THE MEDITERRANEAN IN TRAVEL LITERATURE

CENTRAL EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE 17TH CENTURY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

EDITED BY
ANNA-MARIA PERISSUTTI
FRANCESCO VISENTIN
JIŘÍ HRABAL

FORUM

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III. Looking at the Mediterranean

Introduction

Anna-Maria Perissutti, Francesco Visentin, Jiří Hrabal

Before the development of mass media and mass travel, travelogue texts represented an important source of familiarisation with countries and nations near and far for every national society. The blue sea between Europe and Africa has always been a popular destination for travellers, being an important crossroads between Western and Eastern peoples. Thus, the travelogues written between the 17th and early 20th century represent an important body of texts testifying to intercultural experience.

The present volume, *The Mediterranean in Travel Literature. Central European travellers in the Mediterranean from the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century* focuses on travelogues written by Central European travellers who explored the Mediterranean region between the 17th and early 20th centuries. It arises from the works of the international conference 'The Mediterranean in Travelogue Literature', held at the University of Udine on October 2-3, 2024, as part of the European project 'Research into representations of intercultural contacts in Czech travelogue texts from the Mediterranean up to 1918, using digital humanities'[1]. The conference succeeded in fostering interdisciplinary reflection on representations of intercultural contacts in travelogues from the Mediterranean by bringing together scholars from various fields, including humanistic geography, literature, text linguistics, and cultural anthropology.

[1] The three-year project, funded by the EU programme 'Cooperation Partnership in Higher Education - Erasmus+' and coordinated by Professor Jiří Hrabal from Palacký University in Olomouc in cooperation with the University of Granada (Spain), the University of Zagreb (Croatia), the University of Udine (Italy) and the Moravian Library in Brno, examines intercultural relations in Czech travel texts from the Mediterranean region up to 1918. The project covers approximately 120 travelogues totalling roughly 15,000 pages, which were published in magazines or books. The project began in December 2022 and is planned to end in December 2025. Its main output will be a digital library of travel texts, which will be interactively linked to a digital multi-thematic atlas through topics focused on intercultural contact.

This book is divided into three sections, each of which explores the topic of travelogues from the Mediterranean from a different perspective. Together, they present a multi-thematic overview of the national and cultural representations of the Mediterranean in travelogues written by Central European authors.

Section one, 'Approaching Writing Travel', introduces the topics that serve as a common thread throughout the book: the relationship between geography and literature; the construction of narrative representations of alterity; cross-national perceptions and images of 'other' cultures. The first chapter, 'Travel Writing: Toward a Geographical Approach', written by Davide Papotti, provides an overview of potential geographical perspectives on travel literature. These are not limited to an analysis of the 'spatial' content of odyssey accounts; instead, literature is used as a 'diagnostic index' to understand the relationships between an author's personality, a given society and the values assigned to places, landscapes and territorial belonging. The author aims to illustrate the two different perspectives that geography can offer in the study of odeporic literature: 'integrators', or perspectives of analysis that accompany and combine with literary criticism tools to offer complementary cognitive integration; and 'extenders', or approaches that seek to open up less obvious and less commonly used perspectives of investigation within literary studies. The second chapter, 'The Representation of Alterity in the Mediterranean *Maritime* Travelogue of Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea from the 17th Century'[2] by Jiří Hrabal, presents a unique travelogue from the 17th century within the context of Czech (and Central European) travel literature. The travelogue was first published in its entirety in 2025. The author, Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea, later became a prominent doctor and dean of the Prague Faculty of Medicine. In his youth, he voluntarily entered the service of a papal galley, and his travel diary primarily recounts this experience, which lasted more than two years. In addition to outlining the historical framework, Hrabal focuses on the construction of a narrative representation of alterity.

The third chapter of this section, 'Imagological Reading of the *Travel Trifles* by Antun Nemčić', written by Dubravka Dubravec Labaš, introduces the theoretical framework of 'imagology'. Developed in 1950 as a branch of comparative literature, this discipline is primarily concerned with the study of cross-national perceptions and images as expressed in literary discourse. Using this framework, the author analyses *Putositnice* [Travel Trifles, 1845] by the Croatian writer Antun Nemčić (1813-1849) and not only defines it as a travel diary, but also as one of the finest examples of Croatian Romantic prose.

The second section of the book, 'The Italian Grand Tour and the North-east

[2] For consistency reasons, all references in the bibliography will be given in their original language, while translations of the titles will be provided within the texts as needed.

of the Adriatic Sea', is a collection of travelogues to Italy written by Central European travellers in the 19th century. At this time, travel writing about Italy and Istria was already a well-established literary genre. In fact, Italy had been a popular destination for travellers from Central Europe since the Middle Ages, when Rome, alongside Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela, became one of the main places of pilgrimage. For centuries, it was the gateway for European pilgrims and travellers heading to the Near East and Palestine, and from there to the Holy Land. The golden age of Italy as a destination for Central European travellers, with its renowned cultural and historical centres (Venice, Florence, Rome and Naples), fell between the 16th and 19th centuries, before the rise of modern tourism. This second section opens with the chapter 'Reading Venice Through the Eyes of Three Czech Travellers from the Late 19th Century' by Anna-Maria Perissutti and Francesco Visentin, which presents an analysis of the travel books written by three Czech authors who visited Venice around the 1870s and 1880s: *Výlet do Benátek* [Trip to Venice, 1874] by Jindřich Lorenz (1854-1935), *Cesta z Vídně do Terstu, Benátek, Římu*, *a popis Italie* [Journey from Vienna to Trieste, Venice, Rome and Description of Italy, 1881] by Ludevít Rajmund Pazdírek (1850-1914), and *Cesta do Lublaně a do Benátek* [Journey to Ljubljana and Venice, 1888] by Jan Jelínek. The analysis focuses on three themes related to the travel experience: mobility, gastronomical aspects, and cultural heritage. The data collected enables the authors to provide a geo-literary historical overview to discuss and problematise the long-standing relationship between Venice and tourism, and to describe how Central European tourists lived, perceived and narrated the city in that period.

The second chapter of this section, 'Ideological Travelogue: Machar's Image of Rome in its Historical Context' by Jana Vrajová, is a case study that illustrates the ideological distortion of the travelogue genre. Using the example of the text *Řím* [Rome, 1907] by Czech author Josef Svatopluk Machar (1864-1942), the author demonstrates Machar's 'a priori' approach to historical and intellectual concepts of antiquity and Christianity. In his travel book *Řím*, Machar presents a testament to his admiration for ancient culture, viewing everything that came with the Christian era as merely decadent. Despite its ideological approach, the book was very popular with readers and was reprinted twelve times over the course of a decade. Negative reviews could have suggested that *Řím* was likely to be unsuccessful with readers, but the opposite occurred: Machar's ideological narrator convinced the readers not only of the appeal of the travelogue genre but also of its potential as a platform for expressing opinions.

The section continues with 'Visions of the South: Naples, Pompeii and Ischia in Czech Travelogues from the Second Half of the 19th Century', by Gaia Seminara, which examines data regarding the experiences of Czech travellers through the central and Southern regions of the Italian peninsula, focusing on

the areas of Naples and Pompeii and the island of Ischia. This study examines five travelogues written and published between 1869 and 1897 by authors from diverse contexts and socio-cultural backgrounds. The analysis considers the variety of material offered by the sources regarding genre and style, as well as information about the authors and their surroundings. It then examines the main narratological elements that the authors selected to recount their experiences and their conception of 'the South'.

In his chapter, 'Two Worlds of the 19th Century (on the Example of Selected Czech Travelogues from Istria and Kvarner)', Matija Ivačić transports us to the Kvarner region from the mid- to the late 19th century. The author examines three travelogues: *Cestopis obsahující cestu do horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Bavorsko se zvláštním ohledem na slavjanské živly* [A Travelogue Covering a Journey to Northern Italy and Beyond Through Tyrol and Bavaria, with Special Emphasis on the Slavic Population, 1843], published by Ján Kollár and the works of Karel Liebscher *Na pobřeží Istrie* [On the Coast of Istria, 1888] and Karel Konrád *Quarner*o, 1890. The latter two travelogues were written almost five decades after the one by Kollár. This period was marked by significant technical, ideological, political, and cultural transformations. The author of the study demonstrates that these works belong to two distinct eras (pre-modern and modern), shaped by changes such as state transformation, ideological shifts, the widespread adoption of railways and the emergence of tourism.

The final chapter in this section is Irena Prosenc's 'Narrating Intercultural Contacts: Alberto Fortis and The Carniolan Intellectuals'. It differs slightly from the previous ones in terms of the traveller's origin, the historical period and the motivation behind the travel, as the focus is on Alberto Fortis (1741-1803), a prominent figure of the Italian Enlightenment, who made several journeys to the Kvarner Gulf and Dalmatia. His *Viaggio in Dalmazia* [Travels into Dalmatia, 1774] brought him fame across Europe and sparked an interest in the region. In addition to extensively travelling along the Adriatic coast, Fortis journeyed from Trieste to Ljubljana across the Karst and documented his journey in *Lettera orittografica* [The Oryctographic Letter, 1778]. Although it is considered one of his minor works, it provides an important insight into the author's fascination with Carniola, particularly its Karst phenomena, and his connections with Balthasar Hacquet, a naturalist active in Carniola. Fortis' books were part of the extensive library of Žiga Zois, a leading promoter of science during that period, and were likely available to his intellectual circle. While Fortis' interactions with intellectuals in Carniola did not reach the same extent as his connections in Dalmatia, his exchanges with Hacquet and the presence of his books suggest a connection between the Carniolan intellectual milieu and the Italian Enlightenment. Drawing on critical studies and printed

sources, largely comprising texts published by Fortis himself, this article highlights the key aspects of his travels and explorations, as well as his interactions with representatives of the Carniolan Enlightenment.

The third section of the book, 'Looking at the Mediterranean', focuses on travel writing by Czech authors who ventured to regions such as Spain, Greece, and the Middle East, which had largely been overlooked throughout most of modern history. For centuries, except for pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela, most European travel did not extend beyond the Pyrenees. The Grand Tour rarely included destinations in Spain or Greece. The chapters in this section demonstrate how the international perception of these countries as suitable travel destinations changed slowly during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The section opens with the chapter 'Off the Beaten Track. Czech Travels to Spain around 1900' by Sarah Lemmen. The author's investigation focuses on Czech travellers at the end of the 19th century who ventured to Andalusia, Catalonia or Galicia in search of adventures off the beaten track. These were highly educated, expert travellers such as Jiří Guth, Antonín Pikhart and Božena Heritesová. They considered the Spanish provinces to be backward, conservative and traditional, as well as highly Catholic. However, they also considered them to be picturesque and authentic because they were only half European and quite exotic. Based on Czech travelogues from the late 19th and early 20th century, this chapter contextualises descriptions of Spanish landscapes, culture, food and living conditions, by comparing them with those of other Mediterranean destinations (Corfu, Elba, and North Africa). It shows how the Southern European periphery was conceptualised from a central European perspective, what constituted modernity, what constituted backwardness, how the local population was perceived and, finally, how these descriptions reflected their Czech national identity.

Jiří Měsíc's chapter 'A Thematic Analysis of Pavel Durdík's Book *Zápasy s býky (Corrida de toros)*' focuses on the book written by the Czech physician, ethnographer, traveller, translator and writer Pavel Durdík, who, despite his profound focus, erudition, language, clarity, and understanding of Spanish culture, remains relatively obscure within academia. His book can be considered in every respect the most significant work on the 'corrida de toros' by a Czech author to date. This chapter delves into Durdík's first-hand experience of the 'corrida' he witnessed in Madrid on April 22, 1894, at the now-defunct Plaza de toros de la Fuente del Berro (1874-1934), and focuses on two main protagonists: Rafael Guerra (1862-1941) and Antonio Reverte (1868-1903). Durdík provides a meticulous description of all aspects of the 'corrida' from that period, many of which have since become obsolete, such as the killing of horses in the bullring. Despite receiving limited recognition, the author demonstrates that Durdík's work is on

a par with, or even surpasses, that of authors such as Ernest Hemingway, whose book *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) explored the topic of the 'corrida' almost 40 years later. For this reason, Durdík is considered a precursor to many other non-Spanish writers who later wrote on this subject. However, his work on the 'corrida' remains largely unknown internationally due to a lack of recognition and the absence of translated editions.

The section continues with 'Two Parallel Worlds – Different Impressions of Greece and Athens in the Texts of Czech Travellers from the End of the 19th Century' by Suzana Kos. The author analyses two Czech travelogues from the second half of the 19th century that depict travels to Greece and, most of all, Athens. The texts are *Athény* [Athens] by František Velišský, published in 1878, and *Athény. Črty cestopisné a vzpomínky z minulosti* [Athens. Travelogue notes and memories from the past] by Justin Vacláv Prášek, published in 1886. The focus is on the striking differences in the two travellers' impressions, which reinforce the idea that travel writing is heavily influenced by the writer's attitude and expectations. This, in turn, reinforces the idea that the genre itself is a reflection of the previously held views of the travellers on the places they visited.

