required for ruling and which race needs to be controlled.

Figure 4, "Die Baducca, in S. Paulo" also underscores the sexual aspect of the Other's character. The bare breasts, uplifted arms and unrestrained manner of the dancers is juxtaposed with the controlled figure of a European soldier standing in the background with folded arms and a disapproving demeanor.

7. The Homogenization of the Other

The physiognomy of the indigenous people is reduced to one dominant feature - a "Grundtypus" (184) which subsumes all individual traits. Nancy Stepan discusses this typological orientation of scientists, according to which every individual human being belonged in some way or other to an undying essence or type.[11] But whereas the

Caucasian type is differentiated into clearly recognizable individual features, the Other lacks this individuality and thus his humanity. All "Indians" look essentially alike, according to Martius, due to the absence of culture and civilization. The expressions on the faces of the "Indians" do contain a human element, but it is still dormant, because it has received no stimulus. Figure 5 depicts this lack of individuality. The Purís look little different from the Neanderthal man, relegated firmly to the Stone Age. They are all standing in exactly the same posture, right leg forward, arms drooping down, gazing emptily into space, while the children clutch their parents from the back. Similarly, Humboldt comments on the features of the Chaymas: "I have observed ... that it is intellectual culture which contributes most to diversify features. Barbarous nations have rather a physiognomy of a tribe or a horde than one peculiar to ... an individual." [12]

Tattoos and other marks on the body (pierced noses and earlobes) are described by Martius as "Verunstaltungen," or "eigenthümliche Verstümmelungen." Instead of locating these variations within the context of Amerindian culture, they are explained as "Abzeichen," a necessary custom for people, who all look alike and do not possess any individual traits, so that members of their tribes can recognize them more easily (1279). Thus differences are made accountable by subsuming culture into nature. Distinguishing marks like

Figure 5 Tanz der Purís

these are to be found more commonly in the animal kingdom, according to Martius. Here we see a further element of the discourse - the vocabulary used to describe the natives is borrowed from the animal kingdom. As Frantz Fanon points out:

> He [the settler] speaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions, of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of gesticulations. When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary ... those hysterical masses, those faces bereft of all humanity, ... that mob without beginning or end, those children who seem to belong to nobody....[13]

This language dehumanizes the Other, reducing him to a brute and thus justifying the decimation of indigenous peoples and the exploitation of their land.

8. Manichean Oppositions

Differences are regarded as pathological, or as deformities, making the Other an aberration of the normal, or the natural, which is constituted by the European. The Other is judged not in its own specificity, as people belonging to a different culture and social system, but is defined in opposition to the European. The basis of any writing about the Other as pointed out by JanMohammed is the manichean allegory:

> a field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilization and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object. [14]

Martius constructs his "Indians" as negative examples, in opposition to the values and ideals propagated by bourgeois European culture. What emerges is a list of virtues versus vices. This strategy is most apparent in the discussion of women and family:

> Das Band der Liebe schlaff, statt Zärtlichkeit Brunst, statt Neigung Bedürfniss, die Mysterien des Geschlechts entweiht und offen, ... das nackte Weib Sclavin; statt der Schaam Eitelkeit; die Ehe ein nach Laune wechselndes Concubinat; ... Erziehung äffische Spielerei der Mutter; ... statt kindlichen Gehorsams Furcht; .... (1268).

Each segment of the paragraph quoted above constitutes an opposition, listing bourgeois virtues on one side of the field (Zärtlichkeit, Neigung, Weib, Schaam, Ehe, Erziehung, Gehorsam) contrasted with savage vices on the other side (Brunst, Bedürfniss, Sclavin, Eitelkeit, Concubinat, Spielerei, Furcht). The woman is not regarded as an equal partner joined together with the man in holy matrimony based on mutual feelings of love and affection. Instead she is degraded to the position of a slave, exploited in order to satisfy the baser needs and urges of the man. The ideal of the chaste and virtuous woman is held up against an immoral

and brutalized woman, incapable of fulfilling her duty as a mother.

The Indian, Martius states, is devoid of all virtues, guided by his instincts, and spends his life without reflection. He is indolent, irrational, and indifferent to everything (377-78). As Pratt points out this "manners and customs" discourse homogenizes the indigenous people into the collective misnomer "Indian," which is then contracted even further to "he." "He" is always the subject of the timeless present tense. Consequently his actions are not seen as historical events, embedded in a specific encounter, but as pregiven traits.[15] The discourse deletes any information about the actual interaction between the traveler and the indigenous people. The homogenized subject is reduced to a list of features and characteristics.

Not once are the Amerindians quoted or represented as speaking for themselves in response to the European's questions. They are seen in terms of categories used by the bourgeoisie to define themselves: marriage, obedience, morals, discipline etc. As Pratt observes, while discussing the Khoikhoi, "the Other is assimilated into European paradigms. Differences that fall outside the paradigms are inaccessible to the discourse or can be expressed only as absences and lacks" (Imperial Eyes 44). The suffix "-los," for example, occurs frequently in Martius' descriptions of the indigenous people. They are "gefühllos," "gedankenlos,"

(378) "zügellos," (294) "regellos," (380) and "sittenlos" (905). Martius' inability to master the complexity of Amerindian languages is attributed to "[ein] Mangel an Uebung des Geistes des Indianers" (384), just like his inability to distinguish one member of a tribe from another is explained by "[ein] Mangel an Ausbildung" (375). Differences, for which language and experience provide no adequate framework of interpretation, are thus erased and conceived of as absences and lacks.

Other linguistic strategies consist of the use of temporalizing words like "Urmensch," "Naturmensch" and "Ureinwohner," which displace the indigenous people from the world of the traveler, leaving the door open for European intervention. Johannes Fabian points out that most anthropological works have a tendency to place the Other in a Time other than the present of the producer of the discourse. This produces an "allochronic discourse" or a "denial of coevalness," which deprives the Other of a voice and prevents real communication between the anthropologist and the Other.[16] Similarly the Other can be assigned to a different world, like Martius does, by comparing the Amerindians' life to the irrational and imaginary world of dreams: "Und ist nicht das ganze Leben dieser Menschen ein dumpfer Traum, aus dem sie fast nie erwachen?" he asks (495). As Ronald Inden notes, this technique assumes that the world of the Other is a false copy of the real one.[17]

The Other is represented as a distorted version of the normal or the natural, as constituted by the European. This discourse is therefore not about people in the real world. It is about the Other as a scientifically constituted object of a discipline, and has little to do with the external referent.

9. The Civilizing Mission

Martius concludes by calling the Amerindian "ein beklagenswerthes Räthsel," not only for the European, who is described as "the brother from the East," but even for the Amerindian himself (1268). His essence is unfathomable. The Other has to depend on the educated European to solve his mysteries, unravel his history, interpret his culture, and ultimately to rescue him from his own evil, for the Other only recognizes "ein böses Princip" (379).

Martius' perceptions are not only limited by his own conceptual framework, but also by his self-definition as a member of a race, which is morally superior, practices the true religion and is therefore in the position to "civilize" the rest of the world, which is still in its infancy and has to be taught to distinguish good from evil. Europe's mission is to save souls: "die gefallenen Kinder America's zur wahren Menschheit zu erheben ..." (692).

Martius, however, does not see a future for the Amerindians in the family of humankind. These groups who

could not be enslaved like the Africans, and died in increasing numbers were professed to be beyond civilizing. The reasons are attributed to indifference, indolence and stupidity on their part, for the advantages of civilization are beyond the narrow limits of their comprehension. Seen as a pathological case, the Amerindians are now deemed to become extinct:

> Sie [können] die höhere Entwicklung, die Europa ihnen einimpfen will, nicht ertragen... [und] scheinen [bestimmt], sich aufzulösen und aus der Zahl der Lebendigen zu treten, bevor sie die höhere Stufe ... erreicht haben. (935)

The doctor-patient metaphor conceals the actual relationship between Europe and its Other, shifting the cause of sickness from the European on to the Amerindian himself, who despite all the best efforts of the European doctor, seems intent on dying. The Amerindians defy the belief in the perfection of humankind, popular during the age of the Enlightenment, and instead are regarded as "einen verkümmerten Ast am Stamme des menschlichen Geschlechtes" destined to disappear from the face of the earth.

10. Colonial Fantasies

There is however a great future for Brazil: a Brazil free of its indigenous peoples. In 1807, the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal, forced the prince regent, Dom John (King John VI) to transfer his seat of power to Brazil,

where he remained until 1821. During this period Brazil opened its doors to foreign capital and enterprise. Not surprisingly, Martius devotes several chapters to the mining industry in Brazil, in particular diamonds and gold. Even though Bavaria did not have any political ambitions in South America, the economic potential this continent offered did not escape the eye. Martius goes into a revery about the boundless prospects this country has to offer, once it has been developed:-

> Wenn ... die Ufer des majestätischen Stromes mit volkreichen Städten besetzt sind, wenn die westlichen Länder die Naturgrenze der Andes bezwungen haben, und Heerstrassen ..., das stille Meer mit dem atlantischen Ocean verknüpfen, wenn die jetzt einsam melancholischen Wälder ... von Rufe der Schiffer wiederhallen! (1363)

Visions of improvement dominate. The discourse produces habitats as "empty" landscapes, by textually depopulating the banks of the river and the "silent" forests. These landscapes are meaningful only in terms of a capitalistic future. They become a scene of enterprise, transformed by capital and industry. The language of conquest ("bezwungen," "Heerstrassen") in a genre that Pratt purposely calls the "anti-conquest,"[18] reveals fantasies of domination and appropriation. Thus even though the goals of the expedition may have been framed in terms of science and enlightenment, the discourse in contrast underwrites colonial appropriation.

As demonstrated in this chapter, scientists constructed their object of enquiry through the procedures of description, comparison and classification. The detailed description of indigenous people resulted in lists of body parts with no connection to their social environment. Reduced to mere specimens, they could now be classified and integrated into European paradigms of knowledge. As discussed in the previous chapter, one such model was the scale of being. Martius uses this paradigm to create order amongst the different races in Brazil, by placing them in their "appropriate" spot on the scale. Physiognomy and the aesthetics of beauty are his criteria. Physiognomy also reduces the Black, to sexual entity, who is defined in opposition to the essentialized European. The analogy between the Amerindians and animals denies the Other any signs of individuality giving rise to a homogenous Other, who is again contrasted with the multifaceted European. Both habitats and inhabitants are constructed as neglected and in need of improvement. While the African slaves could actually be used to improve the land, and therefore were believed to be improvable, the Amerindians were seen as destined to die. This construction of the Other naturalizes racial hierarchies and colonial relations, legitimizing colonial intervention. As Reise in Brasilien illustrates, the pursuit of knowledge for the advancement of humankind

underwrote colonial appropriation, even as it rejected conquest and subjugation.

The discourse of improvement emerges again in the letters of Ida Hahn-Hahn. However, it is not so much the habitat which needs improving as the inhabitants. While Martius clearly supports foreign enterprise in Brazil, Ida Hahn-Hahn's opinions are more ambiguous. These ambiguities will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

Letters From The Orient

Travelers to the Middle East availed themselves of a collection of popular images, myths and vocabularies circulating in society to talk about the Orient. Images disseminated through Montesquieu's Persian Letters, operas, such as Die Entführung aus dem Serail, and the widely read Arabian Nights formed a grid through which travelers invented the Orient: a place inhabited by despotic sultans, slaves, erotic dancing girls and veiled women. As Said demonstrates, the Orient was a constituted entity, encoded in texts.[1] It was also an exclusively male province. The Orient was perceived as passive and feminine, a site that promised sensual gratification, an escape from bourgeois sexual repressiveness.

Ida Hahn-Hahn's letters from the Middle East have been compiled under the title Orientalische Briefe.[2] These letters are personal letters to her mother, her brother, Dinand, her sister, Clara and a close friend, Emy. But they were intended for a wider audience and appeared in the "Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung" before being published. These letters describe the cities, the country side, the architecture, the people, their characteristics, customs, history and government. They serve as an

illustration of tourist-leisure travel for the purpose of self-enrichment. Unlike scientific discourse, which is characterized by an impersonal and objective style, tourist accounts were read as "personal impressions" of a country and evaluated in terms of the degree of personality displayed in them. Writers were encouraged and even required to use the language of fantasy.

According to Annegret Pelz, travel accounts about the Orient by women are:

> die Begegnung zweier Weiblichkeitsbilder, ... eine exzentrische Bewegung von einer Peripherie in die andere, die die Chance mit sich bringt, Selbst- und Fremdbilder aufzubrechen und neu zu schreiben.[3]

In this chapter I will analyze to what extent Pelz's observation applies to Ida Hahn-Hahn's letters. Does gender influence the construction of the Orient? To what extent does Hahn-Hahn break old stereotypes and offer new models, or does she adopt this essentially patriarchal discourse?

1. Ida Hahn-Hahn: Biographical Details

Born under the imposing name of Ida Marie Luise Sophie Friederike Gustava Gräfin Hahn in 1805, Ida Hahn-Hahn grew up to become one of the leading female authors of popular novels in the first half of the nineteenth century. She was a member of an aristocratic family from Remplin in Mecklenburg, where she grew up. Isolated from the

consequences of political events and from external influences, Hahn-Hahn led a sheltered life. She did not attend school and had a string of governesses, who were charged with the responsibility of teaching her what a person of her status and sex needed to know. This life of ease did not last too long. Her father, who was a theater buff, began his own theater company and started to stage his own productions. This occupation was regarded as inappropriate for a man of his status and eventually led to his ruin. The family fell on hard times financially, and the parents divorced each other. A marriage, however, was arranged for Ida Hahn-Hahn. She was twenty-one years old when she married her cousin Graf Friedrich von Hahn. Barely three years had passed, before Friedrich Hahn sued for a divorce on grounds of infidelity. Although he remarried almost immediately, Ida Hahn-Hahn never did. A mentally-retarded child was born soon after the divorce and she received alimony to raise the child on her own. As so often among women writers, the divorce proved to be a blessing in disguise, since it left Hahn-Hahn free to pursue her own interests and discover herself. After years of being cloistered within the narrow confines of Mecklenburg, she now had the world waiting before her. Not content with the provincialism of Remplin and bored with the artificial aristocratic lifestyle of her circle, she sought refuge in travel.

At first her travels were restricted to the borders of the German Confederation. She then extended her travels to neighboring countries, like Switzerland, Austria and France. The frontiers kept widening to encompass Italy, Denmark, Spain, England, until finally, in 1843, she crossed Constantinople - the door to the Near East. Ida Hahn-Hahn was not the first European woman to set foot in Constantinople. Her predecessors include the widely read Lady Mary Montagu, Lady Craven, and Lady Hester Stanhope. Lady Montagu accompanied her husband, who was posted there. Ida Hahn-Hahn, on the other hand, endured the hardships and the dangers of her journey voluntarily. She was accompanied by Baron Adolf Bystram. After visiting Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo, she travelled down the Nile to Abyssinia, returning to Europe in 1846. In 1854 she founded a convent of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in Mainz. This convent looked after unmarried mothers and women in difficulty. She lived there for more than 25 years until she died in 1880.

2. Women Travelers and their Writings

Despite the immense popularity of her novels during her lifetime, Ida Hahn-Hahn sank into oblivion after her death and was only revived by feminist criticism in recent years. Women's writings have traditionally suffered at the hands of critics.[4] Even more so their travel writings. Conspicuous

by their absence in the public sphere, middle and upper class women were presented as fragile creatures, in need of protection and dependent on their husbands and fathers for their status and identity. Travel was not compatible with the role assigned to women. It was only accepted as legitimate if they accompanied their husband on duty, as in the case of Lady Montagu. Otherwise women had to be content with the role of armchair travelers, broadening their horizons through other people's accounts, while carrying out their duties at home.

Given the dominant literary image of contemporary women as the angel in the house, it is surprising how many women actually challenged that role by not only stepping out of the confines of the home and travelling, sometimes without a chaperone, but also by writing about their journey. According to Sara Mills this subversive element inherent in their writings is counterbalanced by the inclusion of several other elements, which foreground the author's femininity. This discourse of femininity differentiates women's writing from men's. For example, women writers frequently emphasize the importance of correct behavior and appropriate dress. Women were expected to write about topics in keeping with their feminine characteristics, such as morals, dress, domestic affairs, spirituality, hygiene and personal relationships, while the "serious" topics, concerning politics, the military and the economy were

reserved for men. If women did write about topics usually found in masculine discourse, they frequently denigrated it as not worthy of being included. Similarly, women could not employ the hardy adventure hero as the narrator figure, required by the conventions of travel literature. Consequently their accounts were judged as bland and boring. On the other hand, if they rejected these discursive pressures and wrote about their adventures, their accounts were seen as fictitious, since the characters went against the stereotypical notions of woman.[5] However, as my analysis demonstrates, Hahn-Hahn was influenced little by these discursive constraints. Her letters are stamped by the authoritative stance of colonial discourse.

While traditional research regards women travelers as anomalous and eccentric, more recent research hails them as protofeminists, women who challenged social conventions and escaped the confines of patriarchy in search of alternative lifestyles. Most critics do not read women travelers within the colonial context, because such a reading might undermine the feminist focus of their study. Feminist studies strove to reclaim forgotten women travelers in an otherwise male-dominated genre and to create a canon of role models and heroines. Renate Möhrmann, for example, emphasizes the hardships and dangers Hahn-Hahn endured in her quest for knowledge.[6] Elke Frederiksen interprets Hahn-Hahn's Orientalische Briefe as a quest for the lost traces of

women's history and thus indirectly the exploration of her own identity.[7]

While these attempts are necessary, they ignore the differences in power relations between Western women travelers and the members of the countries in which they traveled, resulting in a partial reading. Women travelers' accounts of non-European countries are interesting because these women are simultaneously part of the colonial mind set and yet marginalised within it.[8] According to Sara Mills, this ambiguous position makes their writings more contradictory in nature and not as straightforward as men's. Statements voicing colonial sentiments appear together with statements which undermine them (62).

Hahn-Hahn's letters also contain several ambiguities, beginning with her reason for visiting the Orient. Her journey is motivated by an overriding desire for inner enrichment and self-exploration. In a letter to her mother she explains how she is driven by a "Drang zur Erkenntnis." She wants to live her life to the maximum, like the phoenix that rises from the flames rejuvenated, for as she asks: "Was ist den leben (sic) anderes, als seine Kräfte gebrauchen und mit dem Leibe die Seele nähren? .... Ein Dasein, das nicht in dem Gebrauch seiner Kräfte üben und verzehren kann, darf man nicht mehr ein Leben nennen" (17-18). However, this urge to expand the boundaries of her identity to the limit is later concealed under the guise of

another more conventional motive for travelling to the Orient: to learn the "lessons from times past for times present."[9] Contrasting past and present had become a common literary device in travel accounts about the Orient. Hahn-Hahn finds refuge behind this convention, deflecting personal motives on to more "noble" ones: "Hofnungen will ich, nur Hofnungen! .... nicht für mich, nicht für Andere, aber für uns Alle" (1: 281).[10]

3. In Pursuit of the Past

Ida Hahn-Hahn states the purpose of her voyage in clear terms:

> ... um die Stätten kennen zu lernen, auf denen einst große Civilisationen gleich Blüten aus dem Kern ihrer Religionen hervor- und untergingen, als der Samenstaub jener Blüten taub ward. ... um die Stätte zu sehen, wo unsre Civilisation, die vielseitigste von Allen die je gewesen, ihren Ursprung hat. (1: 280)

Thus, from the very outset Hahn-Hahn perceives the Orient as a remnant of the past, the birthplace of civilizations, which had reached their prime and then decayed, or become impotent (or infertile, as the word "Samenstaub" indicates), after giving birth to the Occident. The relationship between the Orient and the Occident is already clearly defined as the relationship between the past and the present. This is reiterated in the following statement: "von dem Welttheil, der ist, will ich zu dem hin, der war; aus

der europäischen Gegenwart in die orientalische Vergangenheit" (1: 281). What the traveler should expect to see therefore is a lost civilization, mysterious ruins, indicators of a once glorious past.

This image of the Orient was widely prevalent in Europe and served polemic ends. The Orient became the site where Europe could search for its origins: the pure and the pristine, as it was before it became corrupt. A journey to the East was a quest for the original, infant state of the human race, the lost paradise of all religions and philosophies, a return to Europe's own forgotten origins.[11] It can be understood as an attempt to get down to the basic principles, to what was innate and natural as opposed to what was artificial.

Hahn-Hahn's observations of the Orient are canalized by the dominant myths about the Orient. She is going to the Orient to see what she wants and expects to see: "... Traurigkeiten, Wüsten, Ruinen, Desolationen ... majestätische, trostreiche, segenvolle Erinnerungen" (1: 281). The very purpose of Hahn-Hahn's journey is bound to the vision of the Orient as the past: to read the future from the ruins of the past and see a sign of hope for Europe. Europe, whose very foundations had become unstable, was now in the grips of social, economic and political change: "In Europa sieht es so hofnungslos aus, so unruhig. Keinem ist wol auf seinem Platz ... Alles was besteht soll

umgeändert, oder umgebildet, wenn nicht gar umgestoßen werden" (1: 281). She foresees an impending catastrophe awaiting Europe:

> Denn Trümmer wird es geben größer als die von Balbek und Theben zusammen genommen! schon jetzt kommen sie zum Vorschein, man hält sie nur noch mit eisernen Klammern zusammen, und es hat auch Niemand den Muth zu sagen: Seht! es sind Trümmer. - Aber wen von uns hat sich nicht selbst hundert Mal bei Betrachtungen des Zustandes von Religion, Gesellschaft und Staat gefragt: Wie lange wird es noch halten? (1: 282)

Germany was indeed in a state of flux. In contrast to the bourgeoisie in France, which had wrested political power from the monarchy and safeguarded its economic interests, the German bourgeoisie was still fighting for political and economic power. In order to quell these demands, economic reforms were being implemented, as in the case of Prussia, but at the cost of political emancipation. The Zollverein (1834) served to increase the economic power of the bourgeoisie by stimulating trade, commerce and industrial production. At the same time the abolishment of guilds forced the petty bourgeoisie into the ranks of the newly emerging proletariat. More radical movements, which refused to compromise were crushed by the introduction of repressive measures, like censorship.

The Romantic agenda with its call for a spiritual return to the past, for transformation and rejuvenation, for

a Europe regenerated by Asia, was in a sense a mystification of the problems facing Germany. Something was missing from the European present: the sense of unity and wholeness. There was a hope that a return to Oriental sources (especially Indian) would bring about a change for the better. There was also a need to seek out the roots of Christianity, which had come to be threatened by materialism and scientific discoveries. The Orient became a destination for travelers seeking Biblical illustrations which would reconfirm their faith.

Hahn-Hahn's journey is also a pilgrimage, though not a religious one: She wants to restore her faith in the future. The sight of the ruins gives her confidence that Europe too will see a new beginning (1: 282). By the end of her journey however, this confidence has been eroded and replaced by fear. The contrast between the two worlds, the world of the majestic past, embodied by the silent ruins and the world of the dilapidated present, inhabited by "dies Ameisengeschlecht" swarming over the dust of its ancestors, leads her to wonder: "Was wird aus uns werden, aus unsrer künstlichen, komplizirten, superfeinen, gebrechlichen Welt!" (3: 209). Can the same fate be in store for Europe? Europe has passed its zenith and resembles "ein fader, abgebrauchter Mummenschanz." Back on the shores of Europe, Hahn-Hahn finds herself in the "twilight" of the present.[12]

Hahn-Hahn emphasizes the fact that this is no ordinary journey, which normally implies a spatial displacement. A journey to the Orient is a temporal displacement, because it is a journey into the past:

> Wie viel hundert Meilen im Raum ich ... durchwandert sein möge, ist ... von geringer Bedeutung, daß ich in der Zeit wirklich durch Jahrtausende gepilgert bin; und nicht in Büchern ... oder in Gedanken: nein, in der Wirklichkeit, auf dem uralten Boden, zwischen den ursprünglichen Monumenten. (3: 260)

The contemporary obsession with origins is expressed by the adjectives "ursprünglich" and "uralt." Moldering monuments, inanimate relics from the distant past substitute living people of the present. As Pratt observes,

> the European imagination produces archeological subjects by splitting contemporary non-European peoples off from their pre-colonial ... pasts. To revive indigenous history and culture as archeology is to revive them as dead. The gesture ... reassigns them to a departed age.[13]

The project of archeology thus appropriates the past, by rediscovering ruins and reconstructing a lost history. It denies the contemporary descendants of these societies a historical consciousness and self-knowledge. They are not seen as historical agents who have living continuities with the past and historically based claims on the present. Instead, they are silenced and disempowered, available to be subjugated and controlled.