In David Jirsa's 'Two Types of Travellers to the Holy Land at the Turn of the 20th Century', we are taken to the Near East. We are introduced to J. J. Svátek and František Klement, two Czech authors who were largely forgotten, but who made several trips to Palestine and Syria towards the end of the 19th century. They later published travel books about their journeys. While Svátek follows the rich tradition of pilgrims to Israel, mainly describing his impressions of the holy places, Klement is a more 'romantic' type of traveller. He openly disdains the achievements of modern civilisation, such as trains and luxury hotels. He travels around Palestine on horseback with a rifle on his back and has a witty and ironic approach to the holy places he visits. Both authors are representative to some extent in their approach to travel. In their texts, we can observe how their different travel goals are reflected in their perception of the described space, or in the way they construct the alterity of the local population. Svátek views the space and its inhabitants from a distance, with a sense of disdain or at least surprise. In contrast, Klement feels a sense of intimacy with the space of the Orient. He is able to communicate with and befriend the local Arabs and Bedouins, offering a deeper insight into the everyday lives of the people of the Holy Land. However, his view is clearly distorted by Orientalist prejudices about the 'other'.

Overall, the contributions in this volume address the under-researched topic of travel diaries written by Central European authors who travelled to the Mediterranean between the 17th and early 20th centuries. These texts are valuable documents that bear witness to intercultural experiences, helping us to familiarise ourselves with the cultures of other regions and gain important insights into our own culture by comparing it with that of the 'other'.

I.
Approaching Travel Writing

Travel Writing: Toward a Geographical Approach*

Davide Papotti**

Travel literature as a meeting point between geography and literature

A travel narrative can be approached from different investigative angles, depending on the disciplinary interests of the researcher, while maintaining an explicit preference for elements that align closely with the investigative focus of a particular field. From the inherently interdisciplinary perspective of travel literature studies, the specific contribution of geography can reasonably be identified as its particular focus on the spatial component. Travel literature, also known as 'hodoeporics'[1], is an intrinsically comparative and cosmopolitan genre. It stems from, and finds its 'raison d'être' in, encounters with geographical and cultural 'otherness', which are linked to physical movement on the ground. This genre evolves in a differentiated and multifaceted manner, approaching and overlapping with one of the primary aims of geography, which is embedded in the etymology of the discipline's name: to 'write' and describe the Earth[2]. Therefore, combining literary analysis with the conceptual and methodological contributions of scholars traditionally focusing on territorial descriptions seems to be a promising area of interdisciplinary convergence.

When analysing the interdisciplinary intersections between geography and travel literature, I will categorise the potential contributions of geography into two subgroups. The first, which I will call 'integrators', includes cultural stimuli that can enrich the interpretation of travel texts based on the specific disciplinary interests of the field without straying too far from the literary perspective of analysis and reading.

* The present chapter is a revised version of an essay previously published in Italian (Papotti, 2003).

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[1] A term reactivated by the works of Luigi Monga in 1996 and 2003.

[2] Dematteis, 1985.

The second group, which I define as 'extenders', opens up complementary research perspectives that can offer novel viewpoints to literary scholars of travel writing, at least partially. The two categories are not separated by impermeable barriers, and exchanges between them are frequent and valued. For the sake of clarity in the development of the argument, it will be useful to distinguish between the two functions that geography can offer travel studies: the 'vertical' deepening of enquiry and the 'horizontal' broadening of research perspectives.

Geographic integrators

The literary text as a document of historical geography

Given the profound historical dimension of human mobility within the modern Western tradition, a travel account is often also a literary journey 'in the footsteps of'. Consequently, every travel narrative gains the value of documentary testimony[3] through the overlay of multiple voices. One of the primary interests of historical geography is the reconstruction of past landscape realities as accurately as possible. Although partial and filtered through the author's motivations and specific personal interests, the narrative description of a territory as it appeared one, two or five hundred years ago represents an opportunity for the historical geographer to 'add colour' to environmental reconstructions based on sedimentary, geological and botanical analyses, types of habitation and beyond.

The challenge of reconstructing historical landscapes lies in the difficulty of fully restoring a vanished territorial and historical scenario in all its perceptual entirety, while also taking into account the complex dynamics involved[4].

A landscape fights its battle against time and physiologically links its survival to a perpetual capacity to adapt to anthropic and natural stimuli that drive evolution, within a process of continuous rebalancing. Drawing on descriptive images, like those presented in travel literature at various levels and gradients, offers significant potential for documenting and reconstructing past landscapes.

Landscape as a historical testimony of spatial sensitivity

However, it is not just a matter of reconstructing the past, but also of evoking a sense of historical landscape. Each era embodies a specific form of territorial

[3] Botta, 1989.
[4] Boncompagni, 1995.

organisation and expresses a unique relationship with it, perceiving its characteristics and assigning qualitative values and attractions or repulsions. The way in which a landscape scene is described and judged evolves over time, even if it remains substantially unchanged or consistent with its basic structures and recognisable features. What might once have been seen as a mere 'spatial obstacle'[5] can become an attractive feature, as is the case with mountain landscapes.

Different ways of reading a territory are related not only to different perceptual dispositions, but also to a set of prior expectations: the creative mental processes that produce images of the environment before the landscape itself exists. This ability to focus on preliminary iconography is, in turn, related to the gradient of image circulation within a society[6].

The sense of surprise and renewal experienced while travelling is rooted in the subtle interplay between 'assimilation' and 'adaptation', as observed through the geographical lens of the purely spatial component. This relationship is thus between the weight and consistency of the travellers' personal cultural baggage and bias – their impermeability to spaces, or lack of curiosity about the live travel experience – and their open willingness to engage with and immerse themselves in the specificities of a territory, even if they are unpredictable and sometimes difficult to understand.

The first attitude is expressed by the traveller who moves in search of confirmation of what they already know, what they have already learned, and their expectations on the subject. The embodiment of the second is the one who travels in a position of 'listening' to the territory itself. The former prefers answers, preferably pre-existing ones, while the latter does not fear questions, even if they ultimately remain essentially unanswered[7].

In this sense, the geographical approach to travel literature is inherently comparative, seeking continuous comparisons between collective cultural heritage and individual specificity, and between shared spatial images and 'idiolectic' images structured in strictly personal reportage languages[8].

Established landscape and innovative landscape

The issue of the historical contextualisation of landscape sensitivity must be understood from a geographical perspective as the reconstruction of a shared spatial sensitivity. One of the investigative directions that geography, with its conceptual and research tools, can pursue lies precisely in verifying the original-

[5] Porteous, 1996, focuses on the definition of 'environmental aesthetics'.
[6] Scaramellini, 1993.
[7] Scaramellini, 1980.
[8] Corna Pellegrini, Demetrio, 1997.

ity of the contribution of a specific writer. This involves determining, in travel writing, the degree of spatial sensitivity inherited and shared by an entire society (in the sense outlined, for example, by Simon Schama's studies[9] on 17th-century Dutch society), and what constitutes the specifically personal component. In analysing a travel literature text, the task is to determine whether an author's voice aligns with the prevailing spatial perception in the community or stands out as a solo with marked innovative and provocative capacity.

Alongside territorial attachment and rootedness of the inhabitants, the traveller's appreciation also falls within what Yi-Fu Tuan[10] defines as topophilia, the 'love of place'. Topophilia is not a fixed attitude over time but changes with the evolution of social psychology. A significant example is what an educated man in the Renaissance sense – that is, a scholar of various and dispersed disciplines – could derive from a landscape observation: not only aesthetic reasoning or historical reflections but also scientific notes and technical theories[11]. Consider that type of global observation of the landscape, ranging from panoramic to botanical, geological, and zoological aspects, which constitutes a unifying continuum in many travel writings between the 16th and 19th centuries. Reading some pages of Goethe's Italian Journey reveals how much the scientific aspect has disappeared from the narrative landscape over the last two centuries[12].

Comparative analysis aimed at identifying recurring motifs and the most established and shared characteristics of landscape analysis should not only be conducted with contemporary literary culture, as a kind of 'indexing of occurrences', but also from an interdisciplinary perspective with the figurative, artistic, and musical culture of the same period. This perspective opens possible analyses regarding spatial description, ranging from the frequency of toponyms to the examination of landscape images, from the study of mythological heritage in environmental perception to the recognition of borrowed images and lexicon from contemporary geographical popular discourses.

Finally, the field of contextualisation must be extended – following the prompts of the geography of perception and the psychology of space – not only to the cultural component of social debate but also to the psychological commonality of reactions and shared emotional imagery. For example, the American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan illustrates the historical evolution of the fear component associated with landscape manifestations in his volume *Landscapes of Fear*[13]. By

[9] Schama, 1995.
[10] Tuan, 1974.
[11] Camporesi, 1992.
[12] Balmas, 1992.
[13] Tuan, 1979.

reconstructing the territorial and environmental components that have succeeded each other in the 'dictionary of fears' throughout human history as a large, synthetic fresco, Tuan provides an illuminating account of how our psychological perception of spatial archetypes, such as forests, mountains and the depths of the sea, has evolved. He also shows how these perceptions vary by geographical area and historical period.

Themes of selective spatial sensitivity

It is also important to investigate the different hierarchies established among the various images encountered during the experience of movement, as perceived by one or more authors. Every traveller, whether explicitly or unconsciously, creates a ranking of the things that struck them the most through their travel notes. The selection can occur categorically (for example, the anthropic landscape highlighted over the physical one, the marine landscape over the mountainous, the botanical over the zoological, the indoor environments over the outdoor spaces, to name just a few) or as a pinpoint focus on certain environmental categories: mountain peaks, rivers, bridges, etc.

When an author becomes almost obsessively attentive to their chosen subject, the descriptive detail consequently assumes significant documentary value, and the travel account shines with an informational potential comparable to that of a technical treatise. In this sense, geographical investigation is similar to the approach of microhistory, which uses biographical documentary elements to create the most detailed possible description of an event and a location – a 'cosmos', as indicated by the subtitle of Carlo Ginzburg's famous book *Il formaggio e i vermi*[14], or, more precisely, a 'microcosm', as Claudio Magris suggests in his 'travel in the near' exercises[15]. This approach can then be extended to a broader environmental framework[16].

The analysis of imprints and benchmark stones

In some cases, a particular perceptual preference for an object or component of the territory can gradually transform into a tool for judgment and a general image through which to understand reality. This persistent value of a spatial image can be defined as an 'inertia gradient', identifying and defining how much a specific landscape remains imprinted on an author's mind, influencing their perception of everything else. This inertia gradient may persist

[14] Ginzburg, 1976.
[15] Magris, 1997.
[16] Cipolla, 1973.

throughout the narrative, acting as an interpretative key for everything that surrounds it.

Sometimes, true leitmotifs emerge within a travelogue that mark the unfolding of the travel story, page after page. Certain dominant images become fixed, creating a kind of musical 'basso continuo', whether drawn from formative experiences in the traveller's homeland or acquired during their previous travelling adventures. These images are not necessarily tied to physical space; they can also involve anthropic scenarios[17] that unfold within it.

A fixed idea, concern or emotion can very well have an impact and influence how we perceive the environment while travelling (let's consider, for instance, the stylistic and tonal shifts occurring in a travel diary when unfortunate events such as robbery, meteorological disasters or shipwrecks are experienced).

Hodoeporic meteorology

In the analysis of thematic content, certain topics may become significant enough to warrant independent, in-depth study. This kind of investigation is more than just a 'crossing' of topics; it becomes a lens through which to observe space, providing a starting point for further reflection. Consider, for example, the importance and richness of travellers' meteorological observations, in terms of both the objective significance of climatic conditions and the whims of the seasons during itinerant travel by horse, carriage or sea in technologically influenced contexts. These reflections were deeply influenced by the 'sailor's weather bulletin', and they offer extraordinary stylistic opportunities, providing chances to display rhetorical virtuosity and narrative pauses of colour-descriptive emphasis. They also provide important information about attitudes towards the surrounding environment.

It seems to me that the practice of a sort of 'hodoeporic meteorology' could be of considerable interest to demonstrate that the fateful 'what's the weather like' is not only – or at least not always and necessarily – a verbal filler in the absence of better topics.

The 'spatial gradient'

Among these 'complementary' factors offered by the discipline of geography, the one that logically might be expected as the first and most logical to analyse remains that of the descriptive levels of space. I have not left this element for last because of a lower hierarchical value, but rather because I wanted to first clear

[17] According to the evocative interpretative key of 'landscape as theater' proposed by Eugenio Turri, 1998.

the field by starting with what I hope are somewhat less obvious routes, moving away from the misconception that identifies the 'geographical gradient' of a travel account with the space – quantitatively measurable in lines, paragraphs, and pages – devoted to the description of a territory, particularly the landscape views.

This is certainly a dimension of great interest to geography, but more as primary data to be processed, as a preliminary starting point, rather than as a goal to be set; limiting oneself to it would reduce the hoped-for interdisciplinary operation to a simple thematic listing of occurrences. The complexity of the spatial image proposed by a text goes far beyond the simple, direct descriptive data.

Even within this greater attention to the points of an author's most pronounced geographical inspiration, the interpretative work on the data is more significant than the simple compilation of a list. Consider, for example, the promising investigations into the relationship between the narrative attention given to the journey itself or, in other words, the act of travelling, compared with the focus of the reportage on the destination or final goal.

Geographical 'extenders'

Alongside the complementary perspectives observed so far – those we have defined as geographical 'integrators' in fields of inquiry frequented by travel literature criticism, but which could nonetheless benefit from closer interdisciplinary collaboration – some research strands are identified here that, if not exactly 'originally new,' can nevertheless boast a greater degree of novelty and thus contribute not only to a qualitative improvement in the depth of investigations but also to a broadening of the analytical horizons.

Space as an ordering criterion

One of the main directions in which geography can manifest its contribution concerns the possibility (or necessity) of cataloguing travel literature[18]. Beyond the easily observed temporal sedimentation, through the ages, of travel documents, the conceptual tools of geography can open some alternative doors to the primary chronological criterion. The spatial criterion, assumed as the primary form of investigation, leads to the integration of the temporal principle of cataloguing and illustrating travel literature and calls for a reshuffling of the cards in favour of the geographical perspective.

The spatial perspective is, moreover, the one adopted by many local-scale studies, structured around descriptions of a precise locality occurring over time by various travellers. Beyond this mere belonging data, geography can suggest

[18] Castelnovi, 1997.

other contexts of belonging and 'cataloguing' of prose. One can thus recover national identities of origin (the differences inherent in the various national cultures of the authors are reflected in the orientations of their spatial perceptions) and regional heritages within the same nation[19].

It is also possible to group by spheres of peregrination, studying the recurrence and persistence of specific itineraries in the travel practices of a given era and nation. The frequency of these itineraries can shed light on the 'environmental preferences' of a culture, revealing the geographical consequences of tastes and sensibilities.

Regions and borders

A 'regionalising' perspective in approaching travel literature focuses on a primary geographical concern: the perception of identity borders. When and where do travellers perceive 'shifts' in their journey, clues that confirm the sensation of crossing a territorial boundary between two different entities? Investigating the presence and role of borders in travel narratives opens a window into the sense of identity related to a nation or a region. This category does not only include visible political borders easily recognised and perceived by travellers (such as the role customs and 'rites of passage' at State or regional frontiers play in travel accounts, which is a well-recognised element in travel literature criticism), but also cultural and immaterial borders that influence the spatial organisation of the territory.

This discussion also involves the distinction, consolidated among historians and political geographers, between 'State' and 'Nation,' the latter referring to the ethno-cultural identity of human groups[20]. Indeed, underlying and implicit in the narrative practice of travel reporting is a personal regionalisation by the author, who organises and records impressions within a system of identification, through sensory and cognitive perception, of the distinct characteristics of the different regions they cross. Recording ambiguous 'grey areas' and territorial transitions during the writing process offers interesting insights into geography, a subject that is constitutionally focused on gradients and partitions.

Geography of movement

The theme of movement calls for renewed interest, especially among readers with a strong geographic curiosity, in the modes of travel. One can seek correlations between the means of transport adopted by traveller-narrators and the

[19] Cerreti, 1997.
[20] Anderson, 1983.

nature of spatial perceptions reported in their writings. Here, a new possibility of classification opens up, capable of distinguishing a possible 'equine hodoeporics,' a 'marine hodoeporics,' a 'cycling hodoeporics,' and so forth. Beyond any deterministic claim, a comparative reflection on the specificities of different modes of travel can help contextualise and better understand certain observations about space contained in the texts, with careful attention to affinities found among those travelling by the same means, and, conversely, to differences present in the writings of those who traverse the same spaces by different means.

Geography of the senses

What is often underestimated, within the dominance of the visual that has characterised the 'thought of travel' in its close relationship with figurative culture, is the existence of alternative sensory landscapes, which writing often faithfully records. The image of the modern traveller, 'cellophane-wrapped' and protected by artificial filters from exposure to the sensory currents of places, makes us forget how travel narratives of the past often richly documented soundscapes[21], olfactory landscapes, tactile landscapes, and taste landscapes[22]. Investigating these sensory types and the traces they leave in the narrative account could contribute to restoring a well-rounded dimension of the environmental image.

Metaphorical load

The associative gradient is a feature of primary interest for the geographer, both within a single text and in comparisons among multiple texts. Each author, also in relation to previous travel experiences, can assemble a series of geographic similes or metaphors that seek to better reproduce on the page the environmental reality of a place through the evocation of other landscape scenarios, presumably more accessible to the shared collective imagination. Analysing this comparative gradient in travel writing can shed light on the geographic imaginary available in each era and cultural context. Filtered through the analysis of elements of a territory that are considered characteristic and, so to speak, emblematic, the associative process illuminates the perceptual selection mechanisms of environmental reality. Identifying similarities is an act that, even in geography, inevitably involves value scales, which can be significant in studying territorial sensitivity expressed by an era or a specific cultural context.

[21] Studied in their complexity by Richard Murray Schafer, 1977.
[22] Porteous, 1990.

Cartography and literature

Cartographic science has historically been closely connected to geographic knowledge. Maps serve as tools to visualise the level of 'cartographic literacy' achieved by a given society. The traveller is, par excellence, a user of cartography even to this day[23]. However, this practice does not always or necessarily reflect itself in travel literature. The presence of maps in published travel works (whether reproduced inside or outside the text) is of great interest to geographers, not only for their graphic-symbolic value but also as a complement to the history of cartography studies[24].

The presence of maps in travel narratives can also be indirect, limited to textual descriptions of maps.

The appearances of maps in travel accounts, regardless of their nature, are of great importance to cartography and historical geography studies because they provide a valuable example of readers' response to the cartographic object and open windows onto how and when maps were consulted, in what form they were presented to the traveller, what the traveller thought of them, etc[25].

Literary geography and tourism geography

The study of travel literature intersects with geographical disciplines within the field of tourism geography. The 'literary patina' has been quickly absorbed by tourist catalogues into the vast arsenal of potential attraction factors. Territorial images proposed by tourism operators in marketing increasingly refer to the literary tradition that celebrated a certain region or landscape. Associated with a preferably 'elevated' and 'noble' connotation, the literary dimension lends itself very well to instrumental use by tourism operators and provides a broad repertoire of 'keywords' and decorative and descriptive lexicon.

The experiment – carried out also with European funding – of creating about twenty 'Literary Parks' in Southern Italy[26], together with the decades-long activity of the Nievo Foundation, has, in a way, 'officialised', even in the Italian context, the consecration of literature as a source of tourist attraction[27]. The study of this meta-literary use of the narrative and poetic heritage involves the travel literature repertoire in a leading role.

[23] Bianchi, 1980.
[24] Conley, 1992 and 1996.
[25] Licini, 1997.
[26] Vavassori, 2000.
[27] Nievo, 1998, 2000.

Literary geography and sense of identity

The identity and attachment to places contained or suggested in literature not only involve potential visitors but also have repercussions (or even immediate and primary influences) on the resident population. The literary repertoire can play an important role in the birth, consolidation, or renewal of a sense of territorial belonging. Here too, it is a potential meta-literary investigation to be conducted in the field, especially in those 'outposts' – often somewhat isolated, as if situated on a secondary and somewhat neglected front – of communication between literature and society that are local libraries.

Verifying the role played by travel literature in shaping thought and inhabiting practices aligns with the geographic study stream of territorial rooting and the formation of mental images.

The exemplification conducted thus far – a brief 'journey' through the possible relationships between geography and travel literature – does not aspire to be exhaustive, but rather to demonstrate the richness and variety of this interdisciplinary relationship in action. Certainly, mutual enrichment is possible between literary and geographical studies.

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The Representation of Alterity in the Mediterranean 'Maritime' Travelogue of Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea from the 17th Century*

Jiří Hrabal**

If it were our objective to determine the extent of the representation of Czech travelogue texts from the 17th century within Czech literary culture, we would be forced to embark upon a whole series of diverse comparisons, a redefinition of genre boundaries and exhaustive historical discourses – a quantitative expression alone is of practically no value here. However, there is not sufficient space for any of these here, and so I have no other option than to state the above in somewhat sketchy and abbreviated form, and perhaps in an overly simplifying manner.

Firstly, Czech travelogue literature is written not only in Czech but also in German, Latin, and especially in the 17th century also in many other languages, since in some cases young aristocrats from Bohemia and Moravia in particular, who set out on Grand Tours to Italy, France, Germany, Spain and England during that century, wrote in the languages spoken in the countries in which they were currently residing as part of the 'educational' aspect of their travels. Nevertheless, the texts were written predominantly in German and Czech, namely the languages commonly spoken in the Czech lands during the 17th century (as well as before and after).

Within today's living cultural memory, Czech travelogue literature of the 17th century is represented rather scantily within the whole of Czech writing, especially if we narrow down the selection of travel writing to those texts relating to journeys to the Mediterranean region. The list of the surviving travelogue texts whose existence is known is not a long one. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that hitherto undiscovered writings may yet be unearthed in the archives of various institutions.

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At the beginning of that century (1608), one of the most significant and extensive modern Czech travel volumes was published, namely *Putování aneb Cesta z království českého do města Benátek, odtud po moři do země Svaté, země jůdské a dále do Egypta a velikého města Kairu* [Journey from Bohemia to the Holy Land, by way of Venice and the Sea], written by Kryštof Harant of Polžice and Bezdružice[1] based on his travels undertaken towards the end of the 16th century, which completes a chronological series (beginning with travelogues from the 15th century) composed of a number of highly relevant travelogues for Czech culture describing journeys to the Holy Land, which with only a single exception led through Italy and by sea to the Eastern Mediterranean[2]. Two journeys to Italy (the first from 1593/4 and the second from 1607) provided Bedřich of Donín with the inspiration to write travelogues, though these were not published in book form until as late as 1940[3].

Probably the most typical example of the travel literature of the Central European region in the 17th century is the 'travel diary' written on the Grand Tours. These works were mostly written by young aristocrats themselves, or by their chamberlains. However, there are exceptions to this rule. Only recently, the Czech historian Zdeněk Hojda published an edition of two travel diaries based on the travels of the Sternberg brothers, written predominantly in Czech, though neither the noblemen nor their chamberlains were the authors of these diaries[4].

Another significant work is the two-volume edition *Heřman Jakub Černín Na cestě za Alpy a Pyreneje* [Heřman Jakub Černín on his Travels beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees][5], the travel diaries of Count Heřman Jakub Černín of Chudenice, based on his travels around Europe between the years of 1678 and 1682 and written in several languages. To this we could add a number of travel writings by Bohemian Jesuits (Valentin Stansel, Pavel Klein and Augustin Strobach) written in the last quarter of the 17th century on their journeys to the westernmost re-

[1] Bočková & Melounová, 2017.

[2] Martin Kabátník embarked on his journey to the Holy Land through the European mainland on 1 March 1491. He was sent out by the Unity of the Brethren in search of the original Christian communities in the Holy Land: from Litomyšl, he travelled through Krakow, Lviv and along the Danube to Constantinople and beyond. Kabátník was not the author of the Czech written manuscript compiled in the first decade following his return from his travels, though he reputedly 'dictated it from memory' to his scrivener. The last critical edition of this travelogue was published under the title *Cesta z Čech do Jeruzaléma a Egypta r. 1491-1492* [Journey from Bohemia to Jerusalem and Egypt in the years 1491-1492] (Vajdlová, 2019).

[3] Grund, 1940.

[4] Hojda, 2023.

[5] Hojda, Chodějovská, Hejná & Tesaříková, 2014/2015.

gions of Europe, from where the authors of these letters sailed to the New World. These texts form part of the edition *Čeští jezuité objevují Nový svět. Dopisy a zprávy o plavbách, cestách a živobytí z Ameriky, Filipín a Marián (1657-1741)* [Bohemian Jesuits Discover the New World. Letters and Reports of Voyages, Travels and Life from America, the Philippines and the Mariana Islands, 1657-1741][6].

The above travelogues, referring to the 'Mediterranean journeys' undertaken by men[7] from Bohemia and Moravia during the course of the 17th century – whether these headed East from Bohemia or Moravia to the Levant, or to Western European countries of the Mediterranean region – are now firmly anchored within Czech literary culture (having been critically edited), and therefore constitute at least a latent element of the Czech cultural memory.

A number of other travelogues from the Mediterranean region remain in manuscript form, though these are or were known in full to only a few scholars. They have never been published in print in their entirety; in certain cases, only selected passages have been published. However, over the course of the following centuries, these texts most certainly did not have any influence whatsoever on the perception of alterity or the formation of potential prejudices or stereotypes within Czech society regarding foreign societies, social groups or cultures, since they were read by few if any recipients.

One of the most important works is the diary written by the Moravian nobleman Lev Vilém of Kounice (1614-1655), which reports on his travels to Italy and Spain, which then continued further to England and the Netherlands, though his diary entries from his journeys to the latter have not been preserved. His entries, therefore, relate to the 'Mediterranean part of the journey'. The young aristocrat set out on his travels from Slavkov in February 1635, via Vienna, Graz, Maribor, to Trieste, from where he sailed to Venice. There he commenced on a journey lasting almost a year and a half around Italy, which forms the subject of the most substantial part of the surviving diary. Lev Vilém of Kounice was genuinely exhaustive in his travels around Italy (taking what were then the usual routes, he reached Malta via Sicily, visiting practically all the important Italian cities of the time on his way). By contrast, his diary entries on his travels around Spain, from where he sailed from Genoa, cover a period of only two months.

Despite the fact that his native tongue was Czech, Kounice wrote his diary predominantly in German, though to a lesser extent, the manuscript text also contains parts written in Italian and Spanish. Czech appears in the diary only on

[6] Zavadil, 2016.

[7] No Czech travel text from the 17th century authored by a woman is known of (not only from the Mediterranean region).

isolated occasions. An interpretation rather than a translation of Kounice's travel diary was provided by František Hrubý in the publication *Lev Vilém z Kounic, barokní kavalír. Jeho deník z cesty do Itálie a Španělska a osudy Kounické rodiny v letech 1550-1650* [Lev Vilém of Kounice, a Baroque Cavalier. His Diary from his Travels to Italy and Spain and the Fate of the Kounice Family in the Years 1550-1650]. The author completed his work in 1939, though it was not published until 1987[8].