4. The Eternal and Unchanging Orient

This theme which depicted the Orient as Europe's past contradicts another frequently used representation of the Orient as timeless and eternal. According to the logic of the first argument the Orient had once been a great civilization and had then declined. The second argument, on the other hand, dehistorizes the Orient, by transforming it into a static, motionless and unchanging tableau. A favorite setting for Oriental tableaus are scenes from the Bible. For example, in a letter to her sister from Jerusalem, Hahn-Hahn describes the Orient as if it were a page from the Old Testament:

> die Kameele die draußen vor der Stadt am Brunnen lagern, die Weiber ... mit dem Krug auf der Achsel, ... die silbernen Armringe, welche sie tragen, dazu die Geräthschaften von primitiver Einfachheit, die Form der ... Lampen, der keulenartige Hirtenstab, die Schleuder womit die Kinder spielen und womit David den Goliath erschlug, die Cisternen im Felde worin die Brüder den Joseph versenken wollten .... (2: 217)

The Orient is perceived as a stage with biblical actors presenting an idyllic scene for their European audience. Hahn-Hahn finds that the past lives in the present in Jerusalem:

> Das Leben der alten Patriarchen wie es in der Bibel beschrieben wird, kann man sich in diesem Lande aufs Lebhafteste vergegenwärtigen. Die Zustände sind noch so einfach, die Existenz hat so

> geringe Bedürfnisse, der unentwickelte Mensch wandelt so genau auf demselben Weg und bis zu demselben Punkt wohin sein Vater gewandelt ist, daß der Umschwung der Zeit wenig Einfluß auf ihn hat. (2: 215)

It is as if the Orient has been frozen in time: "Zwei Jahrtausende ändern hier nichts. Es ist, wie es war! Dieselben Sitten, dieselben Gebräuche, dieselben Ideen" (2: 310). The Orient is not subject to the ordinary processes of history. It is timeless. This sense of time separates the Orient from the Occident.

If the Orient was constructed primarily as timeless, then it is also lifeless. The relationship between the Orient and Europe is characterised by the contrasting factors of inaction and motion. The Orient is static, petrified in the past, whereas the Occident is dynamic, governed by the laws of motion. There is no evidence of any progress in the Orient. Progress seems to be the prerogative of the West: "die abendländische Menschheit... [huldigt] ... dem Prinzip der Bewegung ..., Der Morgenländer bleibt mehr dem stabilen Prinzip getreu" (2: 216). Hahn-Hahn personifies the two in an argument about who is superior, the Orient or the Occident:

> Orient: Du wärest todt ohne mich! das Prinzip alles Lebens: das Licht - der Keim jeder Gesittung: die Religionen gehen mir aus, wie der Sonnenstrahl. Occident: Ich aber habe das Prinzip verarbeitet, den Keim zur Blüte gebracht. Du bist

> todt wie die Blume, welche dahinwelkt nachdem sie ihren Samen gestreut hat. Ich lebe, denn in mir ist Bewegung. (1: 126)

The argument is flawed by an inherent contradiction. Even though the Orient is described as "das Licht" and therefore the life-giving source, Hahn-Hahn contradicts herself by stating that the Occident brought this source to life, it awakened the dormant seed. However, this life-giving power which she attributes to the Occident requires sunlight, without which nothing can bloom. Logically speaking, there can be no "Bewegung" (embodied in the Occident) without the "Prinzip" (the Orient).

Even though the origins of Europe are located in the East, here it is Europe that articulates the Orient. Europe is depicted as the creator, whose life-giving power represents, animates, and constitutes the Orient. The subtext also suggests that Europe is the active male and the Orient is the passive female. The sexual innuendo is implicit in the the imagery of a seed being fertilized or inseminated: "den Keim zur Blüte gebracht." This exchange reflects another contradiction in the philosophy of the age: On the one hand, Europe searched for its origins in the East, but at the same time it saw itself as the resurrector of the East. As Said observes, Orientalists found it their duty to rescue some portion of a lost classical Oriental grandeur in order to assist the modern Orient, and thereby lift it from obscurity (121). Europe unravels the mysteries

of the Orient (eg. hieroglyphics, Rosetta Stone). Martius also calls the Amerindians "ein beklagenwerthes Räthsel," who have to be rescued from their own destiny (1268).

This exchange between the Orient and the Occident clearly indicates that for Hahn-Hahn "Bewegung" constitutes the basic difference between the two. "Bewegung" - motion, development, change, progress - is the essence of life. Without it the Orient is impotent (like a flower that has scattered its seeds) and therefore powerless. The Orient is represented as both impotent male and fertile female. Each of these constructions can be subjugated and controlled by the Occident. Hahn-Hahn denies the Orient this vital essence of life:

> Wohin man im Orient sich wende, überall trift man auf ein uns ganz unbegreifliches Bestehen des Urältesten. Wer sich nicht mit der Überzeugung durchdringen kann, daß Unwandelbarkeit der Character des Orients ist, wer Bewegung, Fortschritte, Unruhe, drängendes Treiben nach etwas Anderem, Besserem, bei ihm voraussetzt - versteht ihn nicht ... (3: 254)

The characteristics of the Occident: "Bewegung," "Fortschritte," "Unruhe" and "Treiben nach etwas Anderem" are contrasted and held up against those of the Orient: "Unwandelbarkeit" and "Bestehen des Urältesten."

5. The Ailing Orient

Along with the static imagery of a timeless Orient, there is a recurring reference to themes of decay and degeneration. The contrasting factors of active and passive are not restricted to only the physical plane, but extended to incorporate the intellect too. Whereas Europeans are physically and intellectually active, the Orientals lead a life of ease, sitting around and smoking their pipes all day, undisturbed by wants or mental exertion. Instead of taking pleasure in active sports like hunting, they spend their time in coffee houses smoking and reminding Hahn-Hahn of a "Wachsfigurenkabinet."

> Dies dumpfe Hinbrüten über nichts, die regungslose Versenkung in nichts, diese dick umwölkte Existenz, durch keinen Blitz des Gedankens, durch keine Sterne der Intelligenz gelichtet, ist denn doch am Ende so ungenügend, so befriedigungslos, daß die Seele in einen Zustand krankhafter Abspannung geräth, ... (1: 182)

This extract is built around the opposition between light and darkness. The word "Orient" denotes radiance, lustre, the rising sun. Yet, the Oriental is sunk in darkness as the words "dumpf," and "dick umwölkt" suggest, and hence denied light (Blitz, Stern, gelichtet), which is the symbol of enlightened rationality.

This idle vocation of the Turks is regarded as a pathological state. Although they may want to cure themselves from this disease, they, unlike the Europeans,

possess neither intellect nor the enterprise. Hahn-Hahn accepts the postulate of the Enlightenment, that all human beings are endowed with the same faculties of rationality, but at the same time denies the Turks the development of these faculties due to their inherent mental and physical laziness. The concessionary nature of this argument (equal but not equal) is revealed by the series of antitheses built into the following passage:

> Der Durst der Seele mag wol überall derselbe sein; aber womit sie ihn zu stillen versucht, ob mit klaren reinen - oder schlammigen und trüben Wassern: das macht den Unterschied. Um zu den reinen Quellen zu gelangen, muß man auf Höhen klimmen; die trüben liegen näher und machen es bequemer. Da trinkt man sich denn in den schweren Taumel hinein, der den Geist fesselt und die Sinne entfesselt, und der durch die Gefangenschaft der einen Richtung des menschlichen Wesens, der andern eine wonnige Freiheit, auf Kosten Jener, verschafft. Wer so wenig vom Geist weiß wie der Türk, so wenig Thatkraft hat, so wenig die Beschäftigung liebt, von der Leidenschaft nichts kennt als ihre brutale Seite, nämlich nie eine Sehnsucht und immer nur ein Verlangen; wer ... Verweichlichung und Genüsse aller Art kennt ... muß dem Opium verfallen. (1: 182-83)

The particles "mag" and "wohl," the adjectives, "klar" and "trüb," the verbs "klimmen" and "verfallen" and the nouns, "Geist" and "Sinne," "Gefangenschaft" and "Freiheit" are all set against each other. These oppositions are only another

way of representing the Oriental as Other. Rationality is undermined by Eastern excesses, reflected in the Dionysian images of Turks drowning in drink, sex and opium. The discourse produces the Turks as figures enslaved by their decadence, driven to living in a state of unconscious delirium. The argument itself is tautological: their crime is being Turks. Since the Turks were at a disadvantage from the outset, because they are denied the will to strive for nobler goals, the resolution of the argument in addiction is hardly surprising. She concludes that this lethargic existence has ultimately contributed to the degeneration of "the Oriental mind."

The motive of decay and degeneration occurs frequently with that of outward grandeur. What appears to be, is in reality not so and turns out instead to be a mere facade, an illusion. The diamond-encrusted Sultan of Constantinople, Abdul-Medjid, for example, strikes Hahn-Hahn as "starr und glasig." The very word "Sultan" is the embodiment of power, authority and pomp. Instead, according to hearsay, he suffers from epilepsy, and neurosis (1: 134). Sickness and disease is covered with the opulence of jewels.

The contrast between splendour and decay is taken up once again in the legend of King Salomo. Hahn-Hahn uses this metaphor to depict the gradual process of a nation in decay. Despite the outward brilliance she can feel the rot setting in and putrefying slowly, unobserved:

> Er war todt, der weise König; auf seinem Thron sitzend war er gestorben, und da saß er noch, majestätisch, unbeweglich, und alle gehorchten ihm, wie bei seinem Leben, ... Endlich kam den Diws seine Unbeweglichkeit doch bedenklich vor; allein aus Ehrfurcht wagte sich keiner in seine Nähe. ... da stifteten sie den Holzwurm an, er solle den Stab zernagen. Vierzig Tage nagte der Holzwurm an dem Stabe: da brach er zusammen, und über ihn stürzte die Leiche hin und machte es kund daß König Salomo längst todt war. (1: 171-72)

King Salomo, who commands respect because of his royal and imperious appearance, is the Turkish nation, majestic on the outside but rotten at the core. From a distance it may seem imposing to the eye of an innocent traveler, but Hahn-Hahn assures her sister this is an illusion: "es ist schon todt." Salomo's motionless, stationary posture, like the ossified Turkish nation is a symbol of his impotence and death.

On her way back to the guest house, she observes the people on the streets busy with their daily activities: "Alles ging nach hergebrachter Weise im kindischen Treiben, ohne Intelligenz, ohne Idee, so fort. Ich allein dachte daran, daß König Salomo gestorben sei." Hahn-Hahn sets herself above the rabble, as the only person conscious of the truth, because she is the enlightened, mature European observer. The Turks, on the other hand, are described as too preoccupied with their childish antics. Like little children engrossed in their games, they do not have the

foresight or intelligence to make plans for the future, unaware of the impending catastrophe. As discussed in chapter one, this analogy which compares the stages of evolution with the ages of man belonged to the discourse of the Other. To illustrate her point, Hahn-Hahn chooses her objects carefully. Amongst all the bustling activity on the streets, she mentions an Armenian girl on a swing, a juggler performing his tricks and a vendor selling sweets. All three activities emphasize the immaturity of the Other.

6. Unveiling The Orient: Representation and Reality

The motives of decay and grandeur go hand in hand with those of illusion and reality. The experiences of the traveler are determined by what she has read (representations). Reality, therefore, is conceived of as representation. The idyllic scenes from the Bible, which Hahn-Hahn paints, illustrate this point. However, when reality does not meet the expectations of the traveler, and the Orient turns out to be not at all like the texts, a feeling of disappointment ensues. It is criticized as an illusion, a betrayed dream or unauthentic. A demystification of images culled from texts follows. Hahn-Hahn unveils the Orient, exposing the dismal reality behind the facade of grandeur and debunking existing myths that construct the Orient as a site of haunting landscapes,

romance and intoxicating experiences. Reality is contrasted with representation.

Describing the city of Constantinople to her mother, Hahn-Hahn explains how from a height, the city appears to be like a garden, or a summer palace. She then draws a parallel with theater sets in order to emphasize the fact that this is only the appearance, a scaffold, and not the reality:

> Stelle dir eine Theaterdekoration vor, von Künstlerhand mit dem größten Geschmack gemalt: Du bist entzückt, hingerissen ..., immer von neuem schauest Du sie an, kannst nicht satt werden zu bewundern; und jetzt führt man Dich hinter die Szene. Hilf Himmel! Latten, Sparrwerk, schmutziges Papier, Stricke, Ölflecke, ...: - so, aber genau ist Konstantinopel. (28)

The whole illusion she patiently builds up falls apart into dirt and disorder, resulting in an anticlimax. This is a deliberate orchestration of the reader's response, whereby Hahn-Hahn sets herself up as the authority, who dispels illusions and unveils the reality.[14] This authoritative stance is also revealed in statements such as, "Mir war als könnte ich bis ins Herz von Afrika hineinsehen" (3: 184). Africa yields its inner most secrets and laid itself bare to the eyes of the traveler.

Both Constantinople and the town of Luxor make a greater impact on Hahn-Hahn from a distance than from close by. Constantinople at dawn wraithed in mist is "ein

wahrhaft entzückendes Bild ... ganz wie man es in Feenmärchen liest". But as the sun rises, revealing the whole city, the magic is dispelled. The enchantment lies at a distance. As soon as the visitor enters the city, the illusion of a "Feenstadt" vanishes and is replaced by the neglect and confusion of a "Schmutzstadt" (96).

From afar, Luxor acquires:

> den mythologischen Charakter eines Gemäldes von Claude Lorrain: ... in solchen träumerischen Duft, in so idealische Färbungen ist es gehüllt; ... In der Nähe verschwindet Luxors Zauber durch die ekelhafteste aller ekelhaften Wirklichkeiten. (313)

As Timothy Mitchell points out, there are two interconnecting factors at play here: Firstly, the perspective of the observer and secondly, the world as representation.[15] Hahn-Hahn clearly prefers the perspective from a distance. Looking from atop or from afar, with the rest of the city laid out in front or beneath the viewer, allows the person to enframe the view and represent it for the reader. The city presents itself to the invisible European eye, which "commands" the view that falls within its gaze. The observer occupies the central position (the point of view) which is set apart and outside the world, from where she can see and yet not be seen. This optical detachment enables the viewer to separate herself from the world and thus constitute it as a panorama.

On the other hand, when the observer does not occupy this privileged position, but finds herself in the midst of the town, for example, the perspective vanishes. She is confronted with the dis-orienting Orient, and surrounded by a chaos of details, a visual turmoil, which the eye cannot arrange and order. It is impossible to grasp the whole, for the whole refuses to compose itself into a picture. The absence of pictorial order leads to the frustrating and disorienting experience felt by the viewer: " - ich versichere Sie man wird ganz betäubt, ganz verwirrt, ganz erschöpft von der Anstrengung in dies Chaos Ordnung zu bringen" (311). This duality between chaos and order is reminiscent of the naturalist's task, discussed in the previous chapter. Martius also sees himself as creating order amidst the chaos of nature through the painstaking process of careful description, comparison and classification.

The reality the viewer constructs is that which could be represented according to European pictorial and organizational conventions. It must present itself as a picture before the observer, as an object that stands apart and separate from the reality of the observer. The world is perceived as a pictorial representation. The distinction between the two (text and world) becomes blurred. Luxor becomes a painting by Claude Lorraine. Similarly, Cairo

becomes the authentic oriental city because its architecture comes straight out of the Arabian Nights (243).

What defied the narrow confines of the pictorial framework and thus could not be represented, dissolved into chaos. Hahn-Hahn tries to paint a picture of the cataracts of Assuan. She describes the waters:

> ein breites, form-, ufer- und regelloses Wasser, das sich wild und rasch ... herumdrängt und tummelt ... . Es herrscht die graue Einförmigkeit des Chaos und seine düstre Confusion. ... Über diese Natur hat der Mensch keine Gewalt. Diese Wasser kann er nicht lenken und ordnen ... nicht beherrschen. Es ist die traurigste, unüberwindlichste Einöde, ... von furchtbarer Starrheit, und doch ohne die wilde, kalte Erhabenheit einer Oede im Hochgebirg. Sie ist zu formlos, zu chaotisch um erhaben zu sein. Den ersten Schritt aus dem Chaos heraus thut gleichsam das Hochgebirg, und ist erhaben, weil es etwas Ungeheures überwunden hat. Hier aber ist noch nichts überwunden, sondern Alles in unstillbarer Gährung, und weil der Rahmen des Bildes so groß, weit und umfassend, und das Bild selbst doch nicht majestätisch ist, so fühlte ich mich beklemmt und gedrückt, und starrte ganz trübe da oben von der Felsenklippe in diese graue Wildnis hinein. (3: 186)

Chaos and order collide once again in the Orient. A high degree of uncontrolled and undirected action and speed is packed into the passage (wild, rasch, herumdrängt, tummelt) emphasizing the chaos. However these energized adjectives

and verbs anti-climax in "die graue Einförmigkeit," "düstre Confusion" and "Starrheit," creating a devouring abyss or a void. The sentence structure, where the agent follows the verb underwrites the impotence of man to control the unleashed forces of nature. The language of control (herrscht, Gewalt, lenken, ordnen, beherrschen) occurs side by side with that of disorder (formlos, regellos, unüberwindlich, unstillbar, Wildnis). Again reality (the cataracts) can only be conceived as a representation (Bild), but despite her elevated position on the cliff, Hahn-Hahn is unable to impose order or conquer the view. Her gaze is unable to assign it center, measure, direction or limit and loses itself in the void. The end effect is the accumulation of separate images lacking the harmony and effect of a picture.

Hahn-Hahn is influenced by classic aesthetic conventions, which promoted the ideals of harmony and simplicity. The function of art was to sublimate nature or matter. It was accompanied by a moral imperative, which emphasized the triumph of the sublime over adversity through the exercise of self-discipline and restraint. Unlike the alpine mountains which do triumph over chaos and can be called lofty or sublime as a result, the cataracts embody the unleashing of occult forces, which defy the classic aesthetic conventions, disorient her senses and are deemed unmajestic.[16]

7. A Prescription For The Orient

The invisible gaze which places the observer in a position of authority is a common feature in colonial discourse. This authoritative stance is reiterated in the medical metaphor which represents the relationship between Europe and the Orient as that between a doctor and a patient. For example, Hahn-Hahn describes the Ottoman empire as an enervated organism, dying slowly of consumption, while European powers try to revive it using European education, industry and infrastructure. Hahn-Hahn sees these efforts as futile:

> Die fremde Disciplin, die fremde Wissenschaft gehen diesem Körper nicht organisch ins Blut, in den Lebenskeim über. Um abgestorbene Völker zu regeneriren, ist die Einimpfung einer fremden Bildung nicht wirksam genug. (1: 167)

The patient is already deemed dead. Nothing can help any more. Martius, also used the language of medicine to represent the futility of trying to save the Amerindians from their own obstinacy: the Amerindians resisted all treatment administered by Europe and seemed intent on dying. Hahn-Hahn, likewise, has already determined the fate of the Turks: "In dieser türkischen Herrschaft ist, ... mehr ein zerstörendes als ein erhaltendes Prinzip ... . Ihr Scepter ist wie der Stab einer bösen Fee: auch ohne böse Absicht thut er Schaden wohin er fällt" (1: 323). This destructive

tendency is seen as something innate, therefore natural and unavoidable.

But not all Orientals are eliminated. Like Martius, Hahn-Hahn also builds hierarchies within the category of the Other. The Egyptians are not as dissipated as the Turks. But unlike her male counterparts, Hahn and Martius, Hahn-Hahn does not recommend colonial intervention as a means of promoting progress. In fact she criticizes the ruler of Egypt, Mehmet Ali for aping the West, instead of recognizing the indigenous potential of the country. The living standards of the people have to be raised and this can be achieved without European industry (352:III). She mocks the French teachers who have been hired by Ali, so that his sons can benefit from a European education. French grammar and syntax are hardly what Egypt needs for progress (363:III). Rather, the answers have to be found in the Orient.

However this gesture, which contests colonial discourse, is then undone by a strong criticism directed against the Turks for their inability to become what Europeans are. The language of the civilizing mission is used to invent the Orient as backward and neglected. The discourse of improvement creeps in. The Valley of Bekaa, with one of the most fertile soils in the world becomes a symbol of waste and neglect, because it is not being exploited. Hahn-Hahn suggests: "Man könnte ... die Bekaa in den üppigsten Garten verwandeln. Allein das Volk ist so

mäßig, daß seine Bedürfnisse durch geringere Mühe reichlich befriedigt werden." This motive of transforming deserts into gardens appears again in the diaries of a missionary, discussed in the following chapter. Hahn-Hahn dreams of the paradise which could blossom here with the help of "ein paar tausend tüchtige, fleißige, arbeitgewohnte, brave, deutsche Hände" (129). Even though she rejects the idea of colonial intervention, she does have colonial fantasies just like Martius.

One of the main problems facing the Orient, according to Hahn-Hahn is a lack of needs and a corresponding reluctance to work. Protestant work ethic has played a determining role in the perception of the Other. This work ethic holds that the purpose of life is work. Work to satisfy your needs. Without needs, however there can be no development. If you are content with your lot, or leave everything to kismet or fate (1: 360), then there is no incentive to work, your mind remains inactive and you sink into a state of inertia. The Orientals may lead a contented life, but it was a remarkably monotonous one, since it was bereft of the impulses which derive from any but the most basic needs. Needs therefore become the driving force in any society.

For Hahn-Hahn the ability to work is the distinguishing factor between humans and animals. A person living in a state of idleness is little better than an animal. "Nichts

zu brauchen als den Platz auf dem man eben liegt, auf demselben mit Speise Trank und Schlaf zu vegetieren: diesen Vorzug teilt man am Ende mit jedem Thier" (1: 170). The discourse equates "nichts zu brauchen" with "vege-tier-en" implying that the lack of needs results in indolence, a characteristic shared with animals.

Her judgments are rooted in her class values, as the description of the British Consul's house in Damascus reveals:

> Ein andrer Geist erfüllt es, der Geist der Ansprüche an Cultur und Bildung macht. Da sind Bücher, Kupferstiche, Karten, ... die hunderttausend ... Kleinigkeiten des verfeinerten Lebens, die ... ein Product ... der erhöhten Civilisation sind. (2: 56)

The Orient, on the other hand, is characterized by a lack of taste, indicative of the mental condition of the inhabitants: "Jenes Element, das wir höher als den Luxus achten, die Elegance ist dem Türken durchaus unbekannt. ... Ein rohes Volk ... kann nicht elegant sein, es hängt ... ein wenig mit geistigen Eigenschaften zusammen" (1: 180). She supports her claim by quoting the British Consul who states, "Man deterorirt sich geistig im Orient" (2: 56). These attributes of elegance and taste are used as distancing devices, to prove the superiority of the Europeans, and are anchored in Hahn-Hahn's class values.

Hahn-Hahn points at the failure to develop modern habits of consumption. The Oriental indifference to European virtues of comfort, efficiency, variety and taste, as illustrated by the absence of furniture, is perceived as "bestial" and "filthy." She is repelled by the Oriental custom of sitting on the ground, "dies ewige Herumwälzen auf der Erde, dies ewige Kauern auf allen Vieren," and calls it "höchst ungraziös," "monströs," "unanständig für Menschen" and "thierisch" (1: 170). The civilizing mission has to begin literally from the ground upwards:

> Wie kann man ein Volk civilisiren, das sich wie das Vieh beständig am Boden herumwühlt und wälzt, und keinen andern Tisch, noch Stuhl, noch Lager kennt als den Staub und Schmutz der Erde. Auf vom Boden muß es! so lange es da unten in seinen gleichsam vierbeinigen Gewohnheiten verbleibt, wird die thierische Existenz die vorherrschende und eine Mauer gegen die Kultur sein. (3: 362)

This extract centers around the theme of elevation and the difference between the higher order of spirituality and the lower order of instinctuality, which makes humans animals. As Magli illustrates, this division can be traced back to Aristotle, who applied it to the physiognomy of man. According to Aristotle nature has placed the nobler parts of the body (the eyes, the forehead, the heart) in the upper parts of the body, pointing to the cosmos, while the less noble parts (the mouth, the abdomen, sexual organs), are located lower down pointing to the ground.[17] Blumenbach

also attributed the difference between humans and animals to the former's erect posture. The ground is thus associated with bestiality, sexuality, excrement. These elements of the savage have to be sublimated by culture and substituted by humanity, rationality and intellect.[18]

Culture or civilization is measured by the variety and quantity of material possessions or consumer goods. These capitalistic notions are seen as the necessary agents of change. The Turks must be transformed from an indolent mass lacking taste and needs into a productive labor force and a market for European consumer goods. The next chapter demonstrates the efforts of a German missionary to do just this.

8. The Noble Savage

While the Turks are condemned for their animalistic ways, in that they are satisfied with the most basic needs and do not aim any higher, the Bedouins are praised and glorified for their idyllic, simple lifestyle. Hahn-Hahn describes it as: "ein Stückchen paradiesischen Lebens: Menschen in den einfachsten befriedigendsten Verhältnissen, deren Wünsche und Bedürfnisse vollkommen der Sphäre entsprechen, welche sie ausfüllen sollen" (2: 270). The Bedouins serve as a foil to criticize Europe, which had strayed away from the original state of natural harmony and had become mechanical, rational and artificial. While the

Europeans are described as "die glänzenden und verkümmerten Opfer unsrer Cultur," the Bedouins are called "das Geschöpf Gottes" and compared with raw silk, unrefined and natural (2: 265). Europeans are products of their nation, class and office, bound down by social norms which regulate every aspect of their lives. The price paid for civilization is freedom and individuality, both of which the Bedouins enjoy to the fullest degree, while Europeans are constricted and lead an artificial existence. Europe is:

> ein Treibhaus, das sehr interessante ... Pflanzen künstlich erzeugt, und die Produkte von Geist, Erfindungskraft, Forschung, Studium, ... aufzuweisen hat; folglich geht von selbst daraus hervor, daß es den schlichten Boden nicht hat, auf dem die eine starke Pflanze der Freiheit gedeiht - und nur sie. (2: 278)

Projecting her fantasies on to the Bedouins, Hahn-Hahn idealizes their way of life:

> Die Ehe ist ernst und streng; ... Die Kinder machen den Weibern wenig Mühe; sie werden leicht und schnell geboren, ... Von der Geburt bis zum Grabe ist das Leben nie eine Last, nie ein Kampf, ...: keine Unruh für die Zukunft, kein Mißvergnügen mit der Gegenwart, keine Reue über die Vergangenheit, kein Grübeln ins Nichts, kein Fliegen durchs All. (2: 276)

The Protestant work ethic which emphasizes "Mühe," "Last" and "Kampf" as ways of getting ahead, and which she had recommended with regard to the Turks, does not play a role

here. She hopes the Bedouins remain untouched by civilization, explaining: "Denn wild sind sie natürlich, ... und gebildet gar nicht. Eine Zeitung haben sie nie in den Händen gehabt, nie eine Oper gehört, nie eine Kunstausstellung gesehen" (2: 273).

If the Turks were criticized for their apparent lack of culture and material needs, the Bedouins are extolled for their natural and pure existence. They embody the African desert myth of undisturbed tranquility and freedom. A factor that could account for this partiality is physical beauty, or, more to the point, masculine beauty of the Bedouins. In Constantinople, Hahn-Hahn was struck by the absence of young male faces, and concluded that all Turks look old. In contrast, the Bedouins who carry her up the pyramid in Gaza are "Statuen von dunkler Bronze," a reference to classical Greek sculptures. They make her exclaim in delight: "nie sah ich süperbere Menschen!" (253).

The Bedouins are not only objects of aesthetic pleasure but also of erotic desire. There is a subtext of eroticism in the description of the ascent of the pyramid, which itself can be read as a metapher for the sexual act. Hahn-Hahn describes the Bedouins undress in preparation for the ascent. Left in their tunics, without their cloaks, they remind Hahn-Hahn of Osiris, the ruler of the underworld. Words like "Schwindel," "gewaltsam abgebrochen," "matt," "schneller steigen," "Freudengeschrei" share the imagery of

sexual intercourse (253). In contrast to patriarchal discourse, where the woman is turned into an object of erotic desire, here it is the Bedouin, who serves as a cipher for Hahn-Hahn's sexual fantasies.

The Bedouins' virtues lie in their handsome appearance, their fierce independence and masculinity, their simple, nomadic lifestyle. Intelligence does not play a major role in Hahn-Hahn's evaluation of them. As she states: "der gebildete Mann braucht Intelligenz, der Barbar Schönheit - sonst sind beide unausstehlich" (57). Hahn-Hahn adopts the role of "der gebildete Mann" abroad and treats "der Barbar" as women were treated in Europe, i.e. as objects of beauty and desire. Sigrid Weigel discusses these interlocking tropes in Eighteenth Century discourse about women and "der Wilde." Both are represented as closer to "nature," guided by instinct, rather than by reason. Like innocent children, they too have to be socialized/civilized. Both embody the unknown or unexplored: women with regard to their sexuality and the savage as the inhabitant of an unknown territory.[19] The dichotomy between culture and nature is used to "other" both women and non-Europeans. Hahn-Hahn uses the same strategy in reverse with regard to the "Barbar." Just as European women (the Other within) were reduced to their sex, the Bedouins are judged according to the norms of masculine beauty: their primeval strength, erotic masculinity, and robust or athletic appearance.

9. Behind The Veil: The World of the Harem

Male travelers to the Orient often represented the harem as an eroticized space, filled with creatures of male sexual fantasies. How then did a European woman react to the harem and represent women who belonged to the same gender but to a different race? Hahn-Hahn's letters give detailed reports on the women's appearance, fashions and lifestyle. She also discusses the institution of marriage, the degree of independence and power enjoyed by women, and the common practice of abortion.

The harem is one area where the discourse of the Other changes slightly due to the gender of the traveler. It is no longer a sexually available space, used to express erotic desires. Instead these desires are projected onto the Bedouins, while the harem and its women become symbols of intellectual stagnation, boredom and confinement. While this treatment of the harem has lent itself to feminist interpretations of Hahn-Hahn's writings, few critics have looked at it within a colonial context.[20] In her article, "The Discourse of the Veil" Leila Ahmed uses the term "colonial feminism," i.e. a brand of feminism used by both men and women travelers against other cultures in the service of colonialism.[21] According to Ahmed, colonial discourse appropriates the language of feminism to morally justify the attack on native society and support the notion of European superiority. The discussion which revolved

around the themes of the harem and polygamy was used to illustrate the advancement of European society and the backwardness and degeneration of Oriental ways.[22] Indirectly then, this criticism pointed to the necessity of elevating Orientals to Western ways.

The case of Ida Hahn-Hahn is especially interesting in this context, because in Germany she fought for the emancipation of women, writing novels, like Der Rechte (1839), Gräfin Faustine (1840) and Zwei Frauen (1845). In Der Rechte she questions the traditional roles assigned to the sexes according to their "natural" gender-specific characteristics. She rebels against a society with double standards for men and women. While it regards man as a rational individual with an independent will, it sees women as dependent creatures determined by their sex. Hahn-Hahn proposes that the differences between the sexes are socially constructed and must be changed.[23] In Gräfin Faustine, Hahn-Hahn goes beyond the traditional female roles of mother and wife and creates a character who, as the name Faustine suggests, is more than a mere appendage of man. She is depicted as an individual in her own right with her own ideas, desires and goals. In Zwei Frauen Hahn-Hahn criticizes the inequalities in marital relationships which make the husband lord and master over his wife, who is treated as a submissive slave ready to please his every whim. She advocates equality between the partners based on

self-determination.[24] While writing about the women of the harem, however, she remains within the confines of patriarchal discourse.

On visiting a harem in Constantinople she describes herself,

> von einer Weiberschaar umringt, vor der ich förmlich erschrack, so häßlich war sie. ... Sie lärmten, lachten, schrien um mich herum, betrachteten mich, faßten meine Hände an -... die Wilden der Südsee können nicht wilder in ihrer Neugier sein. ... Aber der Harem macht stupid und roh, ... (2: 73).

Traditionally, the harem was portrayed as a paradise, a repository guarding the secrets of love, passion, beauty and poetry. The women in Hahn-Hahn's account of the harem are a far cry from the ravishing, gazelle-eyed angels of paradise. Instead their desperate behavior suggests that they are raving mad, confined in a lunatic asylum. Hahn-Hahn attributes this behavior to the lack of social intercourse between the sexes, which she holds responsible for the development of a certain delicacy and refinement, alien to women in the harem. Women like these, without a trace of good manners resemble animals. "So eine Masse roher Weib zu sehen, ist mir schrecklich. Lieber sehe ich eine Heerde Kühe oder Schaafe. Der Harem erniedrigt das Weib zum Vieh" (2: 74). She adopts a patriarchal perspective, which views women who are secluded and barred from the society of men as necessarily deprived. Seclusion leads to their

infantilization, lunacy and degradation. Societies which practice rigid segregation of the sexes are regarded as necessarily more oppressive to women than sexually integrated societies.

Hahn-Hahn finds the use of the veil distasteful and wishes she could set her eyes on women, instead of "diese vermummten Gestalten," who do little to brighten up the streets (56). Here again she adopts a male perspective, which regards the role of women in aesthetic terms as agents for beautifying their surroundings.[25] The veil, however, also acts as a shield against the penetrating gaze of the observer. By covering and protecting the person behind it, the veil denies Hahn-Hahn the power conferred by sight, which exposes and reveals, turning the observed into an object of curiosity. The direction of the gaze is now reversed, since it is the veiled who can see but remain unseen.

More than anything else, Hahn-Hahn deplores the isolation and boredom of the harem, which robs the women of all intellectual vigor. The only activity that these women are familiar with, besides entertaining, is spending their time in the baths: "Die ewig sitzende Lebensart, die ewigen, heißen Bäder, der ewige Genuß von Zuckerwerk ... nehmen den Gestalten allen Nerv. Wie Fleischklumpen sehen sie aus" (56). They have no contact with their husband's world and live in an unnatural environment, surrounded by rivals, and

spied on by eunuchs. They remain idle and pass time scheming against one another and planning intrigues, which give rise to envy, jealousy and hatred. She calls the harem "das Brutnest aller bösen Eigenschaften ..., deren Keime im Character des Weibes schlummern" (38). Once again the company of males is considered essential for mental and intellectual development. Deprived of this company, the savage repressed within the nature of woman raises its ugly head. Man is therefore the necessary counterbalance for the negatives in a woman's character.

In an angry letter to her mother, Hahn-Hahn criticizes European male writers who are ignorant about the harem, but continue to insist that Oriental women are actually quite content to live within the confines of the harem. Hahn-Hahn retorts, "Hat sich je eine Kuh auf der grünen Wiese unglücklich gefühlt? Der Harem ist eine Wiese, die den Bedürfnissen des animalischen Lebens genügt. Basta" (153). While their basic material needs may be satisfied, their intellectual needs are neglected. She comments "... mehr noch als der Leib, wohnt hier der Geist im Käfig" (86).

Unfortunately Hahn-Hahn does not explore this area further. She does not discuss why these women are in harems in the first place, why they are rivals at all, why they are being spied on? Who are the eunuchs serving? She does, however, criticize the existing opinion that Oriental women are accustomed to the harem and that they have accepted it

out of sheer habit. But she uses her argument to imply the depravity of such women:

> Ja, sie treten in das Joch des Harems, und dessen Form ist ihnen zur Gewohnheit geworden; aber gegen den Inhalt sträubt sich ihr Instinkt .... Da keine Geistes- und Seelenbildung ihn [den Instinkt] bändigt und regelt, wie sollte es da nicht zu den heftigsten Ausbrüchen, zu den tiefsten Gemeinheiten, zu den größten Grausamkeiten kommen. (39)

In the West culture and religion help to temper these baser instincts. But in the East, where culture is totally absent, the rebellious instinct leads to "the most violent outbursts, the lowest vulgarities, the greatest cruelties." By not specifying what these crimes are, she leaves the field wide open for the reader's imagination: abortion, lesbianism, murder. Her criticism is thus directed more towards a lack of so-called culture, rather than against a male-dominated society, which supports the institution of the harem. In fact, an important part of the culture she recommends is the presence of males.

These opinions differ considerably from those of another woman traveler to the East, Lady Mary Montagu, who regarded the veil as a disguise, behind which women could escape the narrow confines of the harem and enjoy a considerable degree of freedom.[26] Similarly, the baths served as a venue, where women could assemble and escape from a male dominated society. The difference in opinions

can be attributed to what Pratt calls reciprocal vision (Imperial Eyes 81). Montagu portrays herself as subjected to the scrutiny of the women in the harem.[27] She puts herself in the place of these women (the observed), by actually wearing a veil, and by joining them in the baths, instead of looking on as an outsider. She is therefore able to acquire a new perspective.

Although Hahn-Hahn had experienced an unhappy marriage and had consequently defied the patriarchal ideal of womanhood not only in her novels but also in her own personal life, she employs this ideal in order to criticize the practices of another culture and emphasize the superiority of her own culture. While the emancipated characters of her novels, like Faustine, go beyond the traditional role of motherhood, in Orientalische Briefe, Hahn-Hahn advocates motherhood as the natural state for woman and attacks the common practice of abortion: "Familien wo die Weiber nicht Mütter sein mögen, ... ist der Gipfel der Unnatur und kann nichts andres als ein Zeichen bedeutenden Verfalls sein" (1: 300).

The Western ideals of conjugal love and monogamous marriage are held up against polygamy. Marriage in the Orient is not founded on love, but on sensuality. Polygamy is responsible for the debasement of man, because it permits him to know his wife only as an object of his sexual desire (3: 332). The Oriental wife, hidden behind a veil, is

regarded as a prisoner and a slave, rather than a companion to her husband. Her opinions are male-centered. For example, while attacking the custom of older men marrying young girls, she remarks that a child cannot cope with the burdens of marriage and is therefore bound to displease her husband (3: 332). Yet, in her novel, Gräfin Faustine, she criticizes women who are always at the beck and call of their husbands, as if they were their slaves.[28] The discourse of the harem thus undermines Hahn-Hahn's feminist writings.

Oriental vocabulary (slaves, harem) is used in Europe to fight for women's rights, but in the Orient itself, the oppression of women at home is denied. This is evident in her comparison between the position of women in the Orient with that at home: "welch eine Wonne, ... zu den Völkern germanischen Stammes zu gehören, bei denen ... das Weib den Platz eines Menschen einnahm" (153).[29] In contrast the Oriental woman is "nie eine Person, stets eine Sache" (3: 332). The claims towards a superior civilization are fought over the issue of women and their treatment. Hahn-Hahn states: "Die Polygamie ist eine Mauer, welche den Orient gegen Christentum absperrt" (153).[30] This metaphor occurs again in the next chapter as a part of evangelical discourse, which claims that Christianity teaches respect towards women, whereas all other religions degraded them.

Hahn-Hahn blames the harem for making the princes weak and effeminate. The prince is raised and educated in the harem, so that he is not a threat to the existing leader. Being surrounded constantly by women and eunuchs would hardly contribute to the development of those qualities, necessary for a strong and respected leader. Instead of raising a man fit to be king, the harem serves as the breeding ground for "krüppelhafte Pflanzen" (1: 299). Thus Hahn-Hahn actually makes the harem, i.e. the women partly responsible for the deterioration and weakening of the empire, because of their capacity to influence future leaders. She talks about "das Weiberregiment," and describes Sultan Abdul-Medjid in the embraces of a thousand-headed hydra (38); in other words, his harem. The harem is thus not only a barrier between woman and her elevation, but also between a nation and its progress.

10. The Slave Market

Ida Hahn-Hahn's visit to the slave market in Constantinople reveals her ambivalent attitude to women of a different race. Writing to her brother, she builds up the atmosphere by describing the surroundings, the narrow, dark chambers, which house the slaves and the gallery where the sellers, buyers and curious spectators like herself congregate. The sight of the slaves is greeted with an exclamation of shock, "O Entsetzen! schauderhafter,

abstoßender Anblick!" (1: 175). This, however, is not a reaction against the injustice of the institution of slavery and the degradation of human beings. It is rather a protest against the appearance of Negro slaves, the victims of slavery, who present a sight too monstrous for one as aesthetically refined as Ida Hahn-Hahn.

As Sander Gilman observes, the Black's features were a visual metaphor for ugliness in the iconography of the eighteenth century. Aesthetic theories attempted to explain and categorize the negative reactions to the Black, thus maintaining the fiction of the Black as intrinsically different. According to Burke the perception of the Black produces fear and terror. Lessing on the other hand saw the Black as the source of disgust and the comic.[31]

Hahn-Hahn continues by urging her brother to summon all his powers of imagination and assures him he would still be nowhere close to picturing the monsters which met her eyes. It is not slaves per se who revolt her. It is these particular slaves, for they are "Negerinnen." Disappointed that she could not view the "Georgierinnen," and the "Circassierinnen," the fairest of them all, she has to be contented with this "ignoble sight" of "nur Schwarze":

> Da sitzen sie! ein grobes grauweißes Gewand verhüllt die Gestalt; bunte Glasringe umgeben die Handgelenke, bunte Glasperlen den Hals. Das Haar tragen sie kurz abgeschnitten; die deprimirte Stirn, tief eingedrückt über den Augenbrauen wie

> bei den Cretins, fällt zuerst auf, dann das große rollende nichtssagende Auge, dann die Nase, die ohne Nasebein eine unförmliche Masse zu sein scheint, dann der Mund mit der affrösen thierischen Bildung der vorspringenden Kinnladen, und mit den klaffenden schwarzen Lippen - ... dann die langfingerigen äffischen Hände mit häßlich farblosen Nägeln, dann die spindeldürren Beine mit der heraustretenden Ferse; dann, und am Meisten, das unerhört Thierische der ganzen Erscheinung, Form und Ausdruck inbegriffen. ... Sie geben kein Lebenszeichen von sich, sie starren uns an mit demselben bewußtlosen Blick mit dem sie sich untereinander anstarren. (1: 176)

The most striking aspect of this description is the recurring reference to the beast and the consequent dehumanization of the slaves. The slaves are described like animals on display at a circus dressed up in cheap and gaudy knick-knacks. There is nothing noble or dignified in their stature or their features. They are not seen as cultural beings, with their own history or families, but as bodies and appendages exposed to the curious gaze of the spectator. Like Martius, Hahn-Hahn textually dismembers the body parts from the whole and describes them as if they were discrete objects.

While each body part is distinguishable, the whole constitutes an anomaly, resembling a monster: neither human, nor animal. They are seen as products of an "unnatural" mixture of genetic strains, a cross between different

species. This incestuous or depraved quality is alluded to again in the description of the Egyptian peasant, which Hahn-Hahn concludes by asking, " ... ist in dem Allen nicht die thierische Beimischung vorherrschend?" (3: 360). These descriptions recall Hahn-Hahn's reference to the Orientals' "four-legged habits" and her use of the words "Herumwälzen," "Herumwühlen" and "Kauern auf der Erde," which underscore the bestiality of the Orientals and question the anatomical distinctions made by Blumenbach between humans and apes. They reflect an anxiety about the concept of universal humanity, an uncertainty regarding the boundaries between humans and beast, a fear of degenerating to the level of a beast.

The technique of using features and characteristics of animals to describe the indigenous people is used frequently in travel writing. Regarding the Other more as an animal increases the distance between observer and observed. The traveler can observe them without having to identify with them. The captive eagle in Schönbrunn provokes more sympathy in Hahn-Hahn than the slaves:

> ... ein Tier rührt mich ganz unsäglich, und das ist der Adler, denn er gibt im Käfig das schmerzlichste Bild von dem namenlosen Leid der Gefangenschaft. Unbeweglich sitzt er da, ... er scheint sich versteinert zu haben gegen sein Schicksal; nichts lebt an ihm, als sein Auge, und das ist ein wunderschönes, menschenähnliches Auge ... Und mit diesem melancholischen ... Auge, ...

> das in rastloser Bewegung ist, blickt er nie die Menschen, seine Peiniger an, sondern immer in einen freien Raum. (18)

The eagle acquires human characteristics: proud, dignified, melancholic, and expressive. The slaves on the other hand are dehumanized and their bestiality emphasized. The eagle is seen as a victim, its captors labelled as tormenters, while the slaves are described as impassive and oblivious to their fate, the slave dealers just another profession. The major difference between the slaves and the eagle is centered in their eyes, (the noble sensory organ). The slaves' vision is described with the words "nichtssagend," "starren" and "bewußtlosen Blick." This emotionless posture is contrasted with the active gaze of the eagle. The emphasis on sight is not surprising for a traveler, since she is also the possessor of the observer's gaze, with which she represents others.

The moment of non-recognition cannot last forever. What the slaves tell Hahn-Hahn, and what she does not want to acknowledge is, that she is kin with them. When the boundaries between Self and its Other collapse, and the realization dawns on Hahn-Hahn, that these creatures are also women, like her, she is appalled at first. She then reestablishes the boundaries by building new hierarchies within the sexes. She wonders how women like Sappho and Maria Stuart, both paragons of intelligence and beauty, could belong to the same sex. She concludes: "Nein! denn

ein Weib ohne Intelligenz ist kein Weib mehr, sondern nur noch - ... une femelle" (1: 177). Whereas the word "Weib" has a human and cultural value, "femelle" reduces the referent to just the biological sex. From sexless monstrosities the slaves are transformed to just their sex. Although her ultimate criterion seems to be intelligence, she forgets that she judged the slaves only on the basis of their appearance.

The slaves are reduced to dehumanized entities, stripped of their identity, regarded and treated as mere commodities. The commodity value of these slaves is illustrated by the language of chatteldom:

> Ein Käufer kommt, mustert sie; ... es ist ihnen gleichgültig. Sie werden gemessen in der Höhe und Breite wie ein Waarenballen, untersucht an Händen, Hüften, Füßen, Zähnen wie ein Pferd, ... sie lassen Alles geschehen, ohne Scheu, ohne Zorn, ohne Schmerz. ... unbekümmert um ihr Schicksal. (1: 176-77)

Hahn-Hahn is not struck by the inhumanity of the procedure. She uses this opportunity to describe the apparent lack of emotions, the total unconcern on the part of the slaves with regard to their fate, which adds to their animal-like quality. Instead of sympathy for the slaves, she finds respect for the slave dealers, who go about their business "mit Anstand," for the slaves are not obliged to strip of their clothes.

The sight of the slaves brings out suppressed anxieties in Hahn-Hahn about the boundaries between the races. It convinces Hahn-Hahn that the difference between the races cannot be bridged. At the same time, she does not see the slaves as a different species, like the polygenists. Because of the influence of Enlightened thought which stressed the unity of humankind, she has to accept, in the end, that these creatures are like her, and that racial identity is a chance factor:

> Die Racen! von deren Verschiedenheit wird man durchdrungen, wenn man im Geist eine solche Schwarze neben eine Aspasia stellt; und die Kluft welche diese beiden Wesen trennt kann kein Philanthrop ableugnen. Wir sind von Staub und wir gehen zum Staub; aber für die Paar Jahre die ich lebe danke ich denn doch meinem Schöpfer, daß es ihm gefallen hat mir eine weiße Staubeshülle zu geben. (1: 178)

Both, the language of equality in Hahn-Hahn's writings, (eg. wir sind von Staub ..., wir alle sind Kinder eines Hauses etc.) and the language of hierarchy (the reference to Aspasia, Maria Stuart, and Sappho) occur together, undercutting the very equality claimed by Enlightened thought.

As demonstrated in this chapter, Hahn-Hahn's letters reveal several contradictions. Most of these contradictions can be attributed to the nature of Oriental discourse, rather than to discursive constraints on women writers. The

discourse places the Orient in three different categories of time. Firstly, it constructs the Orient as a civilization which after reaching its zenith, declined and faded away, leaving behind majestic ruins as records of and memorials to the passage of time. In this model, the Orient has undergone a historical process. Secondly, the Orient is perceived as a static, unchanging and timeless tableau, populated by biblical figures and deprived of that essence of progress: the principle of motion. This model dehistoricizes the Orient. Lastly, the Orient is constructed as a civilization in decline, inhabited by dissipated, indolent Turks and diseased sultans. Only this model shares the same time frame as Europe: the present.