The author himself characterises Kounice's travel diary in the following words:

> The young cavalier recorded his most important experiences of the day, here at greater length, here more briefly, as time permitted. It is remarkable that in his written accounts, we learn practically nothing about the countries themselves, about their nature and beauties and all that relates to them. His writings are largely dedicated to social experiences and his sightseeing of cities, monumental churches, and monasteries, which, with their treasures, functioned as museums. He also records his tours of palaces and various artefacts stored therein, as well as their galleries and gardens, with great care and attention. Here, he truly captures everything that at the time was designated as the itinerary of the journey of a young 'cavalier' (64).

Unfortunately, in his interpretation of the travel diary, František Hrubý both omitted and added a number of elements, and also inserted his own critical assessment of various features, if not explicitly then certainly implicitly (in his assigning of certain contexts, in his selection, etc.). His publication presents information about the route and form of transport by which the young nobleman travelled, and about what approximately he focused his attention on in his writings, but it is unable to serve as a substitute for the genuine edition of the travel diary of Lev Vilém of Kounice. Hrubý's work thus remains on a not entirely clear boundary between a historical discourse and a rewriting (or adaptation) of the diary.

All that has been published of Kounice's travel diary is a Czech translation of the final 'Spanish part' of the manuscript, or more precisely, his writings from the period of his voyage from Genoa from August 16 to November 1 of 1636, in which the diary entries stop in mid-sentence, in the anthology *Česká touha cestovatelská: Cestopisy, deníky a listy ze 17. Století* [The Czech Yearning for Travel: Travelogues, Diaries and Letters from the 17th Century]. This anthology, prepared by Josef Polišenský and Simona Binková, remains the most important publication for acquainting us with Czech travel texts of the 17th century[9].

[8] Hrubý, 1987.
[9] Polišenský & Binková, 1989.

In 1670, the Franciscan monk Ambrož of Poděbrady undertook a journey to Spain, specifically to Valladolid, to attend the general chapter of the order. His journey was made almost exclusively by land, through Germany, Switzerland and France, and was mostly on foot. He and his fellow travellers were not allowed to make use of postal transport links and were permitted to accept a ride in a carriage only upon invitation. Ambrož of Poděbrady compiled a report of his journey to Valladolid in Latin, which has not yet been critically edited and published in its entirety to this day. Only an excerpt, again referring to the 'Spanish part', has been published in the above anthology.

A travelogue that remained unpublished until recently is a German-written text that could also be referred to as a travel diary, since it is written in the form of vastly shorter entries about the journey, each of which is attributed to a specific date. It was first published in full in 2025 in Czech translation under the title of *Krátká zpráva o cestě Šimona Aloise Tudecia de Monte Galea*[10] [A brief report on the Travels of Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea]. To date, only approximately one third of the text has been published, again in Czech, in the above-mentioned anthology *Česká touha cestovatelská: Cestopisy, deníky a listy ze 17. století*.

Before its editing and publication, the manuscript had been preserved for over three hundred years in the archive resources as a part of the records of the statutes of Charles-Ferdinand University. The manuscript comprises 56 pages. The historian and editor Zdeněk Hojda has expressed the opinion that the author of the travelogue based his writing on entries that have not been preserved[11]. Tudecius most probably wrote the text between 1687 and 1690, i.e. three decades after he had undertaken the journeys described in the travelogue.

The manuscript is titled as follows: *Krátká zpráva o podniknuté cestě do Francie se švédskou královnou Kristinou a apoštolským vyslancem do Španělska, dále do Levanty a Asie; o krvavém střetu benátské armády s arcinepřítelem křesťanů, Turky, ode mě, Šimona Aloise Tudecia de Monte Galea jako někdejšího hofmistra pana Heinricha Casimira, svobodného pána z Kielmanseggu* [A Brief Report on the Journey Undertaken to France with Queen Christina of Sweden and the Apostolic Envoy to Spain, and Further to the Levant and Asia; on the Bloody Conflict of the Venetian Army with the Arch Enemy of Christians, the Turks, by Myself, Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea as the Former Chamberlain of Lord Heinrich Casimir, Freiherr of Kielmansegg][12].

The author of the travelogue, Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea, was probably born in 1633 and died in 1700. He was born within the territory of

[10] Hrabal, Janečková, Marenčín & Trojková, 2025.
[11] Hojda, 2005: 38.
[12] Hrabal, 2025: 42-43.

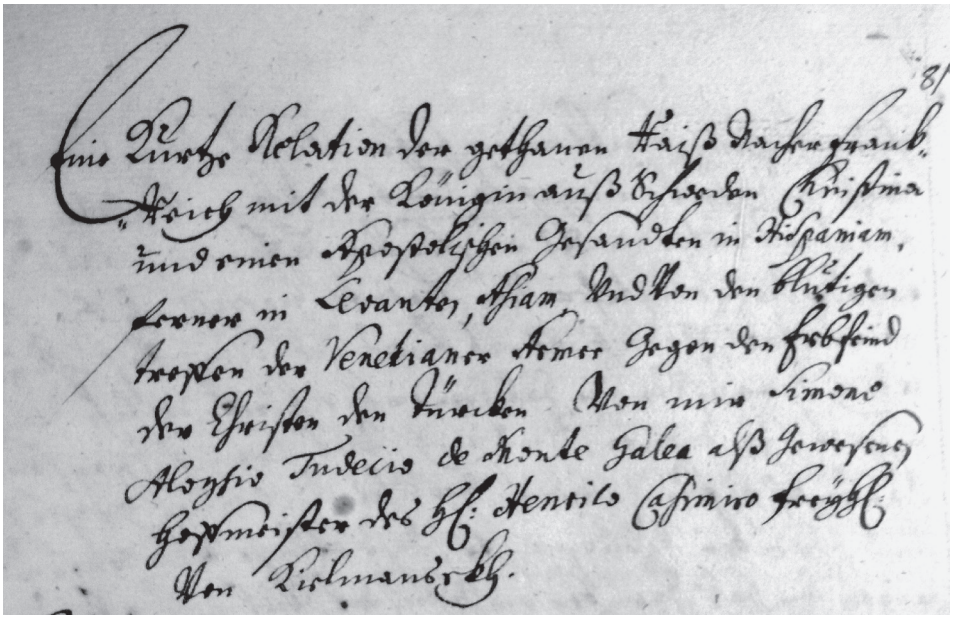

Figure 1. *Incipit* of the travelogue text of the Tudecius manuscript.

today's Polish Silesia[13]. However, Tudecius spent the greater part of his life in Prague, where he also died and was buried. He became a prominent figure in Czech society not because of his authorship of the manuscript, but rather because, almost thirty years after his return from the Mediterranean to Prague, he served two terms as Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in Prague. It was during this period that Tudecius edited his writings into the form of a manuscript of a travel diary. If Šimon Alois Tudecius de Monte Galea is recorded in the Central European cultural memory today, then it is as the author of several academic tracts in the discipline of medicine[14] and not as the writer of a travelogue.

Within the framework of Czech literary culture, the uniqueness of Tudecius's travel diary consists in the fact that the predominant part (four fifths) is a narration of several sea voyages in the Mediterranean region from West to East, and also in that the writer/narrator is not a paying passenger on the ship

[13] There are three hypotheses concerning his birthplace: one of the Polish Silesian towns of Leśnice (Polišenský & Binková, 1989), Leszno (Hlaváčková - Svobodný, 1993: 60) or Legnica (Hojda, 2005: 38). All three towns are located relatively close to each other, and so his birthplace can certainly be localised to within a circle spanning 200 kilometres.

[14] See Tudecius, 1695a; Tudecius, 1695 b; Tudecius, 1699.

(e.g. an aristocrat) travelling to a specific destination, but a volunteer member of the crew who was hired on the papal galleon. For the author of the travelogue, the sea voyage is therefore not merely an essential spatial crossing to a designated destination, but becomes an end in itself, even if the individual voyages are naturally not without their own purpose.

We find narrations of sea voyages also in other travelogues within Czech travel literature. For instance, the above-mentioned travelogue by Kryštof Harant of Polžice and Bezdružice in fact contains more pages dedicated to the sea voyage from Venice to Jaffa than Tudecius's entire travelogue. However, Tudecius spent almost two and a half years at sea, and during this period, seafaring became a virtually everyday matter for this immigrant from the heart of the European continent.

Tudecius's travelogue is divided into two parts. The more expansive of these focuses on the period from June 1656 to November 14, 1658, when Tudecius was voluntarily employed on the papal fleet. His employment was voluntary in the sense that he enlisted of his own free choice. However, it cannot be said that it was Tudecius's wish to become a rower on the galleon, since his decision was conditioned by circumstance. Tudecius most probably arrived in Rome as a student at the Prague University, and as such, during the early modern period, was expected to complete a residence abroad. Unfortunately, he lost his benefactor and was forced to resolve the situation in which he had found himself. During this time, the papal galleons were recruiting men each year for patrol voyages to regions immediately threatened by incursions of Berber pirates and attacks from the Ottoman Turks, and so Šimon Alois Tudecius voluntarily became one of these recruits.

The second part of the travel diary, which makes up approximately one fifth of the entire travelogue, records the period from November 22, 1658 to September 23, 1659, when Tudecius joined the services of Baron Heinrich Friedrich Ernst Casimir von Kielmansegg (1638-1681) as his chamberlain, travelling with him through the Apennine Peninsula and then on to Vienna, from where he returned alone to Prague. Tudecius had met the young baron entirely by chance in Rome after returning to the mainland. In many respects, this part of the travel diary bears greater similarities to the diaries from the Grand Tours. Incidentally, Tudecius begins it with the words: "On November 22, after dinner, we embarked on our journey together with several cavaliers and proceeded in the name of God"[15].

Tudecius's travel diary lacks an introduction that clarifies the purpose of the text and contains no dedications, etc. Neither does he mention the reasons that brought him to Rome, nor does he narrate his journey from Prague to Rome.

[15] Hrabal, 2025: 82.

The travelogue begins with a statement of his intention to enlist on the papal galleon:

> After residing in Rome for a sufficient period, visiting its holy sites, and witnessing the magnificent arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden, I developed a desire to explore other parts of the world. And so, I waited for the papal galleons that sail to Greece every year to aid the Venetian galleons against the arch enemies of Christ's name, especially because here I had met several acquaintances who had the same plan. We therefore enlisted as volunteers (43).

Nevertheless, the travel writings are predominantly of the character of a brief and factual account of events that are not evaluated, and on which no directly expressed emotional or ideological standpoint is taken: they inform us of where the galleon sailed from, where it went, and why. Tudecius names specific places where they anchored or sailed around, and writes that the cities were handsome, the islands fertile, etc. He occasionally mentions some architectural structures or crops they had seen or eaten, but more detailed descriptions of events or narrations of encounters are few and far between.

The diary does not contain entries for every day; the entries usually relate to 5-10 days each month. An entry for one day is mainly composed of a few brief sentences, though there are exceptions to this. One such exception is the relatively detailed account of the battle of the papal fleet, in which it engaged together with the Venetian and Maltese fleets against the Ottoman fleet in the Dardanelles in June and July 1657. In particular, the engagement in battle of the crew of the galleon on which Tudecius was sailing is relatively detailed.

Understandably, Tudecius also makes several mentions of the storms (45, 48, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 72, 78, 80) that their galleon frequently weathered at sea. Nevertheless, he does not dramatically describe these events, as was customary in previous Czech travelogues (e.g. in the works mentioned above by Kryštof Harant or Oldřich Prefát), as well as among travel writers in the 19th century who sailed, for example, only along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Although he writes that the storms were terrifying (which they undoubtedly were, considering the damage they caused), he does not describe them in great detail and does not attempt to evoke bloodcurdling experiences, as was often the case among Central European travel writers at sea who were unfamiliar with that environment.

In the time of Tudecius, the Mediterranean was a very volatile and dangerous region. A considerable part of the author's travel diary is dedicated to narrating the patrolling activity of the Christian fleet in the Mediterranean. Tudecius mentions several times in his diary how the galleon prepared itself for battle every time it spotted a ship on the horizon, even before it was clear as to

whether or not it was an enemy ship. However, it was not only Berber pirates and the Ottoman fleet that posed a danger to Tudecius and the crew of the galleon. Another recurring theme in this section of the travel diary is that, whenever the galleon reached a port, its crew were constantly suspected of being infected with the plague and repeatedly held in quarantine (44-47, 50).

The 'maritime part' of the travelogue is composed of nine voyages. The base of the papal galleon was the port of Civitavecchia. The first voyage is part of the journey from Rome to Civitavecchia, where Tudecius boards the papal galleon. The second was a patrol voyage. The purpose of the third voyage was quarantine on the island of Ponza. The fourth voyage was again to Ponza, though the galleon never reached its destination since it was called back in Terracina in order to transport Queen Christina of Sweden to Marseille. This voyage is illustrated in Figure 2. The sixth was a patrol voyage around the island of Corsica. The destination of the seventh route, illustrated in Figure 3, was Barcelona, carrying the papal nuncio Opisto Pallavicino from Civitavecchia to Barcelona. The short eighth voyage is followed by the longest, around the western and Southern coast of the Apennine Peninsula and around the western coast of the Balkans to the area of Greece, and from there to the Dardanelles Strait, where the above-mentioned battle took place (Fig. 4). This was therefore the longest of the voyages that Tudecius undertook on the galleon, covering more than 6,000 km, at the end of which Tudecius completed his services on the papal galleon and returned to Rome.