These contradictions are not surprising, since as Said states, "it is in the logic of myths, like dreams, to welcome antitheses. For a myth does not analyze or solve problems. It represents them as already analyzed and solved ... as already assembled images" (312). The construction of the Orient in these letters is a hybrid of already assembled images.

Similarly contradictions arise while describing the Turks and the Bedouins. The Turks are criticized for their indifference to European goods, which are seen as indicators of civilization. But when Hahn-Hahn visits a harem, which does possess all the trappings of European aristocratic culture, from the silver tableware to the flower vases, she

ridicules it, asking her reader, "Hättest Du diese Hyperkultur in einem Harem geahnt?" (85). The Bedouins are praised for their enviable simplicity, their daily needs reduced to the bare minimum of tent, mat and pipe. But the absence of material possessions reduces Turks to the level of animals, to the ground literally. At the same time Europe is criticized for its artificial and materialistic civilization. Hahn-Hahn ends her letters with a warning to Europe: "Ach, wie bedürfnislos ist der Orientale! Am eigenen Überfluß muß Europa untergehen. Was sein Stolz und Triumph ist, wird sein Verderben werden" (342). It is therefore obvious that Hahn-Hahn goes to the Orient with certain preconceived images of the Turk, the Bedouin, the harem and these shape her vision and the resulting discourse.

Contrary to Sara Mill's analysis of women travelers' writings, these letters show little effect of the constraints of gender. Rather, Hahn-Hahn adopts a definite male role abroad: she discusses all the "serious" topics, like politics and government, with confidence, contradicting existing opinions and suggesting alternatives. Not only is she the hardy adventure "hero," she also adopts a characteristic authoritative stance over the Other and vis-à-vis her readers at home. This authority is embodied in the observer's gaze which unveils the Orient and reveals the reality behind the facade of grandeur. However this reality

is only another representation. The discourse constructs the Orient in a state of neglect, disorder and confusion, waiting to be put back into order by Europe. The botanical imagery suggests that the Orient is a passive female, waiting to be fertilized or resurrected by Europe. It also suggests that the Orient is an impotent and powerless male, waiting to be subjugated by Europe. The Orientals are constructed as indolent and bestial, who need to be elevated to the status of humans.

Thus even though Hahn-Hahn transgresses physical boundaries through the act of travel, she does not cross mental boundaries, and instead internalizes and reproduces the existing discourse, which treats the Other as "woman," as inferior. However, although Hahn-Hahn employs the same tropes that emerge in men's writings about the Orient, some of these tropes are used in a different fashion. Male sexual fantasies, which normally turn women into objects of desire, are displaced onto the Bedouins, while the women of the harem are constructed as devoid of intellectual vigor. It is these factors which make her letters different from men's writings about the Orient. At the same time, she remains within the model of Orientalism, which portrays the Orient as a source of magnetic attraction, an exotic tableau jouissance.

The subject of "women" and their treatment is often used in travel literature and especially in missionary

writings to illustrate the advancement of European society and the backwardness of other societies, implying that these women need to be rescued by their Christian brothers and sisters. The next chapter illustrates the efforts of a missionary to convert the people of South West Africa and bring them into the fold of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV

Evangelical Discourse and the Other

The Germans were the last imperial power to arrive in Africa, annexing South West Africa in 1884. The groundwork, however, had already been laid by explorers and missionaries. Travel accounts by explorers like, Friedrich Konrad Hornemann (1772-1800), Heinrich Barth (1821-65) and Lichtenstein (1780-1857) had awakened an interest in Africa among the public, which eventually turned into a cry for colonies.[1] Similarly, the missionaries were not only messengers of the Gospel, but also propagators of their national cultures, contributing to the socio-cultural transformation of the indigenous societies. Missionary activity was not merely restricted to expanding the Kingdom of Jesus; it was a form of cultural colonialism, which paved the way for economic and political colonialism. In fact, the missionaries in Namibia were quite vocal in their support for colonialism, welcoming German immigrants and requesting the presence of European troops to help terminate tribal wars and improve the conditions for the evangelizing mission.

In this chapter I will focus on the private diaries of Carl Hugo Hahn, a protestant missionary from the Rhenish Missionary Society, who was sent to Nama- and Damaraland

(Namibia) in 1842.[2] The diaries, spanning a period of twenty three years, 1837-1860, inform the reader about the hardships of missionary life and give insights into Hahn's views on the target of his evangelical message, i.e., the indigenous peoples of South West Africa, particularly the Hereros and the Namas. They illustrate how missionary activity, which sought to dominate by inclusion and domestication rather than confrontation, eventually led to the establishment of colonial rule.

1. Origins of the Nineteenth Century Missionary Movement

The nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary expansion of Christian missionary activity especially in Protestant countries. In Germany alone, a number of missionary societies were founded: e.g. the Berlin Mission (1824), the Rhenish Mission in Barmen (1828), the Norddeutsche (Bremer) Mission, and the Leipzig Mission (1836). Missionary literature acquired a wide readership: the most popular magazine was the Barmer Missionsblatt with a circulation of 18,000 in 1848.[3]

This surge of missionary zeal has religious, as well as socio-economic reasons. One of the main initiators was the revival of pietism in Germany, which stressed personal commitment, the centrality of individual sin and the capacity to be born anew. It "denounced the rationalism inherited from the eighteenth century, [and] held to the

inerrancy of the Bible ...". [4] The revival was strongly evangelist in nature, encouraging its followers to "go forth to every part of the world and proclaim the good news to the whole of creation" (Matt. 28:19). The millennaristic belief in the Second Coming (Rev. 20: 1-5) also gave an impetus to preaching the Gospel and "converting the heathen" in preparation for God's Kingdom on earth.

The modern missionary movement is closely linked with the industrial revolution and the rise of the bourgeoisie. The first Protestant mission societies were founded in more industrialized areas, like England and Wuppertal in Germany. The new missions, which were now free from secular control, were mainly financed and administered by the educated middle class. The laity, which rose to prominence after the revival, was recruited from the lower middle class. The foreign missions also served the economic interests of the bourgeoisie, since they were seen as a possibility for expanding trade. The missions were not adverse to this idea, since they perceived commerce as providential: God's mysterious way of bringing the Gospel to the heathens. Thus both "Christianity and Commerce" (Livingstone) would work hand in hand to bring the non-Christians into the fold of civilization.

The economic situation in Germany contributed to the popularity of the profession. Between 1815 and 1845 the population of Germany grew from 25 million to 34.5 million.

Economic growth barely kept ahead of the rising population. The agrarian crisis in the first half of the century further aggravated the situation. All these factors contributed to the great wave of German emigration, which began after 1815 and eased only after the 50's.[5] Missionary work was another type of emigration. As Gründer points out, the export of missionaries acted as a necessary outlet for demographic pressures, and economic survival. For craftsmen and farmers this was an opportunity for gaining upward mobility and social respect (321).

2. Carl Hugo Hahn: Biographical Details

Hugo Hahn, a Baltic German, was born in 1818 in Riga. He initially wanted to join the military service. Although he passed the required exam, he could not join the service immediately, due to the lack of vacancies, these positions being largely reserved for the sons of officers. Hahn, however, regarded this as providential, since it was then that he was "awakened" by the sight of a young child praying devoutly before a meal. Hahn describes the transfiguring impact of this experience: "Wie ein Stich fuhr es mir ins Herz, und kaum vermochte ich mich der Tränen der Scham und inneren Zerschlagenheit zu erwehren. ... Meine Stunde war gekommen, ... " (279). He was then persuaded by his brother-in-law, a minister, to study theology. Soon after this experience, he decided to preach the Gospel to the

"Heiden." In 1837, he left Riga for the Rhenish Mission Society in Barmen. After nearly three years in seminary, he was ordained as a minister in 1841 and sailed for Cape Town, to work with the Damaras.

3. Nama- and Damaraland

Cape Town in the nineteenth century was the starting point for all expeditions north of the Orange River, which formed the boundary for Europeans between civilization and terra incognita. South West Africa, unlike other parts of coastal Africa, was not accessible from its Atlantic shores because of the Namib desert, which sheltered the region from European penetration for centuries. While the Portuguese had developed strongholds in Mombasa and Luanda already in the fifteenth century, using them as ports en route to India, Namibia remained relatively free from European incursions for another four centuries. The Kalahari in the west and the Etosha pan (dry salt lake) to the north further sealed Namibia from outsiders. Thus, missionaries and traders could only enter "Great Namaqualand," as southern and central Namibia was known then, from Cape Colony in the South.

The first missionaries crossed the Orange River only at the turn of the eighteenth century. In 1805, the Albrecht brothers were sent by the London Missionary Society to assess the potential for developing a mission among Nama

tribes. They were followed by Johann Heinrich Schmelen, who started a mission in Steinkopf (Kookfontein) in 1818. These men did not invade an empty space.[6] South West Africa was inhabited by the Ovambo, the Herero, the Damara, and different Nama groups. The Cape, on the other hand, had already been occupied by the Dutch in 1652. With the expansion of the Cape economy and the growth of urban centers, Boer farmers settled along the coast of South Africa, moved further inland, claiming land and resources extending beyond the colonial borders.

The victims of this expansion were the local Khoisan people, who, dispossessed of their land and cattle, were forced to become indentured labor. In order to escape this servile existence, some served as guides for colonials or herders for Dutch farmers, receiving firearms and ammunition in return and eventually regaining their autonomy. They formed commando units, and pushed further north to find better grazing land or to raid cattle from the Namas, which was then traded in exchange for more guns and horses. These autonomous Khoisan came to be known as Oorlams. They had "received a considerable infiltration of white blood"[7] and had in many ways been influenced by contact with Dutch and other colonists. Several Oorlam men could speak Dutch and had been baptized. The most prominent Oorlam family was the Afrikaner (//Aixa//ain). Jager Afrikaner settled in Blydeverwacht, southern Namibia in 1790.

The Oorlam migrations/invasions continued into the 1830s, leading to violent conflicts with the Nama groups, who were subjugated into relinquishing their claims to waterholes, pastures and cattle herds. In due course the Namas were transformed from a self sufficient, nomadic pastoral people, living off huge herds of cattle and organized on the basis of kinship relations, into an impoverished, cattle raiding people, organized on the basis of commando groups, and dependent on the Cape trade network. The Afrikaners under the leadership of Jonker Afrikaner entered into feudal alliances with Nama chiefs and established themselves between the Swakop and !Khuiseb rivers, so that they could have access to the vast resources available in Hereroland. In the subsequent years the Hereros were subjugated through sporadic but constant raids, until their chiefs accepted the supremacy of the Oorlam Afrikaner.

4. The Role of the Missionaries in Nineteenth Century South West Africa

Missionaries were in great demand amongst the Oorlam/Nama chiefs. In 1836, Jonker asked a British traveller, James Alexander to organise a missionary for him. In 1840, he welcomed two missionaries from the Wesleyan Mission Society, Cook and Tindall, who were visiting

Windhoek and urgently requested a missionary. Finally in 1842, his wish was granted in the form of Carl Hugo Hahn.

Jonker, like most other chiefs, was led by practical rather than pious motives. His hegemony depended on a steady supply of guns, ammunition and horses from the Cape. The missionary was vital in maintaining contact with traders from the Cape. He attracted itinerant traders, who supplied him and his family with their private needs. Thus the commodities from the Cape and the trade routes were also available to the chief of the missionary station. Missionaries became a tool for political control in the hands of the chiefs, since they secured their supply of firearms from the Cape. Contradictory as this may appear, the missionaries themselves were often the suppliers of firearms. For them the end justified the means. They were after all waging a war against sin, and if this called for firearms, then it was in the cause of bringing the Gospel and civilization to the heathen. As Dr. H. Vedder, a South African "authority on native tribes," states, "Fire-arms belong to the first civilized achievements of the Herero."[8]

Thus the wooing of missionaries began and mission stations started to dot the landscape: Bethany, Berseba, Gibeon, Rehoboth, Windhoek etc. Brigitte Lau observes that by the middle of the nineteenth century, "Christianity had become an integral part of social and political relations in Namaland." [9] Missionaries were guarded jealously and the

spread of their influence to subordinate or rival chiefs, like those of the Nama and later the Herero, was seen as a threat by the Oorlam leaders, who wanted a monopoly over them. Schmelen, for instance, was one of the missionaries ousted from his mission station, Bethany in 1822, because he started preaching to neighboring Nama groups.

Thus the missionaries, while regarded as a great asset, were simultaneously held in control, leading to an ambiguous relationship between the chief and the missionary. Hahn, for example, was dependent on Jonker's protection. He was allowed to venture into Hereroland and later open the first mission there (in Otjikango) only after he had obtained permission from Jonker. Jonker also supplied Hahn with cattle, when food supplies had been exhausted. This relationship was made more fragile, because the missionary, as a spiritual leader, was also a rival to the authority of the chief.

5. Missionaries: Propagators of German Culture

There is a characteristic ambivalence at the heart of the missionary enterprise. On one hand, it levels all of humanity to the status of sinners, who can, however, be saved, since they are all children of God. This incorporative orientation is at the same time undercut by the hierarchical nature of the mission. Missionaries, like Hahn saw themselves as leaders, guides, and parents of the

universal Christian family. They were members of the chosen few appointed by God to spread his message among the heathen.

They also saw themselves as a "Kulturvolk," as members of a superior race and culture. Their culture was regarded as the only possible culture for Christians. From the start indigenous culture was evaluated negatively and every effort was made to destroy it. The missionaries refused to tolerate a wide variety of African social practices, which they felt were un-Christian, particularly polygamy and bridewealth. A true Christian life was impossible until the social order of the African tribe was radically altered.[10] Thus, missionaries were not only messengers of the Gospel but also propagators of their own cultures. Spiritual conversion implied a transformation of indigenous values, characteristics and behavioral patterns, accompanied by the transformation of the indigenous socio-economic order.

6. Establishing Order

The concept of civilization was closely connected with the creation of an environment, which resembled a German one. Instead of adapting to indigenous lifestyles, which were most suited to the environment, missionaries in general tried to implant their culture in Africa. This was not an easy task. Hahn, the first missionary in Hereroland, had to explore the territory, searching for a suitable spot with a

reliable source of water, for establishing a mission. Once this was found, he had to build a house, followed by a church, and a school, lay out gardens, and plant crops, which he hoped would suffice as daily nourishment.

As Nicholas Thomas observes, the mission was not just "a house in the bush," but a whole structure of institutions which reorganized work and social life, creating order.[11] The house, church, school and gardens came to symbolize order or "civilization," i.e. German culture. "Order" also meant to what extent nature had been subjugated and controlled by man. Nature had been created in a state of potentiality, waiting to be transformed through the purposeful action of man. It had been given by God to man for his use. Until it had been ploughed and developed, it remained "das Unland."

Progress was measured according to the number of clay houses, well-tended gardens or beds of corn a group had. These cultural aspects were totally alien to the Herero lifestyle. Hahn often notes this difference, which he perceives as a lack of progress: "Den einzigen Fortschritt in der Zivilisation kann man nur darin finden, dass mehr Korn gebaut wird, sonst wird weder feste Wohnsitze noch andere Spuren davon sichtbar" (613). On another occasion he notes, "schlechte Gärten ohne Ordnung" (617).

On the other hand while describing Mamre, a Moravian mission, Hahn admires:

> Die Kirche und Missionsgebäude ... das grosse Wohnhaus, Fremdenhaus, Laden, Schulmeisterhaus, Posthaus ... Wasser- und Pferdemühle, ... majestätische Eichenanlage .... Die meisten der Häuser waren niedlich von aussen und innen ... und nur hin und wieder sah man noch einige Schilfhütten. (630)

Replace the "Missionsgebäude" with a "Rathaus," and erase the "Schilfhütten," and you could find yourself looking at a town in Germany, even the oaks are not missing. Only the indigenous "Schilfhütten" spoil the picture for Hahn,[12] who prefers a house constructed out of "Stampfbau" or clay, describing it as "ein ... ziemlich gutes Haus" (78). Lau explains this preference by pointing out that "mat houses equalled barbarism and stone houses, built and controlled by men, were the only "civilized" way of living" (73). Although the indigenous form of shelter was more appropriate to the existing environment and lifestyle, it is perceived, like the Oriental custom of sitting on the floor, as a sign of savagery and had to be eradicated.

The bourgeois obsession for order is also reflected in Mamre: "Die Gärten ... waren in sehr guter Ordnung und enthielten ... Gemüse- und Fruchtbäume ... Die Rosen sind fast in allen Hecken. Hier sieht man wirklich Christentum und Zivilisation Hand in Hand" (631). Mamre has been transformed by the civilizing influence of Christianity. The African desert has been tamed by the Christian and a Paradise has blossomed in its place. Gardens appear like a

leitmotif all through the diaries. Hahn seems obsessed with them. A garden needs constant tending and symbolizes a sedentary way of life in contrast to the nomadic way. Settlements were of prime importance to the missionaries, for in order to preach, they needed to collect a congregation first. The members of the congregation had to settle down in the mission station, where their activities could be regulated and monitored. The Christian community was seen as a conducive and indispensable environment for the spiritual progress of the heathen.

As a result, Hahn does not recognize the indigenous onganda (settlement) as part of a civilization existing independently of Europe. But as Irle, Luttig and Malan have shown, these settlements were carefully planned according to local customs and lifestyles.[13] Because this was a nomadic pastoral people, for whom cattle played a vital role, the cattle enclosure was located in the center with huts all around it in a circle. The otjizero (main hut belonging to the principal wife of the chief) was the only hut which faced the sacred fire, which stood between the cattle enclosure and the otjizero. The arrangement of the village was not arbitrary, rather it reflected the values of the people. But this was not seen as a culture specific to a people living in a different environment. Instead, the missionaries were adamant about building "proper" houses and

European styled towns, with the mission station in the center.

The bid to christianize Africa and make it more European is evident when one comes across names such as Mamre, Rehoboth, Berseba and Oranjefluss,[14] dotting the landscape of Namibia. Hahn in fact called Windhoek, Barmen, Otjikango, Neu Barmen, the Swakop river, the Rhein and while passing by a mountain en route to Walfisch Bay, he decided to name it Lievenberg in honor of Prince Carl von Lieven (367). This typically colonial gesture is a linguistic appropriation of the land, which denies the local people their own culture and history, resulting in their alienation.

The residents of mission stations were often isolated from their own communities and found themselves in a world, totally alien to them. As a result, they would frequently desert the mission. This situation was aggravated everytime there was a rumor of an impending raid from a rival tribe. Thus the number of inhabitants constantly fluctuated, causing Hahn to complain bitterly:

> Ein grosses Hindernis der Schulwirksamkeit ist ... das Umherziehen der Leute, dem jedoch der Missionar sich oft entgegensetzen kann und muß, wenn etwas Ordentliches und Bleibendes in der Gemeinde geleistet werden soll... Man muss mit allen Kräften dem alten Schlendrian entgegenwirken; z.B. beim Kornsäen, Gärtenmachen, Ziehen auf die Station usw. (80)

Searching for grazing or water for cattle was not considered work, but rather a sign of heathenism, which had to be eradicated, whereas a "settled" existence was in accordance with good christian behavior. As Pagden notes, the word "civilization" is derived from "civitates" - life lived in cities, i.e. settled communities, the source of civility or order.[15] While these settlements did benefit the Hereros greatly by providing protection during raids, medical care, and imparting the basics of reading and writing, they also made the indigenous people more dependent on the missionaries.

7. Work: The Solution to all Evils

Another important aspect of missionary activity was teaching the indigenous people to earn their living "by the sweat of their brow." The missionary was also an "Arbeitserzieher": Work would free the "heathens" from the fetters of their "primitive" lifestyles and lead them to the path of Christianity and civilization. Thus spiritual instruction takes place not only through words or ora (i.e. the Gospel) but also through deeds or labora (i.e. work).

Regardless of their culture-specific work (cattle-raising, watering, hunting), the "indolent natives" were made to "work" and become "useful" members of the community, by supporting the daily needs of the mission. Among the Hereros, however, only those who were dispossessed, like the

Ovatjimba, or the rich, who could afford servants to do their work, could spend the time "learning to work."

This limited concept of work (labor) figures later in the writings of another missionary, Irle, as "Kulturarbeit."[16] Working the land (agriculture) or improving the landscape was the only "proper" kind of work. As Irle asks: "Wenn das Land fehlt, das bebaut werden kann, was sollen die Schwarzen denn arbeiten?" (118). However, when the land still did not yield the bounteous harvests, the missionaries had hoped for, Irle begins to doubt this understanding of work and concedes: "Für Viehzucht ist auch das Land vor allem geeignet, nicht für Ackerbau; wäre es das, so würden auch die meisten Herero Ackerbauer sein" (120).

But cattle raising was still not considered equal to agriculture. Irle tries to attribute the inherent laziness of the Hereros to their occupation. Had the land been fertile and yielded good harvests, the Hereros would have been hard working. Cattle-raising, on the other hand, at which the Hereros excell, exerts a corrupting influence, leading to their ultimate downfall: "Das stete Herumliegen mit dem Vieh hat ihr sittliches Gefühl abgestumpft und bis nahezu auf den Tiefpunkt gebracht" (59). Their labor which is not considered as real labor, but as sloth is the cause of their loose morality.

> Von früh auf hüten die Knaben ... das Vieh, und der ständige Umgang damit prägt ihrem Gemüt seinen besonderen Stempel auf. Da ist es, wo die Unkeuschheit bei der Hererojugend geboren wird ... Die Beschäftigung der Knaben mit dem Vieh erfordert weder besondere körperliche noch geistige Anstrengung. Es ist der Hauptsache nach Müßiggang. (Irle 100)

The persistence (bordering on mania) with which the missionaries tried to civilize the Herero through "Kulturarbeit" is illustrated by Irle, when he states: "Oft genug haben wir sie buchstäblich Steine zusammenschleppen und wieder auseinanderstreuen lassen, nur um sie überhaupt zu beschäftigen und an körperliche Arbeit zu gewöhnen" (118). But there is a hint of desperation in this statement, which reveals an unvoiced doubt about the validity of his own convictions.

There was a sexual division of labour on the missionary stations, in accordance to the assigned gender roles in Europe, and legitimized by "natural" gender specific characteristics. The man was the breadwinner and had access to the public sphere, whereas the woman withdrew indoors and devoted herself to the home and the family. Among the Nama groups, however, the women were the main producers, while the men hunted and raided cattle. According to Brigitte Lau, who bases her evidence on the limited accounts left by missionaries and travelers, women

> controlled the key building materials, namely, reeds; built and owned the reed houses; milked the cattle and prepared the staple food, sour milk; supervised the herds and herding ... produced all vegetable food ... and ...bore and raised the new generation. (68)

The capitalistic division of labor, which was alien in Africa, was now imposed in toto on the Other, resulting in a shift in indigenous gender roles. The men were made to sow the seeds, plough the land, lay out gardens, and build houses, whereas women had to occupy themselves with domestic chores (for the missionary's wife), so that they could fulfill the role of a good Christian housewife. Hahn notes that his wife, Emma begins a needlework class for the women (341). Such activities were seen as vital for the development of the more virtuous characteristics attributed to women.[17] Irle discusses his wife's efforts in educating the local girls, which he calls "die schwerste Geduldsarbeit":

> Solange die Kinder noch unter 12 Jahren waren, ging alles gut. Das unbrauchbarste Geschöpf aber ist und bleibt so ein erwachsenes, heiratslustiges Hereromädchen. Bis sie an einen Mann gebunden sind, sind sie unzuverlässig wie ein loser Bogen. Doch Gottes Wort macht schließlich auch sie bescheiden, fleißig und wandelt sie um. Viele unserer Mädchen sind nachher tüchtige Hausfrauen geworden. (296)

This ideology sees marriage and domesticity as indispensable for the improvement of women's morality. The only role it leaves open to women, is that of a housewife serving her husband and family. Thus women, who had once been producers, were now confined to the private sphere and became dependant not only on the missionaries, but also on their men.

8. The Domestication of Indigenous Women

Contrary to Brigitte Lau, who states that "women's oppressed status most clearly manifests itself in the fact that they are not mentioned" (72), I think that Hahn has rather a lot to say about women. Women were, in fact, primary targets for evangelisation, because they were regarded as the corner stone of the home and family and thus exerted a considerable amount of influence on their men and children. If they could be converted, then they, in turn, would convert others. But first they had to learn to behave like Christian women and develop those characteristics which their given roles of wife and mother demanded of them: chaste, virtuous, and submissive.

As a wife, woman was responsible for making the house a home through her ennobling presence. The home had to be kept clean and orderly, conducive for raising a Christian family. Hygiene was also emphasized. Hahn's description of a hut in the "Heidendörfchen" highlights the total neglect

of the home, the refuge of the family, characterized by filth and disorder in contrast to the bourgeois ideal of the home:

> Der ganze Hausrat schien aus einigen Fellen und ein paar schmutzigen Holzgefässen zu bestehen. Der Eigentümer der Hutte sass in einen grossen, schmierigen Kaross gehüllt. Ein fast ganz nacktes, mehr als schmutziges Mädchen war gerade damit beschäftigt, seine Beine mit roter Farbe und Fett einzureiben, während ein Kind sein Gesicht schon greulich bemalt hatte. (91)

Like Hahn-Hahn, Hahn also perceives the lack of material possessions as a sign of savagery. Clothes are replaced by grease, paint and hides, if anything at all, and the variety of European household goods is reduced to a few dirty wooden vessels. Familial relationships, usually illustrated through kinship terms, are not even mentioned here, as if they cannot exist in such a neglected environment. The girl is reduced to a slave helping the man to continue his "savage" ways. The child has not been reprimanded for painting his face and how can he know any better if, indeed, his only role model is the savage himself. The mother is conspicuously absent.

The role of mother as the "erste Erzieherin des Menschen" and the central figure in the family was considered of utmost importance. She was responsible for raising her children as model Christians. This was achieved by setting a good example, strict disciplinarian action as

well as maternal affection. The indigenous women were criticized on all three accounts. Hahn relates an incident, which he sarcastically claims, bears witness to "[die] zärtliche Mutterliebe einer Omuhererofrau":

> Ihr einziger Sohn ... hatte sie geärgert und sie mit Steinen geworfen, ... sie ... warf ihn auf die Erde, ...löste einen Riemen von ihrem Leibe, band denselben um den Hals des Kindes und würgte ihn. Das soll der allgemeine Gebrauch unter den Müttern sein. (341)

Maternal instincts were considered natural not only to women, but also to female animals. Yet, the brutality expressed in this description illustrates the Other as wholly devoid of "natural" emotions. Both Hahn-Hahn and Martius also refer to abortions as a common practice in order to emphasize the depraved nature of the Other, which rejects motherhood, the natural state for a woman.

Indigenous women did not provide the sort of role model a Christian mother did for her children. The blame fell squarely on the institution of polygamy. Polygamy in Africa was closely related to women's productive value. It tends to prevail in subsistence cultures, where women and bachelors were the main producers. The acquisition of several wives was thus a means of increasing the family's labor force and consequently its wealth. The missionaries condemned polygamy on moral grounds. It was against the law of God, as revealed in Genesis. It degraded women into mere

sexual objects, and was the cause of their immoral behavior. They became slaves of men and were forced to work, in contrast to Christian women, who were considered equal partners of their men, bound together in a spiritual union. Polygamy prevented the refinement of woman's character, which remained sunken in the morass of sin.

The gravity with which polygamy was viewed by the missionaries is expressed through the metaphor of a siege in the diary of Dr. Wangemann, a mission inspector for the Berlin Mission Society:

> Wo die Heiden noch ihren polygamischen Capitän über sich haben, wo sie die Lobola ... noch nicht weggeworfen haben - ... da ist das Heidenthum noch mit einer eisernen Mauer umgeben, durch welche alle Missions-Anstrengungen ... noch keine solche Bresche gelegt haben, daß die Festung einnehmbar geworden wäre.[18]

As the tactical language demonstrates, the missionaries saw themselves as soldiers, serving in the army of God, engaged in a war against heathenism. Christianity in the non-European world became the savior of oppressed women from the brutality of their own men.

The Christian family was propagated as the only way of combatting the tide of immorality and of emancipating women from the chains of servitude. But until they have not been uplifted by Christianity, these women continue to be "geistig-dumpf," and "viehisch," concerned only with the fulfillment of their carnal desires instead of setting a

good example for their children, who in Hahn's words are exposed from the start to the sins of the flesh (1042). Women's exposed bodies and unrestrained dances were interpreted as a provocation, a sign of their promiscuity and unbridled sensuality, which had to be controlled and suppressed through the implementation of a strict code of morality.

Hahn reaches for his sjambok[19] on several occasions to combat evils like illicit relationships between the sexes, extra-marital affairs and insolence on the part of women. For example, a man who had had an affair with a married woman was made to pay a large sum to the woman's husband, in accordance to local laws. Hahn objected to the "freche Ehebrecherin" going scot free and decided to take matters into his own hands: "ich besorgte ihr ... eine Tracht Prügel, die sie in ihrem Leben nicht vergessen wird" (959). On another occasion, he reprimands his assistant, Markus for flirting with Maria, the Nama interpreter, by giving them both "einige derbe Hiebe" with his sjambok (307). His view of Maria is clearly shaped by the figure of Eve, leading Markus into temptation and eternal damnation. Urieta, his maid, is, on the other hand the model convert. She promises Hahn to remain chaste and renounces marriage altogether, so that she can be baptized. (Christians were not allowed to marry heathens). This is accomplished in 1858, at the cost of alienation from her family and the

denial of her identity. Renamed Johanna Maria, her conditioning to the bourgeois ideal of the sexless, "sittsam-züchtig" woman was complete.

While Christian monogamous marriage freed the woman from the traditional patriarchal structures of indigenous society, it also denied her the economic independence she had enjoyed before. Christian bourgeois ideology reduced her now to a "Gattin, Hausfrau, Mutter," an occupation, which she performed voluntarily, receiving no pay in return. This domestication of women was ironically the price they had to pay for their emancipation.

9. Christianity: The Road To Prosperity

Christianity also posed as and indeed often was the liberator of the poor. But instead of tracing the reasons for poverty to economic and social causes, the missionaries saw religion as the main factor. Through the example of Kamuzandu, Hahn illustrates that Christianity, i.e. moral progress, and material progress go hand in hand. Once Kamuzandu has accepted the teachings of the Bible, he changes from "einer der liederlichsten, schmutzigsten und faulsten" to "der einzige Reinliche, der Fleissigste und der Wohlhabenste auf der Station" (585). This transformation is reflected not only by his increased wealth in the form of cattle and gardens, but in his dress:

> er hat schon längst die heidnische Tracht abgelegt. An Werktagen geht er in einem blauen deutschen Kittel und Fellhose, nebst altem Hut ... Am Sonntage ... zieht er eine alte Hose ... an und trägt eine rote, wollene Mütze auf dem Kopf. Es sieht ... ganz respektabel aus. (587)

Once he has been baptised, and given a German name, the cultural transformation would be complete. Even after conversion, however, Kamuzandu would not be an equal, for he is dressed up in old hand-me-downs. Forsaking his own cultural identity, he remains a puppet in the hands of his benefactors.

The missionaries aimed at molding the indigenous people to a certain behavioral pattern, which would make them "decent," "diligent," obedient and god-fearing men and women. The converts had to be instilled with values and characteristics, which were considered to be hallmarks of the German bourgeoisie. Anything which was strange or different was a potential threat and had to be suppressed by making it familiar, i.e. German.

10. Religion and Language

The missionaries did achieve a measure of success in transforming the material culture of the Hereros within the Christian settlements, as demonstrated by the appearance of houses, clothes, soap, pots and pans, bread and other European commodities. It was the spiritual domain, however,

where all their efforts met with frustration. Hahn often despairs at the indifference shown by the Hereros to the message of the Gospel, commenting:

> Fühlte mich heute wieder recht mutlos. Wenn man so täglich die greuliche Versunkenheit der Menschen und noch kein Zeichen zur Besserung sehen muss, dann ist's zuweilen, als ob das Wort Gottes in der Kehle stecken bliebe. Es ist, als [ob] diese Leute verstockt und für alles Geistige unfähig wären (959)

The linguistic barrier between the missionary and his congregation was the main obstacle to conversion. Since conversion relied on persuasion, the need to learn Herero became imperative. The initial years were spent trying to decipher the language. By 1847, Hahn was able to hold his first sermon in Herero. Sermons were written first in German, then translated into Herero and finally corrected in collaboration with a local person and an interpreter, so as to reduce the risk of solecisms. By 1849, Hahn had compiled a primary set of vocabulary, followed by a Herero grammar in 1857 and a translation of Bible stories into Herero in 1861. Thus the process of standardization, by which an oral language is written down, had begun. An English-Herero dictionary compiled by F.W. Kolbe was published in 1883, followed in 1886 by a Herero-German dictionary compiled by Brincker.[20]

However, as Irle reports, even after more than 20 years in Hereroland, Hahn could not follow the conversation

between two Hereros, although the Hereros could understand him (232). Regardless of this lack of fluency, Hahn is still considered as a pioneer in the field of Herero linguistics, because he was the first person to "decipher" it. The word "decipher" like "discover" illustrates how these languages have no place in human history until they are exposed or unravelled by the European. As Hahn states: "Es muss berücksichtigt werden, dass hier eine Sprache nicht nur zu lernen, nein, zu ordnen, zu bilden ist, ..." (329). The speakers of the language are thus rendered speechless. The discourse erases the existing language so that it can be restructured to suit the needs of the missionary.

The standardization of the language had far-reaching consequences. As Rajmund Ohly points out, Herero became a language for a special purpose and was molded to accommodate Christian concepts.[21] Preaching typically focussed on the themes of Creation and the Fall, the nature of sin and the promise of salvation through Christ's atonement. The major obstacles in translating the Bible were not the grammar or the lexical items, but the cultural concepts, which did not exist or which took on a different meaning in the target culture. Hahn refers to the difficulty of translating the concept of the devil: "Die Geschichte der Verführung des ersten Menschenpaars war mir sehr schwer, da die Omohereros (sic) keine Idee von einem bösen Geist, oder überhaupt von Geist haben" (221). Often these concepts had

to be created. The concept of sin, for example, a basic tenet of Protestantism had to be instilled in the local people, since conversion presupposes an acceptance of one's sins and a fear that can only be relieved by divine grace.[22]

In order to facilitate the understanding of Christian principles, a process of "language engineering" (Ohly 12) was begun, which coined new words, used existing words in a new semantic field and introduced totally new concepts. Since there was no word in Herero for "glauben", Hahn uses the word "hören" instead. Similarly the word "Heiligkeit" is replaced with the Herero word for "Reinheit or abgesondert von Bösen (Abgesondertsein)." The polysemous word "ondjo" is used to denote the concept of "Schuld." Later it was replaced by "oupikapike" or "Taugenichtsigkeit" (Irle 232). These examples illustrate how Herero words were used to express foreign concepts. In the course of time a shift in the original meaning took place, erasing the original semantic field of the word and replacing it with a new christianized and German field.

According to Irle, the Herero language needed to be cleansed and purified:

> Worte und Begriffe wie Treue, Glaube, Hoffnung, Gerechtigkeit, Keuschheit, Demut, Erlösung, Seligkeit ua. fehlten gänzlich, ähnliche Begriffe waren zum Teil vorhanden, aber in heidnisch entstelltem Sinn. Es bedurfte daher erst einer

> Reinigung und Umgestaltung der Sprache in christlichem Geiste, um sie für die Verkündigung des Evangeliums brauchbar zu machen. (69)

This list of "anti-lexica" (Pagden) or terms which savages did not have, is a common feature of travel writing, used to illustrate the poverty and corruption of their cultures. Herero was perceived as an impure language, which had to be ennobled and filled with christian content (Irle 231). Thus the language was forced into the conceptual grid of Protestant German, in an attempt to convert its speakers.[23]

In 1990, Namibia, like most decolonized countries, with multiethnic populations decided to adopt the colonizer's languages (Afrikaans and English), as official languages. Whether this will be at the expense of their cultural identity, remains to be seen. But as Stephen Greenblatt says about the native Americans:

> ... reality for each society is constructed to a significant degree out of the specific qualities of its language and symbols. Discard the particular words and you have discarded the particular men. And so most of the people of the New World will never speak to us. That communication, with all that we might have learned, is lost to us forever.[24]

11. The Infantilization of the Other

All travel accounts are constructions of the Other. While the observations may be based on real encounters with the Other, they are still filtered through dominant modes of discourse and embedded in the context of the encounter. Hahn's perceptions, for example, were influenced by several factors: how dependent he was on the local population at the given time, how much success he had had in evangelizing, whether Jonker was cooperating with his plans or offering resistance, etc. His diaries were also dispatched to and read by the mission fathers in Barmen, on whom Hahn relied for more funds and missionaries necessary for the continuation of his work. This also influenced his depiction of the local population as helpless children, dependent on the missionaries for spiritual guidance.

Travel accounts abound with this image, partly because it legitimized European ventures abroad. For example, the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Co. depicts a native American crying, "Come over and help us!" (Gründer 177). Hahn often mentions, how during his journey through Damaraland, he and his companion, Rath were begged by the Gomaxa Damaras to help them: "Sie sagten uns, sie seien dumm, ganz dumm, wir müssten daher zu ihnen kommen, um sie zu unterrichten und zu lehren ..." (125). His desperate appeal to the mission society is projected on to the Damaras, whose pleas (significantly expressed through gestures) acquire a more

exaggerated and urgent quality: "Von allen Seiten strecken die Stämme ihre Hände flehend zu uns aus. Oh, ihr deutschen Brüder und Schwestern, kommt, kommt, helft uns! Das Netz ist uns zu voll; es möchte reissen!" (129). Hahn implores Germans to become fishers of souls, crying out for salvation.

Irle depicts the Herero mourning the departure of their "teacher" Hahn, and their "mother", Emma Hahn, with the words, "Wir sind Waisenkinder geworden. ... Wer wird uns nun unsere Hosenknöpfe, wenn sie abbrechen, wieder annähen?" (292). The expression "Hosenknöpfe annähen" is explained by Irle as "d.h. sie zu lieben". One wonders whether these words were said in Herero and translated by Irle, because if so, then from where did the imagery come? A more convincing interpretation is that Irle is putting words in the mouth of his characters, with the effect of rendering them as dependent children in need of attention. The language of the family is used to illustrate that evangelisation is a work of love. While the image of the family points to racial equality, it also stresses the hierarchy and order within a family. The missionaries were like parents, there to guide, admonish and teach their children, the heathen, who had to respect, obey and learn from their elders.

The chiefs are represented as vain, greedy and naive children, interested more in European novelties than in the message of the Gospel. When Hahn goes to meet the chief of

the "Rote Nation" and asks him whether he wants a missionary for his people, Oaseb is wary at first, but after listening to a service, he agrees to keep a missionary. Hahn remarks, "Gleich darauf bat er mich um Kleidungsstücke ..." (116), interpreting this request as an expression of the acquisitive nature of the chief. The chief is not seen in the same light as a prince in Europe, i.e. as the head of his people. He does not command the same respect, because despite his status he is first and foremost a heathen in the eyes of the missionary. This episode provides an interesting contrast to an entry made during Hahn's visit to Riga, when he, as per custom, goes to pay his respect to the princes von Lieven: "Überreichte beiden Fürsten ein paar Kuriosa von Afrika" (739). No such tribute is paid to the Damara chiefs. Nor is there any concern about obeying corresponding local African customs. As Vedder points out, it was "considered polite to ask for a gift, as the entreating person appears as a pauper who regards the other as a wealthy man" (194). Although Vedder is talking about the Herero, this could well apply to the Nama too.

The fascination with European novelties, eg. the book, beads, mirrors etc. forms an integral part of travel literature. This device is used to demonstrate the technical superiority of the European and the naivity of the Other. While African objects are regarded as curiosities (as they were and still are from the European perspective),

Hahn cannot see a reversal of the situation within the African context. The old chief of the Gomaxa Damaras, although moved by the teachings of Jesus, is as impressed with the "Blechschlüssel," "Lauf des Gewehrs" the mirror and the harmonica (104). These objects which are taken for granted in Europe were indeed novelties in Africa, just like the African objects were curiosities in Europe. But the very fact that we use the adjective "European" with "novelties" and "African" with "curiosities" shows a certain bias in our language. "Novelties" signifies the new and modern, "curiosities" the old and antique. The fascination with novelties is regarded as a superficial, temporary and juvenile interest, more on an emotional level, whereas the interest in curiosities is on an intellectual level. Hahn contrasts these two attitudes by using the words "Kindische Neugier" and "Wissbegier" (492). Whereas the latter is appropriated as a European characteristic, the former is attributed to the Other. Consequently, the Other remains fascinated with the novelty of an object, but never wants to delve deeper to find out why or how it works.

The method used to teach the Bible also illustrates the relationship between missionaries and Hereros as that between rational adults and children. Like children, the Herero's mental skills still have to be developed. They can only learn through repetition, because they lack the cognitive abilities to think for themselves:

> Unsere Predigten sind meistenteils in katechetischer Form. Das Gesagte prägt sich so besser ein, und ihre Aufmerksamkeit wird rege erhalten. Wollte man zu diesen Heiden anders sprechen als zu Kindern von etwa vier bis sechs Jahren in einem christlichen Lande, dann ginge alles in den Wind. (434)

These various characteristics: helpless, acquisitive and naive contribute to the overall picture of the Other as a child, a popular mode of colonial discourse. Whereas during the Enlightenment this strategy had its roots in the equation between the stages of evolution and the ages of humankind, Hahn is influenced by the patriarchal nature of his profession, in which the minister views his congregation as his children,[25] or as his herd. This is an inherently unequal relationship between the bringer of the Gospel and the recipients, whose souls need to be saved from eternal damnation. The inequality is further increased through the system of confessions, when the convert has to reveal his or her sins to the minister.

The missionary was a father figure, surrounded by children, who had to be taught and disciplined, as stated in the Bible: "Ihr Väter, ziehet eure Kinder auf in der Zucht und Vermahnung" (227). Discipline was inculcated by establishing and adhering to a daily routine. It was also implemented through the use of the Sjambok. On the third of February 1846 Hahn threatens his congregation with the following words: "Seht, da liegt der Sjambok. Ihr wollt

weder hören noch Gottes Wort behalten, ... Jetzt sollt ihr fühlen, wenn ihr nun nicht aufpasst" (299). Knowing that he would be criticized in Europe for introducing corporal punishment in the service, he is quick to defend his actions in an entry under the heading:

> Sjambok und Theorie des Gebrauches: ... ich [will] lieber barbarisch ihnen Gottes Wort einbleuen, als dass sie wie Stock und Stein dasitzen und nichts wissen. Sie werden's mir in der Ewigkeit nicht danken, wenn ich mit ihnen recht <zivil> umgehe. (298)

The need to justify his actions through the elaboration of a theory reveals the problematic position of the missionaries. On the one hand they were figures of authority vis-à-vis the indigenous people, but at the same time they were tools in the hands of their mission societies, which could undermine their authority.

Hahn's sentiments are echoed by Dr. Wangemann in South Africa, who while comparing the psychology of the Khoisan people with that of children, claims:

> den Herrn Jesum als König mit dem Scepter bekleidet sein zu lassen, das verstehen sie nicht; will man ihnen die königliche Würde deutlich machen, so müßte man etwa die Ochsenpeitsche als Scepter darstellen. (168)

The language of force is the only language they understand. These comments clearly illustrate the paternalistic attitude of the missionary/father/colonizer towards the indigenous

people, who need to be christianized/disciplined/civilized for their own good and should therefore be grateful for the barbaric treatment meted out to them.

12. The Discourse of Savagery

Missionary discourse must emphasize the savagery of the heathen, in order to justify the need for a mission, but at the same time it must show the essential humanity of the people to be evangelized, for if they are depicted as quintessentially savage, then the project of evangelisation becomes meaningless. Thus there is a necessary ambivalence to missionary discourse (Thomas 374).

The Hereros are constructed as unnatural, and even perverted. As demonstrated in Chapter II, descriptions of the Other typically consist of an enumeration of traits which are the antithesis of the moral values of the bourgeoisie: love, tenderness, modesty, shame, fidelity, obedience, diligence etc. Hahn, however, deprives the Hereros of even the baser feelings, with which the savage is often associated: "Ein Omuherero ist fast ohne Gefühl. Er kennt weder Liebe noch Hass, noch Mitleiden, Erbarmen, noch Rache. Sie sind die personfizierte Leichtsinnigkeit, Herzlosigkeit, ohne allen tieferen Gehalt" (592). Hahn finds every gesture and expression of theirs, "affektiert" and "verstellt."[26] Even the funeral of a child is dubbed

a "Karikaturtrauer" proving that they are incapable of even the most fundamental and natural feeling of sadness (426).

On the one hand this construction of the Hereros is an attack on the eighteenth century discourse of the noble savage, who was seen as a "Naturkind," and praised for his innate goodness and uncorrupted innocence. Hahn refers sarcastically to Rousseau's noble savage several times: "Ja, ihr Lieben, wir haben hier nicht mit lieben Heidenbrüdern, sondern mit Monstern von Bösheit zu tun" (337). "In solchen noch den Menschen zu erkennen, das hält schwer. Das sind diese liebenswürdigen Kinder der Natur" (506). Of course, the idea of an existing "unschuldige Naturstand," a prelapsarian idyll would go against the doctrines of Christianity, with its emphasis on the concept of sin, the Fall, and Christ's crucification.

On the other hand, Hahn's severe judgement of the Hereros is influenced by the fact that the Hereros remain unmoved by the story of the Bible:

> Es ist darum auch, dass sie ohne Interesse den biblischen Geschichten Jahr für Jahr zuhören und dass für ganz natürliche Gemüter selbst rührenden Geschichten von der Geburt, Leiden, Sterben und Auferstehung unseres Heilandes für sie ... viel gleichgültiger sind, wie wenn man ihnen etwa ... den Tod eines Hundes beschriebe. (593)

This indifference on the part of the Hereros to the trials of Christ is interpreted as an absence of feelings, a proof of their inhuman and brutish nature, rather than as a result

of Hahn's poor grasp of the Herero language, the lack of good interpreters and the irrelevance of his interpretation of the Bible to the Hereros's daily lives.

The unnatural aspect of Herero life is further emphasized by describing the depravity of the Hereros. Besides discussing the moral corruption of the adults, which would not be unheard of amongst Europeans, Hahn targets the children. The Hereros are born in sin and give evidence of this from the start: "Die ersten Worte, welche ihre Kinder lallen lernen, sind Ausdrücke, wie man sie bei den schmutzigsten, verworfensten Menschen in Europa hört" (381). While setting up a parallel between the Hereros and the European lower classes, Hahn also appeals to the bourgeois sanctity of family: infants usually say "dada" first or other such familial terms. Terms of affection are thus contrasted with words (which Hahn does not and probably cannot specify) associated with filth or swear words in order to highlight the baseness of familial relationships in the Other.

In a seemingly innocent anecdote, Hahn again emphasizes the perversion of Herero children in contrast to European children: "Ein Kind, dessen Bauch wie zum Zerplatzen voll aussah, fragte ich, was es gegessen [habe]. "Orukutu," sagte es ganz unbefangen. Orukutu ist die Nachgeburt! Eine unserer Kühe hatte gekalbt" (383). While European children satisfy their oral desires by eating sugar,[27] Herero children

show their animalistic nature by eating the afterbirth. The following excerpt, also concentrates on the inhuman eating habits of children:

> Ich habe häufig gesehen, dass kleine Kinder, die noch nicht sprechen konnten, rohes ... Fleisch verschlangen, und das nicht aus besonderem Hunger, sondern aus Lust, während die Mütter es zusahen und sich darüber freuten. Welchen Einfluss das auf sie ausübt, brauche ich nicht zu erklären, es liegt zu nahe. Gibt man doch selbst Hunden nicht gerne rohes Fleisch, weil sie dadurch wütend werden. (325)

The use of the verb "verschlingen" instead of "essen" to express the ferocious manner of eating and the emphasis on "rohes Fleisch" point to the cannibalistic nature of the Herero children. Since they cannot speak as yet, they are little better than animals. Like the previous anecdote about the children eating the afterbirth, this excerpt also deals with immediate and spontaneous gratification of oral desires: the children devour the raw meat not out of hunger but out of an uncontrolled urge to satisfy their carnal desire ("Lust"). The development of self-control and restraint through delayed gratification was one of the main goals of bourgeois pedagogy and socialization. Here, however, no disciplinarian action is taken against the children who transgress the boundaries of socially accepted behavior. The father, the main figure of authority is absent. The mother, instead of punishing her child, looks

on indulgently, thereby encouraging him to continue his bestial habits.