Tudecius sailed on a galleon bearing the name of St. Peter, though this was only one of the ships that formed the 'papal galleon' (in the sense of the fleet in which Tudecius sailed). The number of ships varied depending on the specific mission of the fleet. Only two papal galleons were assigned to the mission of carrying the papal nuncio to Spain in October 1656, namely St. Peter and St. Dominic.

In the major military conflict of 1657, the Fourth Battle of the Dardanelles, the papal fleet was composed of 5 galleons. The galleons of the papal fleet on which the cavaliers mentioned by Tudecius were employed included: 'Capitana' (under the command of Friar Carlo Laudato of Naples), 'Patrona' (on which Queen Christina of Sweden sailed on her journey to Marseilles, and whose cavalier was Friar Francesco Ferretti of Ferrara), 'St. Domnic' (the cavalier of which was Friar Giovanno Battista Spietti of Bologna), 'St. Catherine' (whose cavalier was Friar Lorenzo Anticozi of Siena) and Tudecius's 'St. Peter' (whose cavalier was Friar Alessandro, Count of Caprara).

The papal fleet, during the time when Tudecius sailed in it, was generally responsible for performing three types of tasks and missions: 1) the transport of important dignitaries (Queen Christina of Sweden, the apostolic nuncio Monsignor Pallavicini and the newly elected Grand Master of the Order of Malta,

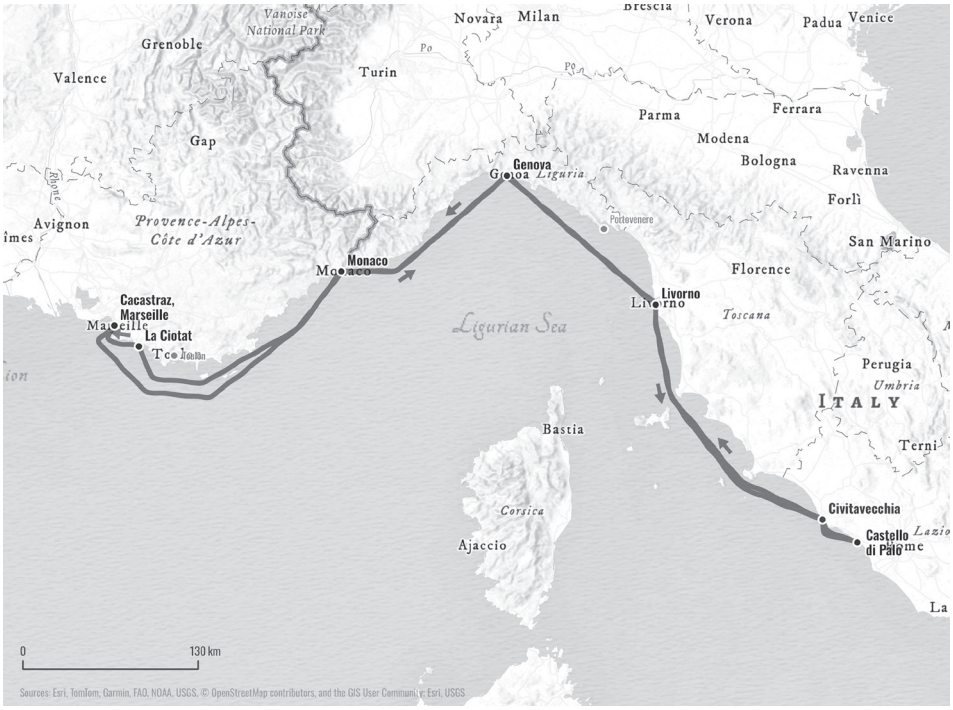

Figure 2. Voyage to escort Queen Christina of Sweden to Marseille[***].

Don Martin de Redin of Navarra, from Messina to Malta); 2) patrol and supervision over the seas in the Mediterranean, ensuring safety from the Berber pirates and the Ottoman fleet; 3) offensive missions against the Ottoman army.

Tudecius does not comment on the propriety or expediency of these missions in his travelogue; he passes no judgment and does not question them, but participates without reservation in their fulfilment.

In the last part of the travelogue Tudecius presents an account of a genuine 'Grand Tour' that he undertook together with Baron Kielmann, as well as other aristocrats and their entourage (Fig. 5).

They visited a series of cities along their journey, in which Tudecius most often mentions visits to inns, with a typical example from a Grand Tour provided in his entry from Venice dated February 1, 1659:

We arrived safely in the powerful, beautiful and widely celebrated city of Venice,

[***] The mapping of the route on this map and the following three was created by Radek Barvíř based on my materials, and I would like to thank him for his cooperation.

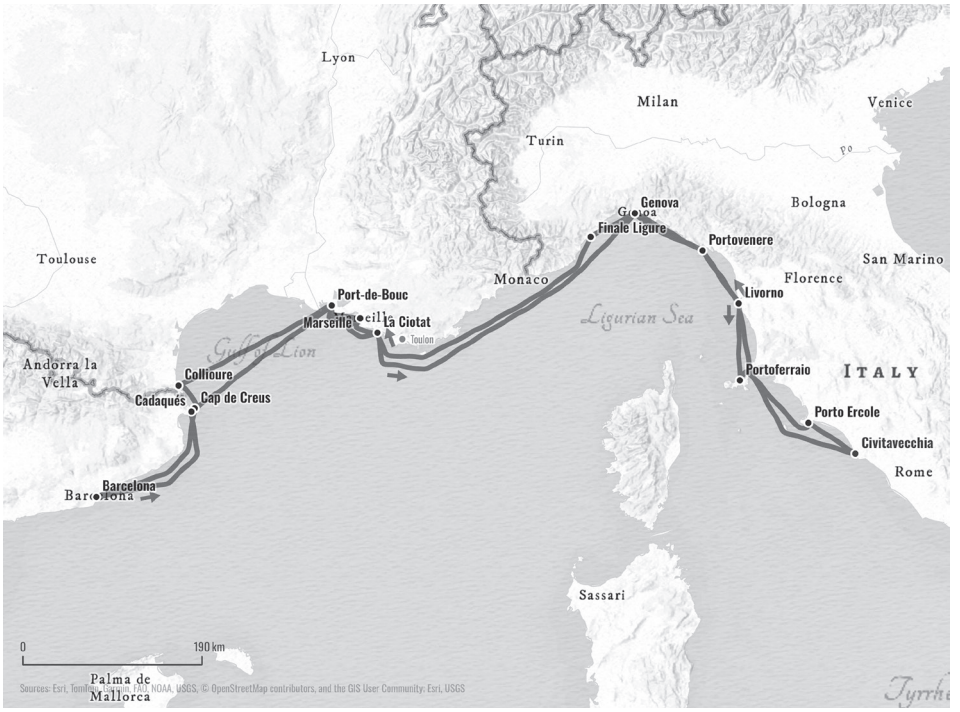

Figure 3. Voyage to escort the papal nuncio Monsignor Pallavicini to Barcelona.

> where we found accommodation at the White Lion and stayed there that day. However, because there were many foreign and noble cavaliers there, we found accommodation with a German innkeeper in Corte Morer and had food brought to us. Every day, we also visited the opera, as well as public dance events, where many noble ladies dressed in festive dresses and costumes sat and waited for someone to ask them to dance. When we noticed that they enjoyed dancing, we also danced with them and engaged in polite conversation (90).

The journey of the entire 'cavalier group' now headed North to Vienna, and Tudecius's journey then continued to Prague. Travelling with them was Count Ferdinand Ernst von Herberstein (1633-1691), who offered Tudecius the option of staying with him in Vienna. In his travel diary, Tudecius writes the following: "However, I informed him that I had other plans (since when in Rome, where I had a fever, I decided I wished to become a doctor), for which the count wished me good luck". The last entry in the travel diary is from September 23, 1659:

> I set out on the 23rd of that month on a journey, passing a variety of places and finally, with God's help, arriving in the longed-for city of Prague, famed far and wide,

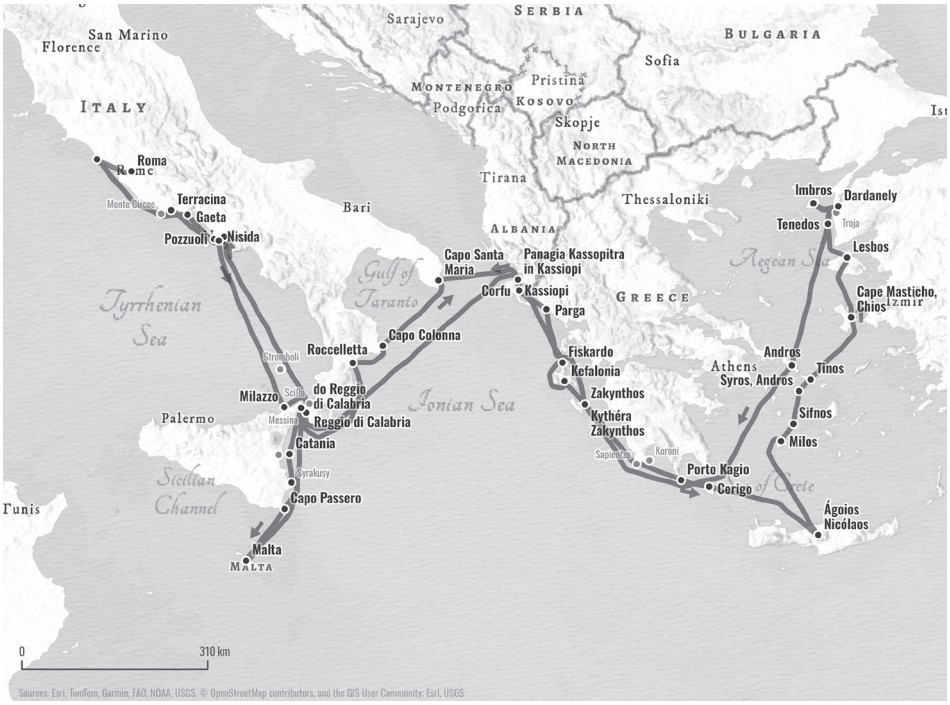

Figure 4. Tudecius' longest sea voyage: to the Dardanelles.

where I continued in my studies to the glory of God and to serve my neighbour. May Almighty God bestow upon me his holy blessing and lead me to my dreamt-of goal. Amen (96).

The itinerary of Tudecius's travels[16]

A. The 'maritime part' of the travelogue

I. (May 31 1656)
Roma (Rippa Grande) – La Spaggia di Roma – Civitavecchia [Civitá Vecchia]

[16] The round brackets contain the precise locations. The square brackets contain the manuscript form of the toponym, differing from the toponym used today. Toponyms used as alternative designations for the same locations are separated with a slash – either terms used at present or used in the manuscript. The arrow symbol before the toponym means that Tudecius and his fellow travellers did not stop in the port but sailed past it.

Figure 5. Journey from Rome to Prague via Italy.

II. (June 1 1656 – June 15 1656)
Civitavecchia – ↑ Monte Argentario [Monte Argentano] – Porto Ercole [Porto Hercule] – Porto di S. Stefano – ↑ Giglio – Civitavecchia

III. (June 16 1656 – June 27 1656)
Civitavecchia – Ponza – ↑ Monte Circeo [Monte Circello] – Terracina [Terragina] – Ponza – Civitavecchia

IV. (July 4 1656 - July 8 1656)
Civitavecchia – Ponza – Terracina [Teragino] – Civitavecchia

V. (July 19 1656 – August 24 1656)
Civitavecchia – Castello di Palo [Palla] – Civitavecchia – Livorno – Genova [Genna] – Monaco [Monacha] – ↑ Toulon [Tolon] – ↑ La Ciotat [Cinta] – Cacastraz (Marseille) – Monaco – Genova – ↑ Portovenere [Porto Veneris] – Livorno – Civitavecchia

VI. (September 2 1656 – October 15 1656)
Civitavecchia – Montecristo – Bastia (Corsica) – Saint-Florent [S. Fiorenzo] – Calvi [Calfi] – Livorno – Portovenere [Porto Venere] – La Spezia [Specia] – Genova – Portovenere – Civitavecchia

VII. (November 10 1656 - February 16 1657)
Civitavecchia – Livorno – Portovenere – Genova – Finale Ligure [Final] – ↑ Toulon – La Ciotat – Marseille – Port-de-Bouc [Bugero] – Cap de Creus [Lunarium Promontorium/Cabo Draconis][17] – Barcelona – Cadaqués [Catache] – Collioure [Colibri] – Port-de-Bouc – Marseille – Padre e Figlio [Padre e Figlinolo] – La Ciotat – Genova – Portovenere – Livorno – Portoferraio [Porto Ferraro] – Porto Ercole – Civitavecchia

VIII. (February 20 1657 – April 12 1657)
Civitavecchia – Tarquinia [Corneto] – Civitavecchia

IX. (April 14 1657 – November 14 1657)
Civitavecchia – ↑ Monte Circeo – Terracina – ↑ Gaeta – Nisida – Pozzuoli [Puzzolo] – Baiae [Bajae] – Napoli – ↑ Stromboli – ↑ Messina – do Reggio di Calabria [Regio alla Pimpinella] – Roccelletta [Rochetta] – Capo Colonna [Cappo Collona] – Capo Santa Maria [Capo di Sa Maria] – Panagia Kassopitra in Kassiopi [Madonna di Gasopo][18] (Corfu) – Kassiopi – Corfu – Santa Maria – Fiskardo [Iuscardo], Kefalonia [Zefalonia grande] – Zakynthos [Zante] – ↑ Sa-

[17] In his travelogue, Tudecius writes: "on the twelfth [of the same month] we had a fairly favourable wind, and so in the name of God we set out across the gulf and on the thirteenth [of the same month] we arrived safely in Lunarium Promontorium or Cabo Draconis in Catalonia, and in the night, we again set sail" (Hrabal, 2025: 55. My translation). However, in the past, these names were not used for the same location. The name Cabo Draconis referred to what is now Cap de Creus. In contrast, the name Lunarium Promontorium was a designation for the small rocky mound Turó de Montgat in the municipality of Montgat. Both locations are to the North of Barcelona. It seems more likely to me that Tudecius had in mind Cap de Creus. I did not manage to find the connection between the historical designations of these locations and today's names until after the publication of the edition of Tudecius's travelogue, which does not contain this information.