Earlier Hahn was at pains to show the lack of maternal affection among Herero women who he claimed strangle their children (341). Now the hierarchy between mother and child is reversed, and it is the child who acquires the aggressive qualities previously attributed to the mother. Although not explicitly stated by Hahn, the parallel he draws between a wild (wütend) dog and the greedy/sexually excited child conjures the image of the child attacking his mother and points to an incestuous relationship.[28] The orgiastic overtones of the description illustrating the unrestrained gratification of oral desires serve as a substitute for more overt references to another form of transgression: incest.

The parallel between Hereros and animals is made several times: "Sie fressen wie die Wölfe ..." (305) and "Wie wilde Tiere zerrissen auch sie mit ihren Zähnen das Fleisch" (506). Hahn is both repelled and fascinated by the animal-like appetites of the Hereros and even suggests that it would be worth the trouble to dissect a Herero, if just to see the stomach, which must be a monstrosity, and like the ostrich, capable of digesting anything: "Fleisch, das ... bereits in Fäulnis übergegangen ist und vor dessen Gestank wir laufen müssen, essen sie, wie nur ein Gourmand die schönste Pastete verzehren kann" (305).

Hahn, like Martius, carries out a textual dissection of the Other's anatomy. But if Martius was in awe of the oversized sexual organs of the Other, Hahn concentrates on the digestive organs:

> Der Bau des Kopfes der Ovaherero ... ist mir sehr bemerkenswert. Verhältnismäßig ist die Hirnschale sehr klein, sowohl der Hinterkopf als Vorkopf, jedoch breit von Ohr zu Ohr und schmal von der Stirn zu dem Hinterkopfe und die Stirn selbst besonders zurückliegend. Dagegen treten ... die Essorgane stark hervor. (324)

And like Martius, Hahn finds the same answers using the compensatory theory, whereby the lack of rational faculties (a human characteristic) is made up by a well-developed digestive system (a bestial characteristic):

> Ihr Denkvermögen, dessen Sitz doch hauptsächlich im Gehirne sitzt, ist gering, dagegen ihre Esslust, ja, tierische Essbegierde, gross, darum alle Organe, die damit verbunden stehen, sehr ... überbildet und fast tierisch [sind]. (325)

Martius shifts the unnatural dimensions to the sexual organs, discussing them in decidedly botanic terms, but Hahn, probably because of the taboos of his profession, uses the digestive organs and oral desires as a substitute for the sexual functions, as indicated by the words, "Begierde" and "Lust". Both, however, focus on the carnal desires of the Other in direct contrast to the rational faculties of the European. Hahn states, he is confident that with the civilizing influence of Christianity, the "proper"

relationship between the two parts, head and digestive organs, will gradually be restored (325). The Hereros will be elevated to the status of human beings.

As already discussed, the physiognomy of a person was considered a reflection of the person's character. Contradicting Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), the founder of phrenology, who believed that the shape of the skull determined the individual's character, Hahn held the opinion that the character molded the form, (325) and so could be changed. This opinion was necessary in order to justify the missionary enterprise, for if Gall was proved right then all Hahn's efforts would be futile, since he would then be trying to alter nature. On several occasions, Hahn draws conclusions about the character of the indigenous people based on their physiognomy. For example, when he meets the Ovambo women for the first time, he observes, "... alle ... trugen das Gepräge der Wollust im Gesicht ..." (1042). The Ovambo chief, Nangolo is judged similarly, "Habsucht und Geiz sind auch ziemlich deutlich in seinen Zügen ausgeprägt" (1054). The Herero in Otjimbingwe cannot hide their sins from Hahn's penetrating eyes either, as he notes: "...ihre Gesichter ... [legen] unwidersprechliches Zeugnis von ihren Fleischessünden ab" (1123). Physiognomy is used to show the savagery of the indigenous people, but it is seen as something alterable, which can be changed through Christianity.

Since the individual type was taken as representative for the race, Hahn also does not restrict this method to individuals, but extends it to include a whole race, here the Khoisan people:

> ... ich glaube annehmen zu dürfen, dass im allgemeinen, ein ganzes Volk genommen, die äussere Erscheinung ein Abdruck der geistigen Tätigkeiten und Eigenschaften ist. Unter allen Völkern der Erde stehen wohl die Hottentottenstämme auf der niedrigsten Stufe körperlicher Schönheit ... und, so denke ich auch in geistiger Beziehung (Entwicklung) ... eine der bösartigsten Stufen einnehmen. (660)

What emerges is a more or less homogenous picture of the Other. As Hahn says himself, "Es scheint, dass das Heidentum ...überall dasselbe ist" (201). All differences between non-Christians are erased. But when Hahn sees the Hereros as individuals, he manages to step out of the conceptual prison of stereotypes. For example, Omuimwouye's wife mourning for her dead son is described as a heart breaking sight (406), yet when Hahn generalizes about the Herero, he falls back to the discourse of the Other, calling the funerals a "Karikaturtrauer" (426). Kavekui (384) may eat decently, but the Hereros eat like wild animals. Kahitjene may be moved by the the teachings of the Bible, but the Hereros are desensitized to all that is pure and noble. This ambivalence is characteristic of evangelical discourse, because although it emphasizes savagery, it also

leaves the possibility of conversion open, by showing the humanity of individual cases.

13. The Undoing of Missionary Discourse

In the beginning, the construction of the Other as the essence of evil provided Hahn with the opportunity to illustrate the neccessity of a mission. However, after many years of futile effort, Hahn begins to doubt whether the Hereros can be saved:

> Manchmal ... fürchte ich, dass unser Predigen ganz über die Köpfe der Eingeborenen geht, und dass sie es nicht fassen können, ... des niedrigen intellektuellen Standpunktes der Wilden wegen. ... Sie haben kein Organ für höhere Begriffe, weil ihnen Zivilisation ganz und gar fehlt. Zivilisation, ... bedingt notwendig auch eine Kultur des Geistes, geistige Anregung, Denkvermögen. ... Geschichte fehlt ihnen ganz, selbst Sagen, Anekdoten, scheint's besitzen sie nicht. Bei so beschränktem Gesichtskreise, gänzlichem Mangel äusserer Anregung, täglichem Kampf, um auf erbärmliche ... Weise ihr Leben zu fristen ..., kann man sich kaum wundern, dass sie im eigentliche Sinne stumpf sind, ... Können diese Leute auf der gegenwärtigen Stufe geistiger Versunkenheit das Evangelium annehmen? (928-29)

He attributes the failure of the mission to the low level of intellectual development and primitive lifestyle of the Hereros. They are perceived as culturally unformed, a people without a history. Even though Hahn narrates several

Herero legends in which he finds similarities with Biblical motives, eg. the tree of knowledge (503), and the flood (968), he contradicts himself here by denying the Hereros these legends, in order to illustrate their lack of culture. But this extract undermines missionary discourse, which believes in universal humanity and regards all people as marked for salvation. The failure of the mission raises doubts about the universality of Christianity, since, as Hahn believes, the teachings of Christ are not applicable to people at this level of intellectual development.

Similarly he condemns the Khoisan as "nicht zivilisationsfähig," because they had been migrating to the North, away from the European settlements. Although Hahn acknowledges that this migration is a consequence of Dutch farmers advancing further north, thus displacing the Khoisan, he does not attach much significance to it. Instead he shifts the blame from the settlers to the Khoisan themselves:

> Der [Hebel] ist in ihnen zu suchen, und ist wahrscheinlich eine natürliche, ihnen selbst nicht zum Bewusstsein gekommene Scheu vor der Zivilisation, die sie abstösst, nicht anzieht. ... Es ist ein dunkles Gefühl, dass sie nicht zivilisationsfähig sind. Die Kultur zertritt sie, aber veredelt sie nicht. Sie fliehen deshalb vor ihr. Das ist ihr letztes Heil; aber entfliehen werden sie dennoch ihrem Schicksale nicht. (1106)

Hahn sees this aversion to civilization as "ein natürlicher Instinkt," of which the Khoisan (die Gelben) themselves are not aware. They cannot be civilized, because they are "kein Kulturvolk." Like the Amerindians (die roten Nationen), they are crushed instead of being uplifted by civilization. However, the people of the West Indies, Sierra Leone and Liberia (die Schwarzen) do have a future in the family of humankind: "Sie scheuen nicht das Licht der Zivilisation, sondern sie suchen es." The Other, depending on his color, can either embrace civilization and be ennobled (veredelt) by it or he can shun civilization, and be devoured (verschlungen) by it. The choices boil down to assimilation or extinction. The latter course is conveniently described by Hahn as "ein geheimnisvoller, sicher aber gerechter Weg Gottes." Missionary discourse, which leaves the doors for conversion open to all is now replaced by a more selective, color-coded, racial discourse.

The conflicts between the Oorlam Afrikaners and their rivals for the hegemony over Hereroland proved to be a stumbling block in the path of evangelisation. Repeated raids disrupted life in the mission stations, scattering the residents, who reverted to their "heathen" ways. According to Hahn a European government was required to discipline the Namas and to create order in the land, for the Africans on their own were incapable of helping themselves (1105, 1120).

Quoting Eyth, Hahn finds climatic factors to explain this inability:

> Die afrikanische Sonne ... konnte nur einen Schwarzen erzeugen, in welchem die Regsamkeit des denkenden, ruhig schaffenden Geistes erstickt ist, während die Flamme der wildesten Leidenschaften im Herzen fortbrennt. Bevor er von Aussen veredelt wird, kann dieser Neger nicht aufhören, entweder ein Menschenfresser (Sklavenjäger) oder ein Sklave zu sein. Es gibt für ihn nirgendwo eine vernünftige Vermittlung unvernünftiger Gegensätze (1105).

The degeneration of Africans is naturalized by climatic factors and seen as something inherent, that can only be counteracted by external/imperial forces and thus justify the establishment of colonial rule. Evangelisation could not be achieved by the messengers of the Gospel alone, but required colonial intervention.

With the establishment of colonial rule in 1884, the fate of the Hereros was sealed. The rebellion of 1904 was crushed brutally under the leadership of von Trotha. The Herero population was reduced by eighty percent and the remaining twenty percent were herded into homelands or "concentration camps" as they were known then (Vedder 161). Irle attests to the active role played by the missionaries in paving the way for the colonization of South West Africa:

> Die Herero waren im Laufe der Zeit völlig andere Menschen geworden. Anstelle ihrer früheren Nacktheit war bei vielen gesittete Bekleidung

> getreten, aus ihrer Zerissenheit und Zerstreutheit waren feste Niederlassungen, Dörfer geworden. Die frühere Bedürfnislosigkeit hatte einer Menge neuer Bedürfnisse Platz gemacht. Die Herero hatten in jeder Beziehung, in geistig-sittlicher wie in kultureller ... sich umgewandelt ... es wäre wohl nie zu einer deutschen Ansiedlung ohne die voraufgegangene Missionsarbeit gekommen. (166)

Irle uses the before-and-after narrative of conversion, which contrasts former savagery with a subsequently civilized state to prove the success of the mission in bringing about this transformation. Irle is correct in so far as the mission did lead to colonization, but it was requested, because of the failure, rather than the success of the mission. If the missionaries had in fact been this successful, why was colonial intervention regarded as necessary? Why was there an uprising on the part of the Hereros? As Lau points out the Hereros resisted this cultural and social transformation. They did not wish to trade their cattle against industrially manufactured goods. They retained their kinship-oriented pastoral forms of social organization (145). Colonial intervention was necessary to break this resistance. Irle thus disguises the nature of the link between colonialism and evangelisation. He belies the historical fact, that this transformation was brought about not by missionary activity, but enforced by military action, resulting in the genocide of the Hereros.

As demonstrated in this chapter, the missionary played

a variety of roles. Besides spreading the message of the Gospel, he was a propagator of his national culture. Conversion was not restricted to only the spiritual domain, but implied the adoption of certain behavioral patterns, characteristics and values, which were considered German. It also implied the substitution of the existing indigenous socio-economic (dis)order with a more familiar, German order. While the former was considered as barbarous, the latter was upheld as the only environment suited to a Christian life. Missionary discourse is a narrative of conversion, contrasting former savagery with the subsequent elevated state of Christianity. Savagery was seen as a temporary condition, contingent on heathenism, and not as an innate trait.

The mission station, with the missionary as its focal point was indicative of the new order, on which the existing system had to be remodelled. The nomadic pastoral lifestyle was seen as a sign of savagery, which had to be eradicated and replaced by settlements, where the missionary could keep a watchful eye on the residents, monitor their activities and make them work for their living. Cattle raising was also considered a sign of heathenism, and had to be substituted by agriculture. The residents of the mission station were expected to adhere to the gender roles assigned to men and women in Europe, leading to a shift in indigenous gender roles: men became the breadwinners, the women

occupied themselves with domestic chores and the family. Preaching required a transformation of language, since Herero was considered an impure language, which needed to be ennobled and christianized. The discourse dismantles indigenous social structures piece by piece and replaces them with German models.

The missionary also saw himself as father, disciplinarian and teacher. Consequently, the Other is constructed as a helpless and dependent child, who needs to be rescued from his savagery and socialized in a Christian environment. The infantilization and savagery of the Other justified the existence of the mission in the eyes of its sponsors in Germany.

Despite these various figures of authority that the missionary embodied, he nevertheless occupied an extremely precarious position. A stranger amongst people, whose lifestyle was totally incompatible with his own, he was expected to perform a miracle with a Bible in nis hands. Hahn criticizes the curriculum in the seminary which does not equip the missionaries with the skills required to survive in a foreign culture (329). Threatened by raids, illness, wild animals and discouraged by the lack of success, Hahn indulges in moments of despair, which expose his doubts regarding the feasibility of the mission. A tool in the hands of both the chiefs and the mission society, his

authority could be undermined from either side if he did not toe the line.

Ultimately the discourse undoes itself due to the failure of the mission. Hahn's construction of the Other as perverted and degenerate leaves little hope for conversion, resulting in a reevaluation of his own beliefs. Missionary discourse is undermined by a more exclusionary, racial discourse. The success of evangelisation is made dependent on the support of colonization. Thus did the flag follow the cross.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation demonstrates how language in Nineteenth Century German travel writing produces knowledge about non-European cultures and peoples. Travel writing in its broadest sense is writing about the contact zone. I have analyzed three specific models of contact, which were more common in the German context: scientific-exploratory writing, tourist-leisure writing and missionary writing.

Most literary criticism on German travel writing emphasizes the academic neutrality of German travelers, claiming that they did not travel for economic and political motives but were driven by the desire for knowledge. I, on the other hand, have analyzed this body of writing in the context of colonial discourse. Definitions of colonial discourse normally discuss it in terms of the colonial situation where writing serves the purpose of managing colonial relationships and justifying conquest and subjugation. However, Germany was not a colonial power during the period under investigation. These writings nevertheless reveal unexpected similarities with writings stemming from a colonial situation. Like colonial accounts, they are also a form of cultural domination, in that they establish an intellectual authority over the other culture and have the power to define, interpret and represent these cultures for a European audience. This is achieved through

the demarcation of identity and difference, i.e. by constructing a binary opposition between the Self and its Other, where the self occupies the positive pole and the Other is designated the negative pole. At the same time, this relationship is not a stable one but is constantly threatened by the collapse of established boundaries. In each model of contact I show how the construction of the Other takes place through disciplinary procedures, types of writing and imagery. I also show how travel writing is not composed of a single, homogenous and totalizing discourse, but is filled with inconsistancies, ambiguities and clashing discourses.

The process of Othering can be seen at work in even supposedly neutral "anti-conquest" writing, such as Reise in Brasilien by the naturalist, C. F. Ph. Martius. This scientific journal reflects the post-Linnaean "squared and spatialized" development of natural history, which was limited to a rigid classificatory system and devoted to the detailed description of organs and elements of plants. Humans, like different species of plants and animals, are identified, classified and catalogued. They are extracted from their indigenous contexts and assimilated into European paradigms of knowledge. Local knowledge is disregarded. The procedures of nominating, classifying and arranging the visible creates "order" amidst the "chaos of nature,"

pushing a whole "teratology of knowledge" out of its domain, and creating a hierarchy of knowledge.

The microscopic vision of the naturalist is directed on human beings too, resulting in detailed desriptions of the anatomy. Body parts are textually dismembered from the whole and scrutinized, like specimens that have been pinned down and exposed to the gaze of the European eye. Indigenous people are not regarded as cultural beings, but as mere features and appendages. They are not described as interlocuters, who provide travelers with valuable information, transport and labor, but as discrete entities of scientific enquiry.

The systematization and ordering of nature resulted in a hierarchy of fixed species which included human variations. Humans were ranked according to their racial physiognomy, which in turn was linked to aesthetic conventions and moral character.

The discourse erases the human world and produces subsistence habitats as empty landscapes, waiting to be developed and transformed into sites of industry and human enterprise. The human world, if taken into consideration, is seen in terms of categories and institutions used by the bourgeoisie to define themselves, e.g. work ethics, marriage, family, education, morals, etc. The Other is defined either in opposition to the European as mainly negative examples or in terms of absences and lacks.

In contrast to the rational and civilized European, the Other is constructed as bestial. The Amerindians are denied individuality and reduced to "hordes," while the Black is attributed with a primitive sexuality.

The discourse does not create a homogenous Other. In contrast to the sexually inexhaustible Black, the beardless Indian is deprived of virility. While the overriding gesture is the same, in that it constructs the Other as inferior, the specific instances are different. These different units of the Other illustrate how scientific discourse was mediated by popular stereotypes and influential debates like the querelle d' Amérique.

Whereas scientific discourse is characterized by an impersonal style which endows it with an appearance of objectivity, my second paradigm, tourist-leisure writing was judged according to the degree of personality displayed by the author. These writings were seen as personal impressions of the country and encouraged the use of fantasy.

In Orientalische Briefe by Ida Hahn-Hahn, time is used as a category for analysis. The first model reduces the Orient to a remnant of the past; a civilization which after having reached its zenith, faded away leaving behind ruins as records of the passage of time. The Orient served as a site where Europe could search for its origins and for an answer to its present predicament. But instead of Europe

being regenerated by the Orient, the project of archeology turns Europe into the resurrector of the Orient by rediscovering ruins, reconstructing a lost history, and lifting it from obscurity. The indigenous people are paradoxically cut off from their past. They are not seen as historical agents who have living continuities with the past and historically based claims on the present. Archeology appropriates the past, denying the indigenous people a historical consciousness and a self-knowledge. They are silenced and disempowered and can now be controlled and subjugated.

The second model dehistoricizes the Orient and constructs it as a static, timeless and motionless tableau, a stage with biblical actors before a European audience. The imagery constructs the Occident as the active male, the creator and life-giving power which articulates the passive and dormant Orient, suffusing it with a surrogate life.

The last model constructs the Orient as a civilization caught in the irreversible process of decline. Using metaphers of darkness and disease, the discourse produces the Turk as a figure enslaved by his decadent lifestyle, driven to living in a dream world, a state of unconscious delirium.

The discourse unveils the Orient, exposing the dismal reality behind the facade of grandeur and debunking existing myths of the Orient as a site of haunting landscapes,

romance, and intoxicating experiences. The Orient is not what the word suggests: a shining, bright, dazzling source of light, but diseased like the sultan, a scaffold like Constantinople from a far, behind which all is chaos and disorder.

So long as the observer's perspective from the "commanding prospect" allows the eye to impose order over the visual turmoil, the Orient remains enchanting, but as soon as the view defies representation it disorients the observer and is portrayed as a site of confusion and chaos, crying out for the restoration of order.

The harem and polygamy are used to illustrate the advancement of European society and the backwardness and degeneration of Oriental ways. In contrast to Oriental discourse, the harem is no longer an eroticized space, where sexual fantasies can be played out. Rather, Hahn-Hahn makes it a symbol of intellectual stagnation, boredom and confinement. Sexual fantasies are projected onto the Bedouins instead, who become the objects of both aesthetic and erotic desire. Thus, she remains within the model of Orientalism, which constructs the Orient as an exotic tableau jouissance, but displaces her desire onto the Bedouins.

Whereas the Bedouins are a source of pleasure, the slaves are a source of disgust and fear. The sight of the slaves brings out suppressed anxieties about the boundaries

between the races and about the very notion of humanity. The initial moment of non-recognition turns the slaves into sexless monstrosities. But the boundaries between Self and Other collapse, when Hahn-Hahn acknowledges what she has so far suppressed - that she is kin with them. In an attempt to reestablish these boundaries, Hahn-Hahn reduces the slaves to "une femelle" i.e. to their biological sex, as opposed to "ein Weib." She reconstructs a hierarchy by comparing them to such paragons of beauty and intelligence as Sappho, Aspasia, and Maria Stuart. This gesture reflects the ambivalence about the relationship between Self and Other and about the concept of humanity itself, an ambivalence which is expressed again in Hahn-Hahn's disgust of the Orientals' four-legged habits, crouching on their haunches like apes.

These letters are filled with ambiguities, beginning with Hahn-Hahn's reason for being in the Orient. Her journey was not sanctioned by the state or the church, as in the case of Martius and Hahn, but was undertaken voluntarily. She is not motivated by any clear-cut goals. Although she states several times, that she has come to restore her faith in the future and see a new beginning for Europe, she seems to be driven more by the urge for self-exploration and self-enrichment.

This ambivalence continues in the differential treatment of the Bedouins, Egyptians, and Turks. The Turks

are criticized for their indifference to European goods, the absence of which reflects their mental impoverishment and reduces them to the level of the ground. The Bedouins, on the other hand, are idealized for their simple, uncorrupted lifestyle. Hahn-Hahn disapproves of European influences in Egypt. She criticizes the ruler, Ali, for hiring French tutors to educate his sons and for following the path of industrialization instead of searching for answers in the Orient itself. Yet, she promotes the Protestant work ethic and European habits of consumption, using the language of the civilizing mission to invent the Orient as backward and neglected thereby legitimizing colonial intervention.

My third paradigm, evangelical discourse, is essentially a narrative of conversion, which contrasts former savagery with a subsequent elevated state of Christianity. Because the mission was dependent on sponsors in Germany for the continuation of its work, it had to persuade the readers at home, that it was needed urgently. As a result the discourse emphasizes the savagery of the people, but also signals their essential humanity, showing that missionary activity was not a futile endeavour. To this end it constructs the Other as helpless children, who are in need of guidance and dependent on the mission.

Conversion was not restricted to the spiritual domain but implied the adoption of certain values and characteristics which were considered hallmarks of the

German bourgeoisie. This could not be achieved under the existing conditions. The discourse therefore dismantles indigenous socio-economic structures, which were interpreted as signs of "heathenism" and had to be eradicated, and replaces them with German models, which were regarded as more conducive to a Christian life. The nomadic pastoral lifestyle was substituted by permanent settlements, where the missionary could regulate the activities of the residents. Cattle raising was substituted by agriculture. The residents of the mission station were expected to adhere to gender roles assigned to men and women in Europe, leading to a shift in indigenous gender roles. The men became the producers and breadwinners, while the women retreated into the private sphere and devoted themselves to household chores and to the family. Marriage and domesticity were seen as imperative for the improvement of women's morals and for the development of characteristics in keeping with her new role of "Mutter," "Gattin" and "Hausfrau." The language was also transformed to serve the needs of religion and conversion.

Resistance to these changes resulted eventually in the failure of the mission and in the request for colonial intervention. Hahn attributes this failure to racial causes, such as the lack of feelings, of history and of intellectual development among the Herero. The Khoisan, like the Amerindians are condemned as "nicht

zivilisationsfähig," a characteristic, which is seen as innate. Climatic theories are employed to explain the degeneration of the African. These explanations for the failure of the mission illustrate the emergence of a more exclusive discourse on racial superiority that clashes with and finally replaces missionary discourse.

It is true, that the travelers discussed in this dissertation were not representatives of a colonial power. They rejected and distanced themselves from the exploitation and violence associated with colonial domination. The purpose of their voyages was framed either in terms of science and the pursuit of knowledge or in terms of spiritual guidance and salvation. All three travelers express humanitarian reasons for undertaking their journey. However, as my dissertation illustrates, the discourse belies their intentions by constructing the Other in a manner that opened a space for colonial expansion. This empty space was eventually occupied in 1884 with the establishment of German colonial rule in South West Africa.

NOTES

I. Notes to Introduction

1. According to David Spurr, the concept of the Other is based on the principles of exclusion, boundary and difference. It has its origins in "the anxiety over the preservation of cultural order and in the need to designate the unknown by a set of signs which affirm, by contrast, the value of culturally established norms." This anxiety is projected onto the racial and cultural Other, who serves as a scapegoat. Psychoanalytic theory sees the construction of the Other as not only the result of fear and recognition of difference, but also of a subconscious desire for the Other which must be resisted. It reflects the crisis of the subject, who is threatened by the collapse into a state without any boundaries. This crisis was connected to the fear that the white race could degenerate and be absorbed by the other ones, and embodies a relationship marked by a simultaneous horror and fascination of becoming like the Other. The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration (Durham: Duke UP, 1993) 77-78.

2. John Boening, "Herder and the White Man's Burden: the Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit and the Shaping of British Colonial Policy," Johann Gottfried

Herder: Language, History and the Enlightenment, ed. Wulf Koepke (Columbia: Camden, 1990) 238-239.

3. This sentiment is expressed in Herder's epistle, "Der Deutsche Nationalruhm," in which he lists "Unschuld," "Mäßigung," "Weisheit" and "That zum Wohl der Menschen" as national characteristics. Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität, vol. 18 of Sämtliche Werke, ed. B. Suphan (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883) 208-216.

4. Isaiah Berlin, Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas (New York: Viking, 1976) 161.

5. Christoph Meiners, Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit (1793; Königstein/Ts.: Scriptor, 1981) 27.

6. Pagden, Anthony, European Encounters with the New World (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993) 17-21.

7. William Stewart, Die Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorie im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts (Bonn: Bouvier, 1978).

8. Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, Die Erfahrene Welt: Europäische Reiseliteratur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (Frankfurt a.M: Insel, 1980).

9. Hans-Wolf Jäger, "Reisefacetten der Aufklärungszeit," Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der Deutschen Literatur, ed. Brenner (Frankfurt a.M: Suhrkamp, 1989) 265.

10. Benita Parry discusses several theories of colonial discourse. Colonial discourse, as defined by Fanon,

constructs a binary opposition, in which the two polarities are defined by "the white as the sovereign and black as its transgression, with its attendant chain of naturalized antitheses." This dichotomy "operates to deform the dialogical interaction of self with other selves ... into the conflictual self-other colonial relationship" (28). Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak, on the other hand, disperse the fixed, unitary categories of self and other. Bhabha states that "the objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a racially degenerate population in order to justify conquest and rule" (40). While he leaves room for resistance, Spivak, in contrast, assigns colonial discourse an absolute and totalizing power, which constitutes and disarticulates the native. "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse," Oxford Literary Review 9 (1987): 27-58. Peter Hulme defines colonial discourse as "an ensemble of linguistically-based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships.... Underlying the idea of colonial discourse ... is the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis and kinds of writing and imagery." Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797 (London: Methuen, 1986) 2.

11. Ronald Inden, "Orientalist Constructions of India," Modern Asian Studies 20.3 (1986): 401-446.

12. Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979).

13. The term "contact zone" refers to "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly assymetrical relations of domination and subordination ..." [Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992) 4.]

14. Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Literature and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1991).

15. Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object (New York: Columbia UP, 1983) 31.

16. Sara Mills, Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism (London: Routledge, 1991) 87-107.

17. Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and Its Problems," Europe and Its Others, ed. Francis Barker et al. (Colchester: U of Essex, 1985) 179-182.

18. Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg, "The Challenge of Orientalism," Economy and Society 14.2 (1985): 191.

19. Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen,"

"Race," Writing and Difference, ed. H.L. Gates, (Chicago: U of Chicago, 1985) 145.

20. Elke Frederiksen, "Der Blick in der Ferne. Zur Reiseliteratur von Frauen," Frauen Literatur Geschichte: Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, ed. v. H. Gnug, R. Möhrmann (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985) 104-122.

21. Annegret Pelz, "Europäerinnen und Orientalismus," Frauen - Literatur - Politik, ed. A. Pelz et al. (Hamburg: Argument, 1988) 205-218.

22. Oriental discourse is a part of colonial discourse, which is a broader term and includes various types of writing. While Orientalische Briefe does undermine several popular myths about the Orient and thus differs from oriental discourse, it can still be read as colonial discourse.

II. Notes to Chapter One

1. Sergio Moravia, "The Enlightenment and the Sciences of Man," History of Science 18 (1980): 250.
Gay Weber, "Science and Society in Nineteenth Century Anthropology," History of Science 12 (1974): 260-283.

2. Richard Popkin, "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth Century Racism," Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture 3 (1973): 252.

3. Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960 (London: Macmillan, 1982) 29.

4. Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (1936; Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1964) 59.

5. Georg Forster, "Noch Etwas Über Die Menschenrassen," Georg Forsters Werke: Sämtliche Schriften, Tagebücher, Briefe, Kleine Schriften zu Philosophie und Zeitgeschichte Vol. 8 (Berlin: Akademie, 1974) 146.

6. J. Slotkin, Readings in Early Anthropology (Chicago: Aldine, 1965) 94.

7. Johann Caspar Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind Vol. I, Trans. Henry Hunter (London, 1798) 135.

8. Patrizia Magli, "The Face and the Soul," Fragments for a History of the Human Body Part II, ed. Michel Feher et al. (New York: Urzone, 1989) 119.

9. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Grundlage des Naturrechts nach Principien der Wissenschaftslehre (Jena: C. E. Gabler, 1796) 93.

10. Samuel Th. Sömmerring, Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer (Frankfurt a. M, 1785) ix.

11. Nancy Leys Stepan, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," The Anatomy of Racism (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 1990) 38-57.

12. Johann Gottfried Herder, Ideen zur Philosophie der

Geschichte der Menschheit, ed. B. Suphan, vol. 13 of Sämtliche Werke (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887) 72.

13. J.F. Blumenbach, On The Natural Variety of Mankind (De generis humani varietate nativa, 1775; 3rd. ed., 1795), The Anthropological Treatises, ed. and trans. Thomas Bendyshe (London: Longman, 1865) 152.

14. George Stocking, Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1988) 4.

15. The analogy with animals was a common device. One example claims that the inhabitants of a country share the same disposition and qualities as the indigenous animals of the country. Accordingly, "the Malay may be compared to the buffalo and the tiger" because "in his domestic state he is indolent, stubborn and voluptuous as the former, and in his adventurous life, he is insidious, bloodthirsty and rapacious as the latter". Similarly, "the Arab is said to resemble his camel and the placid Gentoo his cow" (Blumenbach 232).

16. Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," "Race," Writing and Difference, ed. H.L. Gates (Chicago: U of Chicago, 1985) 232.

17. J. Müller, "Über die äusseren Geschlechtsteile

der Buschmännin," Archiv fur Anatomie, Physiologie, und Wissenschaftliche Medizin (1834): 319-345.

18. Müller mentions A. W. Otto's Seltene Beobachtungen zur Anatomie, Physiologie und Pathologie (1824), which contains a description and diagram of black female genitals, "mit monströser Clitoris" (324). Otto claimed that the hypertrophy of the clitoris was the "real" apron. Müller also cites a report on the clitoris of blacks in the West Indies by Clark, who states that that this organ was so large, that the women had to lift it when they wanted to urinate (327).

19. Joseph-Marie Degerando, The Observation of Savage Peoples, ed. F.C.T. Moore (1800; Berkeley: U of California, 1969) 63.

20. Friedrich Schiller, "Schriften zur Universalgeschichte," Schillers Werke, ed. Karl-Heinz Hahn (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1970) 364.

21. Isaak Iselin, Über die Geschichte der Menschheit. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976) 297.

22. George Stocking, Victorian Anthropology (New York: Free, 1987) 34.

III. Notes to Chapter Two

1. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (1966; New York: Vintage, 1973) 128-132.

2. C. F. P. von Martius and J. B. von Spix, Reise in Brasilien in den Jahren 1817-1820 3 vols & 1 Tafelband (München, 1823-1831).

3. "Die Reise in Brasilien gehört zu den grundlegenden Werken zur Erforschung der Erde. ... Dieses Werk ist anerkanntermaßen für die Kenntnis Brasiliens von derselben Bedeutung gewesen wie Humboldts Schriften für die übrigen Länder des tropischen Amerika." [qtd. in the preface to Reise in Brasilien in den Jahren 1817-1820, ed. Karl Mägdefrau, 3 vols. (1823-1831; Stuttgart: Brockhaus, 1966) viii].

4. Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Literature and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992) 126.

5. Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch (Berlin: Gruyter, 1939) 632.

6. Patrizia Magli, "The Face and the Soul," Fragments for a History of the Human Body, vol. 2, ed. Michel Feher et al. (New York: Urzone, 1989) 89-91.

7. G. H. von Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, During the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807 (1813; Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968) 109-110.

8. Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993) 33.

9. E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Taschenbuch der Reisen, oder

unterhaltende Darstellung der Entdeckungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1803) 47.

10. Londa Schiebinger, "The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth Century Science," Eighteenth-Century Studies 23.4 (1990): 391.

11. Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race In Science: Great Britain 1800-1960 (London: Macmillan, 1982) xviii.

12. Alexander von Humboldt, Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, trans. Helen Maria Williams (London: 1822) 3: 227.

13. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1963) 42-43.

14. Abdul R. JanMohamed. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," "Race", Writing, and Difference, ed. H.L.Gates (Chicago: U of Chicago: 1985) 82.

15. Mary Louise Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," "Race", Writing and Difference, Gates 139.

16. Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object (New York: Columbia UP, 1983) 32.

17. Ronald Inden, "Orientalist Constructions of India," Modern Asian Studies 20.3 (1986): 408.

18. Pratt defines the term "anti-conquest" as "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois

subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony." (Imperial Eyes 7).

IV. Notes to Chapter Three

1. Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979)

2. I have used the original version of Hahn-Hahn's letters published by Alexander Duncker, 1844 in three volumes and an edited version published by Promedia, 1991. The quotes from the original version will be indicated by the volume numbers, whereas the quotes from the edited version will not have a volume number.
Ida Hahn-Hahn, Orientalische Briefe 3 vols (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1844).
Ida Hahn-Hahn, Orientalische Briefe, ed. Gabriele Harbinger (Wien: Promedia, 1991).

3. Annegret Pelz, "Europäerinnen und Orientalismus," Frauen - Literatur - Politik Ed. A. Pelz et. al. (Hamburg: Argument, 1988) 206.

4. Hahn-Hahn was variously called "eine männerfressende Amazone (Alexander von Ungern-Sternberg), "Gräfin Kikeriki (Adolf Glasbrenner) and "eine ... Kreuzung von Kurtisane und Klosterschwester, ... aus einem Komödiantengeschlecht" (Sengle). For an account of the reception of Hahn-Hahn's novels in Germany, see Renate Möhrmann's "Die Gleichheitsideen der Ida Hahn-Hahn," Die

andere Frau: Emanzipationsansätze deutscher Schriftstellerinnen im Vorfeld der Achtundvierziger-Revolution (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977) 85-117.

5. Sara Mills, Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism (London: Routledge, 1991) 108-122.

6. "Auf einem verschmutzten und völlig verwanzten Dampfschiff machte sie die Fahrt durch das Schwarze Meer ... Mit Packpferden, Zelt und Kamelen begann dann ... der Karawanenzug durch die Wüste, auf dem die Gräfin täglich acht bis zehn Stunden im Pferde- oder Kamelsattel saß. Wegen räuerischer Umtriebe ging es unter bewaffneter Beduinenführung weiter ... . Hahn-Hahn scheute keine Strapazen." (R. Möhrmann, Die andere Frau 94).

7. Elke Frederiksen demonstrates how Hahn-Hahn resurrects forgotten goddesses amongst the ruins of Egypt, which acquire a utopian significance. She discovers a defiled temple dedicated to Isis, the goddess of fertility. She questions why the temple of Edfu was dedicated to Apollo when it had images of Isis on the walls. By immersing herself in the past and learning about women's history, she creates a vision for a better future. "Der Blick in die Ferne. Zur Reiseliteratur von Frauen," Frauen Literatur Geschichte: Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, ed. v. Hiltrud Gnug, R. Möhrmann (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985) 104-122. However, Frederiksen's study of

Hahn-Hahn's letters as an inner journey of self-discovery renders the Orient as a mere backdrop against which the development of the writer's self takes place. Egypt is turned into a stage for Hahn-Hahn's utopian visions.

8. Annegret Pelz illustrates this ambiguity in Hahn-Hahn's Orientalische Briefe. According to her, Hahn-Hahn chooses to remain an outsider to both cultures, a homeless traveler: "Durch die Assoziation von Orient und Frau beschreibt sich Hahn-Hahn selbst als eine Reisende, die nicht als "fremde Frau" im "weiblichen Orient" aufgeht, sondern beiden Kulturen gleichermaßen exterior bleibt." "Europäerinnen und Orientalismus" 218.

9. "Leçons des temps passés répétées sur les temps présens" is the title of Chapter 12 in Volney's Les Ruines ou Méditation sur les Revolutions des Empires (Brussels, 1830).

10. These unselfish motives are reiterated later in stronger terms: "Um Hofnungen zu sammeln, Hofnungen die sich nicht im Geringsten auf mich oder meine Person beziehen, mache ich diese Reise; denn ich hoffe nicht ein interessantes Buch über sie zu schreiben, ich hoffe nicht poetisch angeregt durch sie zu werden, ich hoffe auch nicht ein seliges Leben zu führen ...;" (1: 282-83).

11. Wilhelm Halbfass, India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding (Albany: SUNY, 1988) 72.

12. On her return, Hahn-Hahn yearns for the past that she has left behind in the Orient and compares it with the present that she finds in Europe: "Man hat in der Vergangenheit im Schattenreich gelebt, aber diese Schatten sind so majestätisch und ehrfurchtgebietend, daß sie einen ... größeren Eindruck auf die innerlichste Seelenstimmung machen, als die Gebilde der Gegenwart in ihren bunten, zerfetzten, anspruchsvollen Gewänden und Attitüden. Sie sind so kraus und konfus, daß sie dunkel - aber jene Schatten so einfach und wahr, daß sie licht aussehen. Aus dem Licht der ungesitteten Welt trat ich in das Zwielicht europäischer Kultur- und Zivilisationsbestrebungen zuruck..." (339-340).

13. Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Literature and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1991) 134.

14. Hahn-Hahn seems to be criticizing the convention of the "pittoreske Städtebeschreibung," popular in contemporary German travel writing. Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer's description of "Stambul" provides an appropriate example for this type of writing, which aimed at creating "ein schönes Bild" for its readers: "Ein unübersehbares Gewimmel von Hohlziegeldächern und Holzgezimmer, von Gärten, Zypressenwäldern, Kegelbergen und Lusttälern, von bleigedeckten goldblitzenden Spitztürmen und Tempelkuppeln, ... Es ist ... ein Atlantis der

Glückseligkeit, ein Vorratshaus irdischer Wonne, ... voll Blumenduft, Licht und Schatten und langer Karawanenzüge, voll musikalisch-sausenden Wogenspiels, voll Gondelndrang und vorüberschiffender Delphine" [Fragmente aus dem Orient (Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1845) 339].

15. Timothy Mitchell, Colonising Egypt (1988; Berkely: U of California, 1991) 1-33.

16. The cataract, like Constantinople, turns out to be a betrayed dream. Hahn-Hahn's expectations were quite different as revealed in an earlier passage, in which the cataract is used as a metapher for the Orient: "Das Morgenland kommt mir vor wie ein ungeheurer Katarakt, Wasser auf Wasser immerfort! ... rundumher Stille, Majestät, Schweigen; sonst nichts! alle Kräfte sind gesammelt und gehen auf in dieser einen großen Gesamtexistenz. Wozu nützt dies aber? ... welch ein Resultat ergiebt sich? - ... Der Strom, ... der im Wogenschall verzehrt zu werden schien, fließt nun weiter, ... zertheilt sich in ... tausend Bäche, die beleben, ernähren, erfrischen, ... Gründer einer andern Welt und einer andern Civilisation werden indem sie neue Elemente entwickeln, aufnehmen und verarbeiten: das ist unser Abendland" (2: 310). The cataract of Hahn-Hahn's imagination appears to destroy everything that is drawn into its vortex, but it is still surrounded by grandeur. Out of chaos comes order: the Occident. In contrast, the cataracts

of Assuan defy representation and remain in a state of chaos, without any purpose or function.

17. Patrizia Magli, "The Face and the Soul," Fragments for a History of the Human Body, vol. 2, ed. Michel Feher et al. (New York: Urzone, 1989) 93-94.

18. Hahn-Hahn's criticism of the Orientals' "four-legged habits" also questions the anatomical distinctions made by Blumenbach and Herder between humans and apes. Herder describes "die bildende Mutter" creating man with the words: "Steh auf von der Erde! Dir selbst überlassen, wärest du Thier wie andre Thiere; aber durch meine ... Huld ... gehe aufrecht und werde der Gott der Thiere" (Sämtliche Werke 13: 114). Hahn-Hahn's references to Orientals lying around on the ground reflect an ambivalence about the very notion of humanity. The question that the Other evokes in Hahn-Hahn is: what is human and what is beast? Where do the boundaries lie? This question is raised again at the slave market.

19. Sigrid Weigel, "Die nahe Fremde - das Territorium des "Weiblichen" : Zum Verhältnis von "Wilden" und "Frauen" im Diskurs der Aufklärung," Die andere Welt: Studien zum Exotismus, ed. T. Koebner, G. Pickerodt (Frankfurt a.M: Athenäum, 1987) 171-199.

20. E. Frederiksen notes that Hahn-Hahn, "... spricht sich entschieden gegen die Haremsklaverei aus ..." and

interprets it as a sign of her heightened social awareness. "Der Blick in der Ferne" 117.

A. Pelz sees the criticism of the harem as a form of "Kulturkritik," and draws a parallel between the women of the harem and women from Hahn-Hahn's own aristocratic circle: "[Sie] beobachtet ... in dem streng hierarchisierten Harem Deformationen wie Passivität, Leblosigkeit und erstarrte Körperlichkeit, die ihr aus der eigenen Kultur bekannt sind. Diese Deformationen lassen die Frauen körperlich "unterentwickelt" erscheinen und ihre individuellen Gesichtszüge unter einer dicken Schicht von Schminke zur Maske erstarren, so daß sich insgesamt eine Existenz offenbart, die "zum Erschrecken materiell" ist. Pelz concludes that this experience leads Hahn-Hahn to distance herself from a culturally determined concept of femininity: she dismisses her maid and changes her apparel for a "Knabenanzug." "Europäerinnen und Orientalismus" 208-209.

21. Leila Ahmed, "The Discourse of the Veil," Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992) 151.

22. Ahmed illustrates how the equation of the West with progress and modernity and the East with stagnation and tradition has continued in post-colonial discourse and still colors discussions about women in developing countries. Women's emancipation in these countries was taken up by an

intellectual elite, which was acquainted with Western thought. Consequently, "progress" for women was imported from the West and required an abandonment of indigenous culture. The women's issue has, in fact, little to do with her; instead it is used as a bone of contention between fundamentalists, who support existing indigenous traditions and the progressive liberals, who advocate Westernization. Ahmed feels that each society has to engage critically with its own heritage in its own terms, rather than adopt a totally alien culture with its own tradition of misogyny. The latter course would tantamount to the exchange of an indigenous form of patriarchy for a Western style of patriarchy. "The Discourse of the Veil," Women and Gender in Islam 152-168.

23. The emancipated protagonist Catherine complains, "Das Recht ist von Männern erfunden; man lehrt sie es deuten und anwenden; unwillkürlich kommt es ihrem Vortheil zu gut. Männer dürfen ja Alles thun, Alles wissen, Alles lernen. Sie sitzen zu Gericht und entscheiden, wie Gott selbst, über die Seelen und über Leben und Tod. ... Sie vertheidigen das Vaterland, sie umschiffen die Welt - und wir ... wir sehen zu! ..." When her interlocutor mocks her for suggesting that women could do things that nature had made impossible, she retorts: "Unmöglich? - schickt die Mädchen auf die Universität, und die Knaben in die Nähschule und Küche: nach drei Generationen werdet ihr wissen, ob es unmöglich ist,

und was es heißt, die Unterdrückten sein." Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente, ed. Renate Möhrmann, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1978) 104.

24. The protagonist Cornelie states, "Gleich und gleich: so müssen die Geschlechter gegenüberstehen und in einem Gleichgewicht, welches aus der sittlichen Basis der Selbstbestimmung und Selbsterkenntnis entspringt, den Vertrag der Ehe miteinander schließen - woraus hervorgeht, daß nicht alles dulden, nicht alles verzeihen, nicht alle Selbständigkeit im Handeln und Denken aufgeben ihre heilige Pflicht wird." Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz 111.

25. The difference between publicly visible European women and veiled, mysterious Oriental women is transposed onto the landscape in this comparison between the Rhein and the Nile: "Der Rhein kommt mir vor ... wie eine Frau vor, die mächtige Leidenschaften erregt und empfunden hat, und durch sie mit einem Zauber ausgestattet ist, dem sich nicht widerstehen läßt; - der Nil, wie eine Nonne in tiefer Abgeschiedenheit, einsam ..., gleichförmig, still und in dieser Stille ihre Geheimnisse bewahrend" (3: 188-89).

26. The veil, according to Montagu, "disguises them and there is no distinguishing the great lady from her slave. It is impossible for the most jealous husband to know his wife when he meets her." Mary Wortley Montagu,

Letters from the Levant During the Embassy to Constantinople 1716-1718 (1838; New York: Arno, 1971) 127.

27. At the baths of Sophia, Montagu describes the women's reaction to her clothes: "I was ... forced to open my shirt and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well; for I saw they believed I was locked up in that machine, and that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband" (Letters from the Levant 108). Although she portrays herself as the object of curiosity and can thus point out that fashions oppress women and abuse their bodies in Europe too, Montagu still remains in control of the representation, as the phrase "I saw they believed ..." suggests.

28. Faustine remarks, "Wie komisch sind die Männer! Ganz ernsthaft bilden sie sich ein, der liebe Gott habe unser Geschlecht geschaffen, um das ihre zu bedienen." Later she adds, "Ich will nur, daß die Männer mit ihnen [den Frauen] umgehen wie mit ihresgleichen und nicht wie mit erkauften Sklavinnen, ..." Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz 104-105.

Hahn-Hahn's views on the position of women becomes even more ambiguous in the following passage, in which she praises the Bedouins, using them as a foil to criticize European marital relationships: "Die Ehe ist ernst und streng; der Mann ist Herr, Weib und Kind gehorcht und bedient, aber nicht widerwillig ... einem launenhaften Gemal ..., sondern dem

Oberhaupt der Familie. In Verhältnissen die auf lauter selbständig kräftige Individualitäten basirt sind, kann dem Weibe kein andrer Platz angewiesen werden. ... Je unselbständiger der Mann, ... umsomehr verliert er dem Weibe gegenüber das oberhauptliche Ansehen, das er in der Freiheit hat" (2: 273). Even though her novels project women as individuals in their own right, here Hahn-Hahn still reserves individuality as a male prerogative. Later she adds, "die Weiber leben ... ziemlich abgesondert von den Männern, weil ... die Männer sie nicht zum Zeitvertreib nöthig haben," which again shows her male-centered perspective.

29. Yet, in Zwei Frauen Hahn-Hahn demonstrates how the concept of "Mensch" was reserved for men. Cornelie is a timid, undemanding wife in awe of her brilliant husband, Eustach von Sambach. In order to please him, she begins to read and educate herself, only to develop a will of her own. Eustach mocks her for her independent thinking with the words, "Also, Du denkst bereits?" She responds, "Wie sollt' ich nicht denken? bin ich nicht Mensch?" Eustach explains, "Freilich, ... bist Du das ... aber nur beiläufig; hauptsächlich bist Du Weib. Mensch, siehst Du, ist ein ganz abstrakter Begriff, ... Man muß sein Mann oder Weib, Beherrscher oder Diener, immer das, wozu man durch Organisation, Bedingungen und Verhältnisse bestimmt wird." Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz 107.