[18] It is probable that 'Gasopo' is a term for Kassiopi on the island of Crete. The church of Panagia Kassopitra in Kassiopi (Tudecius writes of the 'Madonna di Gasopo') was reconstructed in 1580 from the ancient temple that was pillaged by the Turks in 1580. In Tudecius's time, the church housed an icon of the Virgin Mary associated with a healing miracle, which Tudecius evidently had in mind when he wrote of the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary (Hrabal, 2025: 62). I also discovered this connection after the publication of the edition mentioned above.

pientza [Sapienza] – ↑ Koroni [Coron] – Porto Kagio [Quaglie] – Kythéra/ Cerigo [Cirigo] – Ágoios Nicólaos (S. Nicolo), Crete [Candia] – Milos [Milo grande] – Sifnos [Sitano] – Syros [Sira], Andros [Andria] – Tinos/Thüne – Cape Masticho/Ákra Másticho [Capo Mastico/Capo Mastiche], Chios [Chio/Scio] – Chios – Lesbos [Lesbus] – ↑ Troja – Tenedos [Tenedo] – Dardanelles – Imbros – Dardanelles – Tenedos – Andros – Kythéra Zakynthos – ↑ Kefalonia – ↑ Sapientza – Parga [Barcha] – Corfu – Kassiopi – Reggio di Calabria – Messina – ↑ Catania [Catanea] – ↑ Syracuse [Syracusae] – Capo Passero [Capo Passaro] – Malta – Syrakusy – Cartagena [Cartagna][19] – Messina – ↑ Scilla – Milazzo [Malaza] – ↑ Stromboli – Nisida – Gaeta – Civitavecchia – Roma

B. The 'continental part' of the travelogue

X. (November 16 1658 – September 23 1659)
Roma – Castelnuovo [Castel novo] – ↑ Civita Castellana [Civita] – Otricoli [Otricolo] – ↑ Narni – ↑ Terni – Spoleto – Foligno [Fuligno] – Serravalle di Chienti [Serravalle] – Tolentino – Macerata – ↑ Recanati – Loreto – ↑ Recanati – ↑ Macerata – ↑ Tolentino – ↑ Foligno – Perugia – Loreto – Ancona – Senigallia [Sinogallia] – ↑ Fano [Fani] – ↑ Pesaro – Rimini – Savignano sul Rubicone [Saviniano] – ↑ Cesena – ↑ Forli [Forli piccoli, Forli grande] – Faenza – ↑ Castel Bolognese – ↑ Imola [Imula] – ↑ Castel San Pietro [Castel S. Pietro] – Bologna – Ferrara – Loreo – ↑ Chioggia [Gioza] – ↑ Pellestrina [Palestrina] – Venezia – Musestre [Musenti] – Caorle [Caneli] – Marano Lagunare [Marano] – [Musento][20] – Palmanova [Palma nova] – Gorica [Goritia] – Vrhnika [Podwerchnikh] – Ljubljana [Labach] – Maribor [Marburg] – Landscha an der Mur [Landscha] – ↑ Wildon [Vildon] – Graz – Vienna – Sankt Pölten – Wilhelmsburg – Kreisbach [Kroisbach] – Lilienfeld Abbey [Liliumfeldt] – Türnitz [Dirnitz] – Annaberg – Mariazell – Türnitzu [Dirnitz] – Lilienfeld Abbey – Sankt Pölten – Vienna – Mikulov – Brno [Brin] – Prague

The specific nature of Tudecius's travelogue is also projected into the representation of identity and alterity[21]. In this text, the opposition of identity/alterity is formed predominantly by means of a broadly understood opposition of Christian/Muslim, in the sense of a clash of two civilisations. The title of the

[19] Here Tudecius almost certainly had in mind the city of Catania.
[20] It has not been possible to determine the location designated by the toponym stated in the manuscript. Tudecius state: "on the fifteenth [of the same month] we reached Musento, where we bid farewell to the salt water and set foot on the beloved land" (91).
[21] Müller-Funk, 2021; Said, 2008; Pratt, 1992.

travelogue itself contains a mention of the "bloody conflict of the Venetian army with the arch enemy of Christians, the Turks" (43). The presentation of the encounter with the Ottoman fleet as a "conflict" with the "arch enemy of Christians" places the Turks in the position of a fundamentally hostile 'other' in opposition to 'our' (Christian) identity.

Nevertheless, we cannot assume that the young Tudecius had had any specific direct experience and direct encounter with the Ottoman Turks before the time when he sailed the Mediterranean with the papal fleet. And this probably did not change even after his return from Rome to Prague, before he decided to write his travelogue. After the 'Mediterranean episode', his life was associated primarily with Prague and Central Europe.

Therefore, his only experience of the Turks was probably during his voyages with the papal fleet. Although this contact was first-hand and often bloody, it was still considerably de-individualised. In this case, the relationship between 'I and the other' was probably shaped based on prejudices of the time and specific conflicts rather than on any understanding or empathy. Furthermore, the Turk as a particular individual (despite being placed 'face to face' with Tudecius in battle) did not represent a human entity for Tudecius, but rather a personification of the 'civilisation of evil'. This conception of the Turks was widely shared within Tudecius's Central European milieu. His experiences inevitably must have confirmed this prejudice, since he found himself in a situation of a man sailing in the papal fleet, whose mission was to protect the Christian world from an enemy civilisation: "I therefore waited for the papal galleons that sail every year to Greece to aid the Venetian galleons against the arch enemy of Christ's name […]" (43); or: "on the 22nd of the same month we left the island and city of Chios and sailed in the direction of Constantinople to face the Turkish army" (69). The prejudice of a European man of the day, formed by the opposition of Christians/Muslims, whose binarity was based on conflict and hostility, was therefore not only confirmed but strengthened by Tudecius's direct experiences.

In his travelogue, Tudecius writes of the Turks exclusively as a collective (often referring to them only as the Turks or Mohammedans), or in the abstract. In both cases, their constitution takes place based on an expected conflict, violence or direct battle: the "Turkish army" (70), "captured Mohammedans" (74), "Turkish force" (71), etc. The Turks are mentioned primarily in association with the ravaged islands or ransacked cities that Tudecius visits or sails around. They become the object of his most intense interest in his description of the Fourth Battle of the Dardanelles in 1657, when Tudecius became a direct participant in the battle against the Ottoman Turks.

Whereas the 'other' in the 'maritime part' is associated above all with danger and threat (the Turks), and the relationship to the 'other' is therefore based on conflict, in the continental part, the 'other' is primarily associated with the

culturally different, and interaction with it is largely one of observation and acquaintance.

It was not unusual for the subject of a 17th-century travelogue narrative to write in the plural. His voice is frequently the 'collective voice' of his company, e.g. a group of aristocrats, their chamberlains, servants and other fellow travellers, who are presented by means of this collective voice, as if – despite all the differences in their social and property status, as well as their level of education – shared the same ethical and religious values and world views, as if they had similar expectations and preconceptions about the foreign countries they were visiting and the people they encountered there. The authoritative voice of the travelogue narrative represents, and wishes to embody, the collective perspective and vision of a diverse group.

In the first – 'maritime' – part of the travel diary, the subject speaks in the greater part on behalf of the crew of the papal fleet, which is highly heterogeneous (in terms of nationality, social standing, religion and role on the ship): it is composed of members of the army, paid sailors as well as volunteers such as Tudecius, pagan and Christian slaves, aristocrats and the ship's command, Central Europeans, Southern Europeans and non-Europeans. It would thus be difficult to interpret the thinking, vision, experience and evaluations of the crew members as convergent.

However, the voice of Tudecius's travelogue narration as a whole is of a fluctuating nature. The collective 'we' does not always speak on behalf of the same group. It primarily represents the crew of the papal galleon. In this case, with regard to linguistic expression, the narration is de-subjectivised and has little evaluation or interpretation. If it contains any evaluating adjectives or adverbs, they are instead of a general nature and in conventional usage (e.g. "handsome cities"). By contrast, however, in the case of some accounts the collective 'we' is narrowed and thereby also differentiated: e.g. we of the crew who are not slaves (as against those who are enslaved), or we who are from Prague or Central Europe (in contrast with those who are from elsewhere):

> While we four countrymen from Germany were standing there, a certain officer by the name of Schmidler, a native of Prague, came from the fortress and asked the guard who was standing at the bow whether, by chance, there were any fellow natives of Prague here. The guard answered that we were all there together. He therefore asked the guard to allow him to climb on board, since he was also from Prague. And so, the guard let him on board, he greeted us and, as a fellow countryman, requested that we do him the honour of accompanying him to the fortress, where he had a fine Berber ram which it would be his pleasure to serve to us[22].

[22] Hrabal, 2025: 75-76.

These metamorphoses of the collective voice are then projected also into shifts in the constitution of identity (who are 'we') and also in the constitution of alterity, thus in relation to which 'we' someone/something is 'foreign' and 'other'.

It is only on rare occasions in the 'maritime part' of the travelogue that the narration switches from the plural to the singular form. These cases occur only when:

1. The narrating subject wishes to situate his body precisely in space and time on the deck of the ship, and to separate it from any other members of the crew: "After moving into the quarters of the galleon I secured for myself one of the most comfortable places on the ship, on the sixth bench from the stern on the port side […]"[23] (44);
2. The narrating subject is forced to communicate something relating exclusively to his own physical individuality: "I came down with a fever, and so I had to undergo treatment from the brothers of mercy. Thanks to God that it did not last long" (58);
3. The narrating subject is recalling a past that does not link him to the crew: "I tried it for myself, thinking of my deceased father […]" (64).

With regard to his exceptional use of the singular form, it is necessary to infer Tudecius's individual stance, modality, experience or evaluation from the plural form: "When we beheld him in that state, we began to laugh out loud. However, the musicians admonished us, urging us to show compassion instead, because it was God's punishment" (47).

Although we might expect a travelogue narrative to use 'verba sentiendi' and 'verba cogitandi' in relation to the narrating subject (who informs us of what he has perceived and thought), in the 'maritime part' of Tudecius's narration they are used more often with the first person plural than with the singular: for example, the very frequently used verbs 'to see' and 'to behold' appear 8 times in the plural and not once in the first person singular (and these verbs are used even more often for the third person, 10 times in the plural and twice in the singular). The verb 'to think' is used twice in the first-person singular and three times in the plural (and four times in the first-person plural).

It is also evident from this quantitative statement that Tudecius's travelogue text is highly de-subjectivised and de-individualised with regard to the constitution of the narrative voice. In the construction of alterity, it is therefore nec-

[23] Or: "Since the mast fell outside the galleon onto the oars and snapped the ropes, and I was sitting in the place from where the oars are manned, I myself was thrown backwards onto the bench among the slaves, so that I thought that it was the end of me, since the port side of the galleon was flooded with water…" (48).

essary to proceed from the assumption that alterity is not contrasted with an individual identity, but rather a collective identity that, moreover, shifts during the narration.

The singular form of narration appears more frequently in the shorter 'continental part' of the travelogue. The 'we' represented in the plural utterances (the group of aristocrats, chamberlains, etc.) is markedly less diversified, and as a result, the group represented by the narrative voice is also markedly more stable. If the constitution of identity is more stabilised, then the same applies also to the constitution of alterity. The congruent perception, evaluation and interpretation of reality shape a clearer vision of the 'foreign' and the 'other'.

The construction of the opposition of identity/alterity is transformed also in the plural forms in certain passages, both from the perspective of those represented by 'us' and from the perspective of who differs from us: the 'we' representing the voice of the Christian world is transformed into 'we' as a voice expressing the Catholic perspective in opposition to the Protestant (more precisely Calvinist) position:

> On the 25th of that month, because the weather was fine, we sailed to La Ciotat, a handsome and pleasant city, but a Calvinist one. When we sailed there, it was a Friday. But there they were celebrating a festival: they sat on the shoreline and danced to music with their wives, which no Catholic would ever do. We rested there for two days, refreshing ourselves with fine wine, fresh meat and other things (57).

Here, Tudecius describes La Ciotat as a "handsome and pleasant city", but then immediately adds a crucial characteristic: "but Calvinist". The conjunction "but" clearly indicates a deviation from the norm. The subsequent description of the festivities on a Friday, when the locals "danced to music with their wives", is placed in direct confrontation with the author's own norm: "which no Catholic would ever do". This explicit contrast serves to confirm and legitimise the principles of the narrator's own Catholic position as the gauge of normative conduct. The foreign custom is described and evaluated from the author's 'own' perspective, by which the validity of the 'own' is affirmed.