30. In Zwei Frauen, however, Cornelie not only states the opposite opinion but also criticizes people (like Hahn-Hahn) who use Christianity as an argument to denigrate non-Christians: "Ich habe ... die vollkommene Überzeugung, daß das Christentum keineswegs den günstigen Einfluß auf den Zustand des weiblichen Geschlechts geübt habe, welchen man ihm beizumessen pflegt ... und ich glaube wirklich aus keinem andern Grunde, als weil man ein bißchen pfäffisch den blinden Heiden nichts Gutes gönnen mag." Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz 110.

31. Sander Gilman, "The Image of the Black in the Aesthetic Theory of the Eighteenth Century," On Blackness Without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982) 19-34.

V. Notes to Chapter Four

1. Heinrich Barth, Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855: Tagebuch seiner im Auftrag der Britischen Regierung unternommenen Reise (Gotha, 1857).

Friedrich Hornemann, Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Murzuck, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Fessan in Afrika in den Jahren 1797 und 1798 (Weimar, 1802).

Heinrich Lichtenstein, Reisen im südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805, und 1806 (Berlin, 1811-1812).

2. Carl Hugo Hahn, Tagebücher. 1837-1860, ed. Brigitte Lau (Windhoek: Archives Services Division of the Department of National Education, 1984).

3. Horst Gründer, Welteroberung und Christentum: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1992) 321.

4. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper, 1953) 1132.

5. Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945 Vol. 3 (New York: Knopf, 1969) 123.

6. "ein menschen- und geschichtsloser Raum". Henning Melber, "Das doppelte Vermächtnis der Geschichte: Nationswerdung, Kolonisierungsprozeß und deutsche Fremdherrschaft in Namibia (ca. 1800-1914)" in Diskurs: Bremer Beitrage zu Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft 6 (Bremen: Bremen U, 1982): 35.

7. Winifred Hoernle, The Social Organization of the Nama and Other Essays, ed. P. Carstens (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand UP, 1985) 41.

8. H. Vedder, "The Herero" The Native Tribes of South West Africa, ed. C.H.L. Hahn (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1928) 199.

9. Brigitte Lau, Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time (Windhoek: National Archives, 1987) 76.

10. Adam Kuper, "The Magician and the Missionary," South Africa and the Anthropologist (London: Routledge, 1986) 152.

11. Nicholas Thomas, "Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda," Comparative Studies in Society and History 34.2 (1992): 380.

12. What Hahn calls Schilfhütten were houses built with skillfully prepared reed mats. These were airy, water proof and could easily be dismantled which suited their lifestyle of moving with their cattle within a certain territory. More importantly, it was women who controlled this sphere of social life: they collected the reeds, built the houses and owned them. (Brigitte Lau, Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time 68-73).

13. J. Irle, Die Herero: Ein Beitrag zur Landes-, Volks- und Missionskunde (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1906) 78.
H.G. Luttig, The Religious System and Social Organization of the Herero: A Study in Bantu Culture (Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1933) 33.
J.S. Malan, Peoples of SWA/Namibia (Pretoria: HAUM, 1980) 40.

14. Mamre, Rehoboth and Bersheba are all names from Exodus, the Old Testament. Orange River: Garieb, also !Garip was named in honor of the Dutch royal house of Oranje when the Cape was under Dutch rule.

15. Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993) 157.

16. According to Maria Mies, "the concept of labour is usually reserved for men's productive work under capitalist conditions, which means work for the production of surplus value". ["Social Origins of the Sexual Divisions of Labour." Women: The Last Colony (Zed: New York, 1988) 68-69]. Since cattle was not a commodity, but an integral part of the Herero's social life, cattle breeding and herding was not seen as productive labor.

17. See Simone Prodolliet for the relationship between women missionaries and native women. Wider die Schamlosigkeit und das Elend der heidnischen Weiber: Die Basler Frauenmission und der Export des europäischen Frauenideals in die Kolonien (Zurich: Limmat, 1987).

18. Wangemann, Ein Reise-Jahr in Südafrika: Ausführliches Tagebuch über eine in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 ausgeführte Inspectionsreise durch die Missions-Stationen der Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1868) 569.

19. A heavy whip of rhinoceros or hippopotamus hide.

20. The bias in Brincker's dictionary is evident in the following example: "oserekaze" reads "vornehme Frau (nach Herero-Begriffen eine wohlgeschmierte, mit ranziger Butter parfürmierte, mit vielen eisernen Perlen behangene, recht a la mode wackelnde Hererofrau)." Wörterbuch und

Kurzgefasste Grammatik des Otji-Herero (1886; Ridgewood: Gregg, 1964) 196.

21. Rajmund Ohly, The Destabilization of the Herero Language (Windhoek: Academy, 1987) 17.

22. Norman Lewis shows how American missionaries reedited the Bible to create fear amongst the Panare Indians, by implicating them in Christ's death, in order to make them convert. The Missionaries (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988) 205.

23. The Spanish case in America provides an interesting contrast. By the end of the Seventeenth century all native American languages were banned for the purpose of evangelisation. It was felt that the translation of sacred texts into non-Christian languages could alienate those texts. Eg. "congregation of the Saints" was translated into Quechua as "merriment of the Saints" (Pagden, 119).

24. Stephen Greenblatt, Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture (London: Routledge, 1990) 32.

25. The term "verwaiste Gemeinde" used by Hahn to describe a congregation whose minister, Scheppman had died, also reflects the paternalistic attitude of the church. (370)

26. These are the same characteristics used by the German bourgeoisie to define itself against and to critique the nobility. Whereas the nobility was degenerate, superficial, dishonest and unnatural, a member of the

bourgeoisie was a serious, sincere, upright "Gefühlsmensch." With the rise of the bourgeoisie, this social antithesis between the nobility and the bourgeoisie became a national antithesis that was used to define German characteristics in opposition to competing nations. Hahn, for example, compares the Herero with the French: "Die Ovaherero scheinen mit keinem Volk in Europa mehr Ähnlichkeit zu haben als mit den Franzosen: geschwätzig, tändelnd, lachend, zänkisch, prahlerisch ..." He continues to accuse them of "Unzucht," vanity and cowardice (243). Later he uses those characteristics appropriated by the bourgeoisie to define the German race: "... kein Schwarzer ähnelt einem Germanen, diesem energischen, tiefen, gefühlvollen und biederen Menschenschlage" (593).

27. Dieter Richter points out that pedagogy in the 18th and 19th centuries aimed at "die Restriktion spontaner oraler Befriedigung, um das Erlernen von Lustaufschub und Triebkontrolle, wobei ... orale und genitale als primäre Triebe der Kinder die ... Aufmerksamkeit der Erzieher fanden." Das fremde Kind: Zur Entstehung der Kindheitsbilder des bürgerlichen Zeitalters, (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1987) 63.

28. The taboos of incest and cannibalism are often projected onto the Other. According to Peter Hulme, "boundaries of a community are often created by accusing those outside the boundary of the very practice on which the

integrity of that community is founded. This is ... both a psychic process - involving repression and projection - and an ideological process - whereby the success of the projection confirms the need for the community to defend itself against the projected threat, thereby closing the circle and perpetuating it." He sees this as "the central regulating mechanism of colonial discourse." Colonial Encounters: Europe and native Caribbean, 1492-1797 (London: Methuen, 1986) 85.

Hayden White interprets the horrors about the practices of incest and cannibalism as a projection of repressed sexual desires and anxieties. "Such fantasies," he states, "are sublimations of an idyll of unrestricted consumption, oral and genital, and its alternative, the need to destroy that which cannot be consumed." Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1990) 188.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources:

Blumenbach, J. F. On The Natural Variety of Mankind. (De generis humani varietate nativa, 1775; 3rd. ed., 1795). The Anthropological Treatises. Ed. and Trans. Thomas Bendyshe. London: Longman, 1865.

Craven, Elizabeth. A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople. New York: Arno, 1970.

Degerando, Joseph-Marie. The Observation of Savage Peoples. 1800; ed. F.C.T. Moore, Berkeley: U of California, 1969.

Ehrmann, Theophil Friedrich. Neueste Kunde von Afrika. Erster Band. Prag, 1810.

--- Neueste Länder und Völkerkunde. Ein geographisches Lesebuch für alle Stände. Neunter Band. Prag, 1811.

--- Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen welche seit dem zwölften Jahrhunderte zu Wasser und zu Land unternommen worden sind. Siebenter Band. Frankfurt a.M. 1793.

Engel von Langwies, Regula. Frau Oberst Engel: Von Cairo bis New York, von Elba bis Waterloo - Memoiren einer Amazone aus Napoleanischer Zeit. Zürich: Artemis, 1977.

Fallmerayer, Jakob Ph. Fragmente aus dem Orient. Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1845.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. Grundlage des Naturrechts nach Principien der Wissenschaftslehre. Jena: C.E. Gabler, 1796.

Forster, Georg. Reise um die Welt. Ed. B. Neubauer. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1960.

Hahn, Carl Hugo. Tagebücher: 1837-1860. Ed. Brigitte Lau. 4 vols. Windhoek: National Archives, 1984.

Hahn-Hahn, Ida. Orientalische Briefe. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1844.

--- Orientalische Briefe. Ed. Gabriele Harbinger. Wien: Promedia, 1991.

Herder, Johann Gottfried. Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität. Vol. 18 of Sämtliche Werke. Ed. B. Suphan. Berlin: Weidman, 1883.

---. Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. Vol. 13 of Sämtliche Werke. Ed. B. Suphan.

Humboldt, Alexander. Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, During the Year 1799-1804. Trans. Helen Maria Williams. London: Bohn, 1852-53.

Irle, J. Die Herero: Ein Beitrag zur Landes-, Volks- und Missionskunde. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1906.

Iselin, Isaak. Über die Geschichte der Menschheit. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976.

Kant, Immanuel. "Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik." Werke in Sechs Bänden. Ed. Wilhelm Weischedel. Vol. 6. Frankfurt a.M: Insel, 1964.

Langsdorff, Georg H. von. Voyages & Travels in Various Parts of the World. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968.

Lavater, Johann Caspar. Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind. London, 1798.

Martius, C.F.P.v. & Spix, J.B.v. Reise in Brasilien in den Jahren 1817-1820. 1823-1831. Ed. Karl Magdefrau. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Brockhaus, 1966.

Meiners Christoph. Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit. 1785; Königstein/Ts.: Scriptor, 1981.

Montagu, Mary Wortley. Letters from the Levant During the Embassy to Constantinople 1716-1718. 1838; New York: Arno, 1971.

Müller, Johannes. "Über die äusseren Geschlechtstheile der Buschmänninen." Archiv für Anatomie, Physiologie und wissenschaftliche Medizin. (1834): 319-345.

Niebuhr, Carsten. Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern. Kopenhagen: Nicolaus Möller, 1778.

Pfeiffer, Ida. Eine Frauenfahrt um die Welt. Wien: Carl Gerold, 1850.

Poeppig, Eduard. Über die Anden zum Amazonas. Ed. Herbert Butze. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1953.

Schiller, Friedrich. "Schriften zur Universalgeschichte" in Schillers Werke. Ed. Karl-Heinz Hahn. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1970.

Sömmerring, Samuel Thomas von. Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers vom Europäer. Frankfurt a.M., 1785.

Wangemann. Ein Reise-Jahr in Südafrika: Ausführliches Tagebuch über eine in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 ausgeführte Inspectionsreise durch die Missions-Stationen der Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft. Berlin, 1868.

Zimmermann, E.A.W. von, Taschenbuch der Reisen, oder unterhaltende Darstellung der Entdeckungen des 18. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1803.

Secondary sources:

Ahmed, Leila. "The Discourse of the Veil." Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992.

Asad, Talal, ed. "Two European Images of Non-European Rule." Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter. New York: Humanities, 1973.

Bade, Klaus J., ed. Imperialismus und Kolonialmission: Kaiserliches Deutschland und koloniales Imperium. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982.

Barrel, John. "Death on the Nile: Fantasy and the Literature of Tourism 1840-1860." Essays in Criticism 61.2 (1991): 97-127.

Baudet, Henri. Paradise on Earth: Some thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man. New Haven: Yale UP, 1965.

Bhabha, Homi K. "Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism." The Politics of Theory. Ed. Francis Barker et al. Colchester: U of Essex, 1983. 194-211.

Bitterli, Urs. Alte Welt - Neue Welt: Formen des europäisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Munchen: C. H. Beck, 1986.

Boening, John. "Herder and the White Man's Burden: the Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit and the Shaping of British Colonial Policy." Johann Gottfried Herder: Language, History and the Enlightenment. Ed. Wulf Koepke. Columbia: Camden House, 1990.

Brenner, Peter J., ed. Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der Deutschen Literatur. Frankfurt a.M: Suhrkamp, 1989.

---. "Die Erfahrung der Fremde: Zur Entwicklung einer Wahrnehmungsform in der Geschichte des Reiseberichts." Brenner 14-49.

Clifford, James, ed. Writing Culture: The Poetics & Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

De Vries, J. Lukas. Mission and Colonialism in Namibia. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1978.

Die Herero-Mission. Rheinische Missions-Traktate. Barmen, 1867.

Du Plessis, J. A History of Christian Mission in South Africa. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965.

Elias, Norbert. The Civilizing Process. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. New York: Urizen, 1978.

Essner, Cornelia. Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985.

Fabian, Johannes. Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object. New York: Columbia UP, 1983.

Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched Of The Earth. Trans. Constance Farrington. New York: Grove, 1963.

Feuser, Willfried F. "The Image of the Black in the Writings of Johann Gottfried Herder." Journal of European Studies 8 (1978): 109-128.

Fisch, Stefan. "Forschungsreisen im 19. Jahrhundert." Brenner 383-405.

Forster, Shirley. Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women, Travellers and Their Writings. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990.

Foucault, Michel. The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. 1966; New York: Vintage, 1973.

Frederiksen, Elke. "Der Blick in die Ferne. Zur Reiseliteratur von Frauen." Frauen Literatur Geschichte. Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Ed. v. Hiltrud Gnug, R. Möhrmann. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985. 104-122.

Gates, Henry Louis. Jr., ed. "Race", Writing, and Difference. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1986.

Gilli, Marita. "Georg Forster: Das Ergebnis einer Reise um die Welt." Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Ed. Hans-Wolf Jäger. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992. 251-274.

Gilman, Sander L. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." Gates 223-261.

---. "The Image of the Black in the Aesthetic Theory of the Eighteenth Century." On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982.

Greenblatt, Stephen. Learning to Curse. Essays in Early Modern Culture. London: Routledge, 1990.

Griep, Wolfgang. "Reiseliteratur im späten 18. Jahrhundert." Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur: Deutsche Aufklärung. Bd. 3. Ed. R. Grimminger. Carl Hanser, 1980.

Gründer, Horst. Welteroberung und Christentum: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1992.

Hall, Catherine. "Missionary Stories: Gender and Ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s." Cultural Studies. Ed. Grossberg et al. London: Routledge, 1992.

Halbfass, Wilhelm. India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding. Albany: SUNY, 1988.

Hazard, Paul. Die Krise des Europäischen Geistes. 1680-1715. Trans. Harriet Wegener. Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1939.

Herminghouse Patricia A. "Seeing Double: Ida Hahn-Hahn (1805-1880) and her Challenge to Feminist Criticism." Out of Line/Ausgefallen: The Paradox of Marginality in the Writings of Nineteenth-Century German Women. Ed.

Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres and Marianne Burkhard. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989.

Hoernle, Winifred. The Social Organization of the Nama and Other Essays. Ed. P. Carstens. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand UP, 1985.

Holborn, Hajo. A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945. New York: Knopf, 1969.

Hulme, Peter. Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797. London: Methuen, 1986.

Inden, Ronald. "Orientalist Constructions of India." Modern Asian Studies 20.3 (1986): 401-446.

Jäger, Hans-Wolf. "Reisefacetten der Aufklärungszeit." Brenner 261-281.

JanMohamed, Abdul R. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature." Gates 78-106.

Japp, Uwe. "Aufgeklärtes Europa und natürliche Südsee. Georg Forsters Reise um die Welt." Reise und Utopie: Zur Literatur der Spätaufklärung. Ed. Hans Joachim Piechotta. F. a. M: Suhrkamp, 1976.

Kohl, Karl-Heinz. Entzauberter Blick: Das Bild vom Guten Wilden und die Erfahrung der Zivilisation. Berlin: Medusa, 1981.

Krauss, Werner. "Zur Anthropologie des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Frühgeschichte der Menschheit im Blickpunkt der Aufklärung." Aufklärung. Berlin: Aufbau, 1987.

Kuper, Adam. "The Magician and the Missionary." South Africa and the Anthropologist. London: Routledge, 1986.

Kurze Übersicht über die fünfzigjährige Missionsarbeit im Hererolande. Barmen, 1894.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. A History of Christianity. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953.

Lau, Brigitte. Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time. Windhoek: National Archives, 1987.

Lewis, Norman. The Missionaries. New York: McGraw Hill, 1988.

Loth, Heinrich. Die Christliche Mission in Südwestafrika: Zur Destruktiven Rolle der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft beim Prozess der Staatsbildung in Südwestafrika (1842-1893). Berlin: Akademie, 1963.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1964.

Luttig, H.G. The Religious System and Social Organization of the Herero: A Study in Bantu Culture. Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1933.

Magli, Patrizia. "The Face and the Soul". Fragments for a History of the Human Body. Part II. Ed. Michel Feher et al. New York: Urzone, 1989. 86-127.

Malan J. S. Peoples of SWA/Namibia. Pretoria: HAUM, 1980.

Mani L. and R. Frankenberg. "The Challenge of Orientalism." Economy and Society 14.2 (1985): 174-192.

Mannoni, O. Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization. New York: Praeger, 1964.

Märker, Friedrich, ed. Johann Caspar Lavater: Physiognomische Fragmente. Munchen: Heimeran, 1948.

Melber, Henning. "Das doppelte Vermächtnis der Geschichte: Nationswerdung, Kolonisierungsprozeß und deutsche Fremdherrschaft in Namibia (ca. 1800-1914)." Diskurs: Bremer Beiträge zu Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft. 6. Bremen: U of Bremen, 1982.

Mies, Maria. "Social Origins of the Sexual Division of Labour." Women: The Last Colony. Ed. M. Mies et al. London: Zed, 1988. 67-95.

Mills, Sara. Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism. London: Routledge, 1991.

Mitchell, Timothy. Colonising Egypt. 1988; Berkely: U of California, 1991.

Möhrmann, Renate. "Die Gleichheitsideen der Ida Hahn-Hahn." Die andere Frau: Emanzipationsansätze deutscher Schriftstellerinnen im Vorfeld der Achtundvierziger-Revolution. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977. 85-117.

---. Ed. Frauenemanzipation im Deutschen Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1978.

Moravia, Sergio. "The Enlightenment and the Sciences of Man." History of Science. 18 (1980): 247-268.

Moritzen, Niels-Peter. "Koloniale Konzepte der protestantischen Mission." Bade 51-67.

Mossolow, N. Otjikango oder Gross Barmen: Ortsgeschichte der ersten Rheinischen Herero-Missionsstation in Südwestafrika 1844-1904. 4th. ed. Windhoek: Meinert, 1986.

Ohly, Rajmund. The Destabilization of the Herero Language. Windhoek: The Academy, 1987.

Olpp, J. Deutsche Missions und Segenstätten in Südwest beim Übergang der Kolonie in andre Hände. Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1922.

---. Die Kulturbedeutung der evangel. Rh. Mission für Südwest. Swakopmund, 1914.

Paczensky, Gert v. Teurer Segen: Christliche Mission und Kolonialismus. München: Albrecht Knaus, 1991.

Pagden, Anthony. European Encounters with the New World. New Haven: Yale UP, 1993.

Parry, Benita. "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse." Oxford Literary Review 9 (1987): 27-58.

Pelz, Annegret. "Europäerinnen und Orientalismus." Frauen - Literatur - Politik. Ed. A. Pelz et al. Hamburg: Argument, 1988. 205-218.

--- "von einer Fremde in die andere?" Reiseliteratur von Frauen. Deutsche Literatur von Frauen II. Ed. G. Brinker Gabler. München: Beck, 1988. 143-153.

Porter, Dennis. "Orientalism and Its Problems." Europe and Its Others. Ed. Francis Barker et al. Colchester: U of Essex, 1985. 179-193.

Popkin, Richard H. "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth Century Racism." Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture 3 (1973): 245-261.

Pratt, Mary Louise. Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Literature and Transculturation. London: Routledge, 1991.

---. "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen." Gates 138-162.

Prodolliet, Simone. Wider die Schamlosigkeit und das Elend der heidnischen Weiber: Die Basler Frauenmission und der Export des europäischen Frauenideals in die Kolonien. Zürich: Limmat, 1987.

Richter, Dieter. Das Fremde Kind: Zur Entstehung der Kindheitsbilder des bürgerlichen Zeitalters. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1987.

Sadji, Uta. Der Negermythos am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. Eine Analyse der Rezeption von Reisebilder über Schwarzafrika. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1979.

Said, Edward. Orientalism. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Schiebinger, Londa. "The Anatomy of Difference: Race & Sex in Eighteenth Century Science." Eighteenth Century Studies 23.4 (1990): 387-405.

Sengle, Friedrich. "Reisebeschreibung." Biedermeierzeit. Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution. 1815-1848. Bd. 2. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1972.

Slotkin, J.S. Readings in Early Anthropology. Chicago: Aldine, 1965.

Spurr, David. The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration. Durham: Duke UP, 1993.

Stein, Gerd. Europamüdigkeit und Verwilderungsversuche. Ethnoliterarische Lesebücher. Bd. 3. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1984.

Stepan Nancy. The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960. London: Macmillan, 1982.

---. "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science." The Anatomy of Racism. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 1990. 38-57.

Stewart, William. E. Die Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorie im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts. Bonn: Bouvier, 1978.

Stocking George W. Victorian Anthropology. New York: Free Press, 1987.

---. "French Anthropology in 1800" Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1982. 13-41.

---. Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology. Madison: U of Wisconsin, 1988. 3-17.

Streese, Konstanze. "Cric?" - "Crac!" Vier Literarische Versuche, mit dem Kolonialismus umzugehen. Bern: Peter Lang, 1990.

Thomas, Nicholas. "Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda." Comparative Studies in Society and History 34. 2 (1992): 366-389.

Vedder, H. "The Herero." The Native Tribes of South West Africa. Ed. C.H.L. Hahn. Cape Town: Cape Times, 1928. 153-208.

Warmbold, Joachim. Germania in Africa: Germany's Colonial Literature. New York: Peter Lang, 1989.

Watt, Helga Schutte. "Ida Pfeiffer: A Nineteenth Century Woman Travel Writer. The German Quarterly 64.3 (1991): 339-351.

Weber, Gay. "Science and Society in Nineteenth Century Anthropology." History of Science 12 (1974): 260-283.

Weigel, Sigrid. "Die nahe Fremde - das Territorium des "Weiblichen". Zum Verhältnis von "Wilden" und "Frauen" im Diskurs der Aufklärung". Die andere Welt: Studien zum Exotismus. Ed. T. Koebner, G. Pickerodt. Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum, 1987. 171-199.

Weingarten, Michael. "Menschenarten oder Menschenrassen: Die Kontroverse zwischen Georg Forster und Immanuel Kant." Georg Forster in seiner Epoche. Ed. Gerhart Pickerodt. Berlin: Argument, 1982.

White, Hayden. Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1990.

Wuthenow, Ralph-Rainer. Die Erfahrene Welt. Europäische Reiseliteratur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1980.

---. Vom Geiste der Entdeckungen. Reisebericht und -tagebuch in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Bild und der Spiegel. Europäische Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. München: Hanser, 1984.

---. Autobiographien und Memoiren, Tagebücher, Reiseberichte. Deutsche Literatur - Eine Sozialgeschichte. Ed. H.A. Glaser. Bd. 4. Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1980.

--- Reiseliteratur in der Zeit der Aufklärung. Aufklärung. Ein literaturwissenschaftliches Studienbuch. Ed. Hans-Friedrich Wessels. Königstein/Ts. 1984.

Zantop Susanne. "Dialectics and Colonialism: The Underside of the Enlightenment." Impure Reason: Dialectic of Enlightenment in Germany. Eds. W. Daniel Wilson and Robert C. Holub. Detroit: Wayne State, 1993.