In the passage quoted above, the narrative 'we' is again constituted based on a shared geographical and cultural origin: Tudecius records how, together with other "countrymen from Germany" (thus most probably from Central Europe), he relocated to a Turkish "saika", where they rested. At that moment, an officer named Schmidler, a native of Prague, appeared and asked the guard if any "fellow natives of Prague" were on board. The guard confirmed that "we were all there together". Schmidler then invited them to the fortress with the words that he was "also from Prague" and that, as a fellow countryman, it would be his pleasure to do them an honour. Tudecius and his companions

were "highly gratified" by this invitation and enjoyed wining and dining together, Tudecius remarking that they remained "in good humour together until we were parted by the night" (75-76). Unlike the previous use of the plural 'we', which represented Tudecius as a member of the crew of the papal galleon, sharing his fate with the other sailors regardless of nationality or their Christian or Catholic position, here he deploys a narrower, nationally or regionally defined demarcation.

An exceptional passage in terms of the construction of identity and alterity appears in Tudecius's travelogue immediately in the introductory part of the narrative, both with regard to the singular form and in reference to the object of representation. At the beginning of his voyage Tudecius encounters an enslaved Berber Muslim on the deck of the ship, and it is clear from his narration that if he comes face to face with a "Mohammedan" in person outside of a conflict situation and outside of a prejudicial structure of thinking, he is capable of adopting a friendlier approach and writing of him as an individual person, even informing us of his name:

> After moving into the quarters of the galleon, I secured for myself one of the most comfortable places on the ship, on the sixth bench from the stern on the port side, where there were four Christian slaves and one Turk named Mustafa, originally a Berber from Tunisia. He had been a noble Berber before he was forced to flee for murdering a fellow noble tribe member, after which he had become a pirate or sea wolf. While pillaging by the island of Ponza [Pontio], where he plundered a substantial loot from the Neapolitan ships, he was captured and enslaved on the galleon. This Mohammedan slave was remarkable for the fact that (because he had once renounced wine) he preferred to suffer hardship than to take a drink (44).

Tudecius here expresses surprise at the defiance of expected 'otherness'. However, this is not an entirely isolated incident in his travelogue. For example, Tudecius notes that by the city of Gaeta, where a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary is worshipped, not only the Christian ships fire a cannon salute, but "also the Turks and even the Berbers, which is astonishing" (59). Here he expresses his wonder at behaviour that he would not have expected from the 'others' (especially the "arch enemy of Christians"), and his surprise reveals his subconscious construction of alterity (he does not understand communal worship – even if in the form of a cannon salute – to be commonplace).

Some of Tudecius's writings, therefore, indicate that he was also capable of recording and reflecting moments that at least partially confounded his expectations or conceptions of 'otherness', or added to them with new aspects, even if not wholly understood.

The transformations of the narrative voice are also associated with transfor-

mations of the 'contact zone' in the sense outlined by Mary Louise Pratt[24], namely as a social space in which cultures meet and clash (often within the context of highly asymmetrical power relations). In the 'maritime part' of Tudecius's travelogue, this primarily concerns a fluctuation between a microspace (the deck of the ship) and a macrospace (the Mediterranean).

Generally speaking, it is possible to say that Tudecius's travelogue from the 17th century demonstrates the mechanisms by which European travelogues construct 'otherness'. His seemingly objective descriptions and personal experiences are inseparably linked with the deeper ideological and cultural assumptions of his time, especially with the tension between the Christian world and the Ottoman Empire, and the text contributes to an imaginative understanding and interpretation of foreign lands and cultures from the European perspective, even though Tudecius's journey (1656-1659) precedes the heyday of complete imperial European dominance present mainly in the European travelogue texts of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Despite being part of the papal fleet and fighting against the "arch enemy of Christians, the Turks", Tudecius presents himself as an ostensibly impartial observer. The title of the work, *Krátká zpráva* [Brief Report], in itself evokes an objective, factual approach. Tudecius carefully records geographical details, visited cities and monuments. This descriptive style, focusing on 'acquaintance' and 'informing', can be considered an early form of the 'anti-conquest' rhetoric, in which the act of acquaintance and representation is presented as harmless observation, even if it is linked with military or religious expansion. Although it was undoubtedly Tudecius's intention merely to 'describe what is foreign', the objectifying manner of the travelogue narrative nevertheless leads to a subjugation of the 'other'.

Therefore, even in Tudecius's travelogue, the construction of alterity takes place via the means of ideological frameworks: discourses and concepts of the time that formed Tudecius's understanding of the world and his observations. Above all, this concerns:

- The religious and military context: the universalisation of Christian values and the presentation of the 'other' as potentially receptive to European norms (for example, Tudecius's astonishment at the fact that the Turks and Berbers venerate the image of the Virgin Mary (59), which reinforces the sense of superiority or mission);
- The presentation of a civilisational hierarchy: the emphasis on the battle against the Ottoman Turks and the description of the "bloody conflict" naturally reinforce the image of a superior European civilisation in opposi-

[24] Pratt, 1992: 8.

tion to the perceived 'barbarianism' or threat; see also Tudecius's comments on Italian cities such as Corfu as the "most important location within the ownership of the Republic of Venice for the sake of maintaining the Adriatic Sea under its control" (64) – these comments point to the geopolitical significance and strategic control of the territory, which is congruent with the imperial view of space;

- The manner of narrative presentation, which contains few explicitly value-laden, emotionally subjectivised and interpretative commentaries, and conceals behind its seemingly factual and objective descriptions the deeper ideological and cultural templates of Tudecius's time, which ensue from the tension between the Christian world and the Ottoman Empire, and thus portray the 'other' from the dominant European perspective.

Although this text is devoted primarily to a basic presentation of Tudecius's manuscript and the issue of the representation of alterity within it, the travel diary also contains a series of stimuli for investigation within several academic disciplines: from maritime history, through historical geography, to the history of literary culture in Central Europe.

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Imagological Reading of the *Travel Trifles* by Antun Nemčić

Dubravka Dubravec Labaš*

Introduction

Antun Nemčić Gostovinski was a Croatian writer[1]. After earning a degree in law in Zagreb, he worked as a legal apprentice and notary, and served as a district judge in the small North-western Croatian towns of Križevci, Osekovo, Novi Marof and Ludbreg. In 1843, he travelled through Northern Italy, and in 1847, he travelled through Slavonia, Srijem and Serbia. In 1848, he was elected as a representative to the Croatian Parliament. He fell suddenly ill with cholera while on a business trip and died in 1849.

He wrote poetry and a comedy, as well as starting an unfinished novel, but he is best known in Croatian literature as the author of *Putositnice* [Travel Trifles, 1845]. Inspired by Laurence Sterne and Heinrich Heine, this work is considered canonical in Croatian Romanticism. In terms of its structure, execution and the author's ironic and erudite stance, this literary work demonstrates the significant European influence on Croatian Romantic prose.

The travelogue as an imagotypical text

Although travel as a structural and thematic element has always been present in literature, it is only in the 18th century that travel writing became part of the literary repertoire. Due to the dynamic nature of the century, it became particularly popular during Romanticism and afterwards. The most significant canonical markers of this genre stem from the works of Laurence Sterne, Heinrich Heine and Stendhal. Sterne's travelogue *A Sentimental Journey through France and*

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[1] January 14, 1813, Edde (Hungary) - September 5, 1849, Križevci (Croatia).

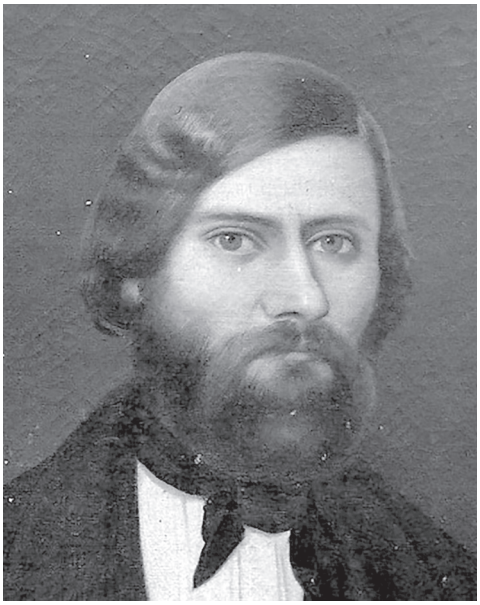

Figure 1. A portrait of Antun Nemčić, the work of an unknown master (Photo provided by the Križevci City Museum).

Italy (1768) created the paradigm of the humourist/sentimentalist; Heine, with his *Reisebilder* (1826-30), elevated the feuilleton to a serious literary genre, while Stendhal's *Mémoires d'un touriste* (1838) was the first to define the tourist as a person who travels primarily for personal culture and pleasure. Within literature, the travelogue is viewed as an aesthetic linguistic creation. It is multifunctional and hybrid, freed from prescriptive poetic guidelines, and is therefore open to genre contamination and the expansion of motifs through association. From a comparative literature perspective, travelogues are an important component of imagological research because such texts are particularly suitable for analysing one culture's/nation's perceptions of another culture/nation. Moreover, travelogues offer a view of a culture/nation's perception of itself, depending on specific historical circumstances and the position, education, and attitudes of the travel writer[2]. And the travel writer simultaneously represents their own culture in a foreign setting and introduces the home audience to a foreign culture[3].

Imagology entails an interdisciplinary approach, emerging from the convergence of various humanities disciplines and a network of historical, philosophical, social, psychological, political, and cultural relations. Its research aims to demystify and dismantle 'self-image obstacles' and applies to diverse literary fields, including reception studies, cultural space analysis, the relationship between literature and travel writing, as well as imaginaries and the unconscious[4].

Imagological analysis uses literary and other textual sources, but its area of interest is discourse. An imagologist studies utterances and texts, notes and analyses them without assessing their accuracy or explaining the hypothetical character or temperament of a nation. Instead, the focus lies on the 'lexical and

[2] Duda, 2015: 348-350.
[3] Duda, 1998b: 11.
[4] Proietti, 2008: 133-147.

semantic content' of imagotypical expressions that mediate between fiction and reality. National representations are anchored in extra-textual referential frameworks and linked to imaginaries of real spaces, facilitating contextualization. These pseudo-imaginaries, while potentially reflecting reality, may also deviate from it and, as artistic constructs, are often protected from critical scrutiny. Idealising notions of a certain space are characterised by a strong emotional charge and may affect the image of the foreign[5].

Since imagology is concerned with the interaction between the literary and the extra literary, the travelogue, as a literary form, is inherently 'imagotypical'[6], as it contains representations of foreign countries (hetero-images), but often also abounds in images of one's own country and culture (auto-images). Those images or 'representations of national character', called ethnotypes, cannot be empirically measured against an objectively existing 'signifié'. They are, rather, discursive objects: 'narrative tropes and rhetorical formulae'. Ethnotypes are not historical constants; they fluctuate, and often a long-standing stereotype transforms into its opposite. The preservation of these accessible images and their opposites is called an imageme. Contradictions within an imageme make the ethnotype unfalsifiable, as counterexamples can always align with another variant. These inconsistencies are often explained by portraying the nation as an inherently contradictory 'nation of contrasts'[7].

The imagological analysis of travelogues

Literary imagology focuses on the study of images (opinions, stereotypes, prejudices, myths) of the so-called 'other' or 'foreigner'. Its object of study is therefore the multiple narratives of cultural, ethnic, or national diversity.

Imagological analysis[8] is metadiscursive in nature, as representations are seen as a feature of the text itself, as an intellectual product of discourse, and

[5] Syndram, 2009: 72-79.

[6] See Dukić, 2009.

[7] Leerssen, 2016: 16-18.

[8] For an overview of the fundamental concepts of imagology and its theoretical foundations, see also: Beller, Manfred, & Leerssen, Joep eds. 2007. *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters*. *A critical survey.* Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi; Leerssen, Joep. 2012. Dukić Davor ed. 2012. *Imagology today: Achievements, Challenges, Perspectives*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag; Blažević Zrinka, Brković, Ivana & Dukić Davor. 2015. *Identifying the past. History as a Foreign Country: Historical Imagery in South-eastern Europe*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag.

their 'truthfulness' is not measurable[9]. The very notion of representation points to intercultural confrontation, to the encounter between the domestic background of the text and the 'otherness' of the foreigner or foreign culture described in the text. Imagology does not concern itself with the credibility of these representations; rather, its aim is the demystification of 'images' (representations) and 'mirages' (distorted representations, myths) and the identification of the ideological structures on which they are based[10].

For this reason, imagological analysis is particularly well suited to the study of travel writing due to the inherently intercultural and hybrid nature of its discourse.

Dyserinck points out that mirages and images tend to appear more frequently in specific periods than in others (e.g., Romanticism or twentieth-century literature)[11]. Dukić, on the other hand, starting from the representation of certain historical periods, including the 19th century and some decades of the 20th century, treats them as temporally defined technical terms that, due to their imagotypical character, can be considered part of the representation of a particular geocultural space. These are usually self-representations[12].

Since imagological analysis is at once intertextual, contextual, and textual, it offers appropriate tools for the analysis of Nemčić's travelogue, particularly in its capacity to identify images, stereotypes, and prejudices about foreign or one's own culture, to attempt to understand the circumstances and mechanisms of their emergence, and finally, to deconstruct them. This is, in fact, the fundamental aim of imagological analysis: to understand the genesis, persistence, or disappearance of a given representation in the liminal space where the literary and the extra-literary converge.

Nemčić's journey

As previously mentioned, *Putositnice* [Travel Trifles] is a canonical work of Croatian Romantic literature, written by Nemčić, who, in the manner of Goethe, used notes taken during his journey. However, unlike Goethe, he does not wait thirty years to write it; instead, he composes it in the late autumn of 1844, just a year after the journey itself.

During the Romantic period, travel writing did not occupy a high position

[9] Leerssen, 2009a: 87.
[10] Dyserinck, 2009: 24-27.
[11] Dyserinck, 2009: 26.
[12] Dukić, 2015: 46-47.

on the literary genre hierarchy. It was considered merely a preparation for greater literary or scientific genres, and its primary purpose was to entertain the reader[13]. It was a refined form of literary pastime which, among other things, also aimed to educate the reader and contribute to the broadening of their horizons. Thus, Nemčić makes every effort to ensure that the reader, too, gains the impression of having encountered the cultures he describes.

The author's judgments reflect an intriguing blend of observation and stereotype, fact and myth, ideas taken out of context and their trivialization. Consequently, the stereotype and its linguistic expression sometimes directly depend on external trifles (fatigue, transportation). The more problems arise, the more stereotypes are present[14]. Even in the very announcement of his journey, Nemčić presents stereotypical images of Italy: "I was thinking of Italy, of the Venetian carnival, of the creations of Tiziano and Veronese, of torches and the blue Italian sky – of 'canzonettas' and poisons, of daggers and other pleasant things"[15].

Nemčić begins his journey at his country house in Ludbreg (North-western Croatia). He then continues through Križevci, Zagreb, the Gorski Kotar region, the Grobnik Field, Rijeka, Bakar, and Kraljevica, before entering Italy. There, he stops in Trieste, Venice, and Padua. On the return journey, he visits Verona, Vicenza, Venice and Trieste once again, and then passes through Postojna and Ljubljana (Slovenia), before reaching Graz and Vienna (Austria), where the travelogue concludes.

Although Nemčić intended to visit only a part of the country along the Northern Adriatic and some of its inland regions, the fact that he was travelling towards the sea shaped his image of Italy, expressed through the metaphor of the 'blue sky', as primarily a Southern, Mediterranean land. This mirage continues to dominate the collective imagination in contemporary Croatia as well. Evidence of such a stable hetero-image could also be found in the results of a 2016 study on stereotypes, conducted among Italian studies students at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. Among other questions, the survey asked whether respondents agreed with the statement that Italy is a Mediterranean country. Of those surveyed, 75% of all students completed the questionnaire, and nearly 96% either fully or partially agreed with this statement. Only 3.5% were undecided, and virtually none disagreed[16] (Dubravec Labaš, 2021: 309-310).

[13] Duda, 1998: 330.
[14] Duda, 2012: 13.
[15] Nemčić, 1996: 21. All subsequent page references are to this edition.
[16] Dubravec Labaš, 2021: 309-310.

Figure 2. Antun Nemčić Square in Križevci, the city where he worked, lived, and died (Photo by Nataša Pavičić).

Even though Italy geographically stretches from South Tyrol to Sicily, and many more Croats today are familiar with the country than was the case in the mid-19th century, Croatian culture still largely maintains a stable image of Italy as a Mediterranean country.

To set sail for the South – to Italy, in Venice

Goethe's ballad about Mignon, *Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn* [Do you know the land where lemon trees blossom][17] was written in 1782-83, before he ever visited the 'Belpaese'. It represents the embodiment of his longing for Italy. All poets and writers who later visited, described, or sang of Italy were, in some way, measured against these famous verses (Beller, 1987: 15).

[17] From the novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795-96).

Key features of Romantic poetics in the travel writing genre include getting to know one's homeland and foreign lands, describing them, and comparing them. Although by the mid-19th century Croatian readers had access to travelogues not only about domestic journeys but also about exotic regions of America, Asia, and Polynesia, their attention was most often directed toward the western coast of the Adriatic Sea. Italy was the most prominent foreign destination for Croatian Romantic writers, with Venice being the most frequently mentioned city. In the travel imagination of the 19th century, Italy was perceived as the cradle of European culture[18] and as a privileged space of romanticism. The pleasant climate, the beauty of the landscape, the artistic importance of its past, the presence of the Church, and the names of Goethe and Heine only reinforced this image. Croatian travel literature bears witness to the long-standing diachronic presence of the Italian itinerary[19]. Venice inspired Croatian writers in two ways: as a state and as a city. However, since many Dalmatian writers had lived under Venetian rule since the 15th century, they often avoided engaging with this politically sensitive subject. In fact, only the writers of the Republic of Dubrovnik could freely express their thoughts about Venice and the Venetians. Nevertheless, due to the historically burdened relations, from the Romantic era onward, the city often evoked mixed feelings in Croatian literature, both admiration and resentment alike[20]. It is therefore unsurprising that Nemčić chooses to set off for Venice or, as he puts it, "to set sail for the South"[21], because to know the land 'where the lemon trees blossom' had become a marker of elite refinement[22].

Three levels of imagological analysis: vocabulary, grammar and rhetoric

According to the Dutch imagologist Joep Leerssen, there are three levels of imagological analysis: vocabulary, grammar, and rhetoric. The 'vocabulary' of national characterisation concerns signifiers: what stands for 'what someone is like' or 'what someone has said about someone else'. This vocabulary is subject to change and is not determined by empirical reality (what people are really like), but rather by the way discourse about them is shaped. At the grammatical level, three binary oppositions govern such discursive shifts and instability: The

[18] In the aforementioned survey, 100% of students partially or fully agreed that Italy is a country of art and culture.
[19] Duda, 2012: 104-122.
[20] Deanović, 1959: 122-130.
[21] Nemčić, 1996: 21.
[22] Duda, 2012: 172.

North/South opposition, the strong/weak, and the central/peripheral. These must be approached diachronically and historically[23]. The next step in imagological analysis of national representations involves a shift from textual analysis and intertextual inventories towards pragmatic/rhetorical analysis – towards the dynamics of national stereotyping as an audience-oriented practice rather than a textual feature. At this level, one studies the discursive registers of national stereotyping: factual utterances and stereotyping. The pragmatic potential of a given representation, i.e. its ability to affect the audience, may increase, decrease, or remain unchanged[24].

At this initial level of analysis[25], the level of vocabulary, one records the lexicon – a list of words used during a given period to represent self-images and images of the 'other'. This vocabulary is, in principle, shared by both the author and the audience. Undoubtedly, the way in which the 'other'– and indeed the 'self' – is represented, as well as the vocabulary employed by the author, depends on factors such as upbringing, education, prior travel experience, the prejudices of the domestic milieu, the author's mood, and other influences.

Croatian Romantic travel writers quite naturally place their nation within the larger European family. Concern for the homeland is their primary interest, which explains why the domestic itinerary is the most frequently featured. Equally important, however, is the effort involved in travel abroad, during which comparisons are drawn between the homeland and the foreign world, thereby necessarily contextualising the Croatian situation within a European framework[26].

Except for the main destination – Italy, the South, Venice – towards which his journey is directed, Nemčić frequently references the broader European context in which his travels take place:

[23] The 'vocabulary' and 'grammar' are the metaphors of linguistic origin, and they constitute Leerssen's fundamental conceptual distinction. 'Vocabulary' refers to the search for surface-level signifiers of identity, whereas the 'grammar' of national stereotypes aims to uncover the underlying signifiers of the mechanisms that produce such markers; this is, in fact, the true domain of imagology. The grammar of national stereotypes includes three dichotomies – North/South, centre/periphery, and strong/weak – which can consistently be identified in a range of well-known stereotypes across Western Europe. Leerssen, 2009a:106-109.

[24] Leerssen, 2009a: 106-119.

[25] Since, due to lack of space, it is not possible to list all the images and utterances in which they are found in the *Putositnice* [Travel Trifles], only a few examples will be listed for each level of imagological analysis.

[26] Duda, 1998b: 82.

> Man is free […] He can walk from one pole to the other; he may reflect on the transience of human power among the ruins of ancient Rome or marvel at the divine spark of Raphael in the Vatican. He may amuse himself in Paris – the salon of Europe – […] be amazed by the icy, giant beauties of Helvetic nature or by the excellence of handcrafted products in the foggy cities of England – where, for a miserable three pennies, a shirt […] can be bought[27].

Our perception of the foreign world is conditioned by our own culture and the knowledge of the world we have acquired. As such, spatial representations are shaped by what we have seen, experienced, or read. More often than not, these are clichéd images of particular places.

For Nemčić, the sky over Italy is blue; it is the land of daggers and *canzonettas*, of oranges and salami, of *conti* and *poveretti*; the shouting and noise are characteristic of all Italian cities; the South and the Mediterranean are romantic; the villas along the road from Venice to Verona are white; the Southern regions are gentle; the plains of Lombardy are blessed; the Venetian night is poetic, just like the day; and the Tuscan fields are enchanting[28].

> Avenues of maple trees entwined with vines; groves of olive and fig trees; rice fields crisscrossed with irrigation channels; villages resembling small towns; villas with luxurious gardens […], and above this earthly paradise, a clear blue sky, whose bright azure is surpassed only by the irresistible charm of your eyes, dear Slavic ladies[29] […].

Although the Croatian landscape is filled with magnificent vistas, Nemčić laments that "there is no artist to make the world aware of them"[30]. In addition to its natural beauty, however, Croatia is often portrayed as a land of outdated agriculture, overgrown and neglected meadows, and poor roads, lacking a railway. In the capital, Zagreb, shops bear German names. He attributes all this to Croatian disunity. Rijeka, on the other hand, is lively both day and night – thanks to its "Italianness"[31].

Nemčić also mentions, among other things, Swiss cheese, the barbaric Slav, the phlegmatic Englishman, the flatterer from Bond Street, the curious Englishwoman, the dark-eyed Venetian woman, the ever-present Jews, German cool-headedness, Italian passion, Slavic naivety, Italian hospitality, 'dolce far niente', industrious German artists, the boredom and yawning of Trieste (due to

[27] Nemčić, 1996: 18.
[28] Nemčić, 1996: 164, 161-162, 77, 42, 12, 65, 96, 137, 183.
[29] Nemčić, 1996: 164.
[30] Nemčić, 1996: 55.
[31] Nemčić, 1966: 77, 35, 40, 229.

the 'bora' wind), Vesuvius, Neapolitan pickpockets, and Saint Januarius, as well as the gullible Croats[32].

Trieste is described as a commercial city, yet lacking the characteristic atmosphere of a port; here, Italian influence has displaced Slavic identity. Padua is the city of Livy, Apollo, and other demigods, but above all of Saint Anthony, the first botanical garden in Europe, its renowned university, and Galileo. Verona preserves the memory of unhappy lovers, and Vicenza is portrayed as the garden of Venice[33].

As expected, the most space is devoted to Venice: the Palmyra of the sea, the queen of the sea wrapped in a magical veil, magnificent Venice in its vast and splendid being, an aristocratic Jerusalem, a city imprinted with the traces of the East on its very back side, a city that is a thousand-year-long, strange tale – Venice is a "mummy in a crystal coffin". Not all the images are idealised: the half-dark labyrinth of narrow alleys turned into filthy latrines, the decaying palaces outside the city centre, and the most frequent 'refrain': give, pay, count[34].

At the level of the grammar, the aim is to determine which binary oppositions (North/South, weak/strong, centre/periphery) underlie representations of the foreigner. These oppositions are shaped by the economic and/or political power of a given nation – and that, too, is subject to change. In this context, binary oppositions serve as underlying structures in utterances about foreigners.

For example: German artists are diligent, but German sweat carves Carrara marble in a very artificial way*;* the English admire everything they see, but they call anyone who thinks differently a Vandal or a Goth*;* A Roman (met on the ship) expresses his disdain for the ugliness of the Venetian dialect; the Slavs are true builders: they construct cities, while others expand over them – just as the Italians do in Trieste, so too do the Germans in Graz[35].

The third level of the imagological analysis, rhetorical, determines the type of discourse in which the utterance containing a cultural sign is found. It may involve factual or stereotypical utterances.

Factual utterances: Venetian inns are cheaper than those in Trieste or Vienna*;* in our homeland (Croatia) there are majestic scenes in abundance, but there are no artists to make them known to the world; Trieste is well built, with wide, paved streets; coal is used on the Venetian railway, while wood is used on the Austrian one; The Gulf of Kvarner cannot be compared with the port of Trieste[36].

[32] Nemčić, 1996: 41, 253, 250, 124-125, 143, 174, 122, 215, 264, 13, 166.
[33] Nemčić, 1996: 99-104, 139-192.
[34] Nemčić, 1996: 23, 112, 115, 122, 132, 140.
[35] Nemčić, 1996: 215, 262, 99.
[36] Nemčić, 1996: 255, 55, 99, 143, 50.

If stereotyping is present, it is determined whether it involves strategies of pseudopsychological characterisation or the effect of the typical.

Pseudopsychological characterisation*:* the Venetian desires less virile amusements because his nature has been softened by the lush climate and the eternal *sirocco* wind; the gentle Slavic eyes of a Slavo-Dalmatian woman; the cold German blood cannot compete with Italian ardour[37].

Effect of the typical: a significant feature of all Italian cities is shouting and noise; Italian hospitality; the Italian theatre is more chaste than the German one: there is no eating, drinking, smoking, hugging, or kissing; the Italian *vetturino* cheats the foreigner as readily as the Viennese fiacre, but he is not as rude as the latter; expression on the full lips of the idealized Slavo-Dalmatian woman[38].

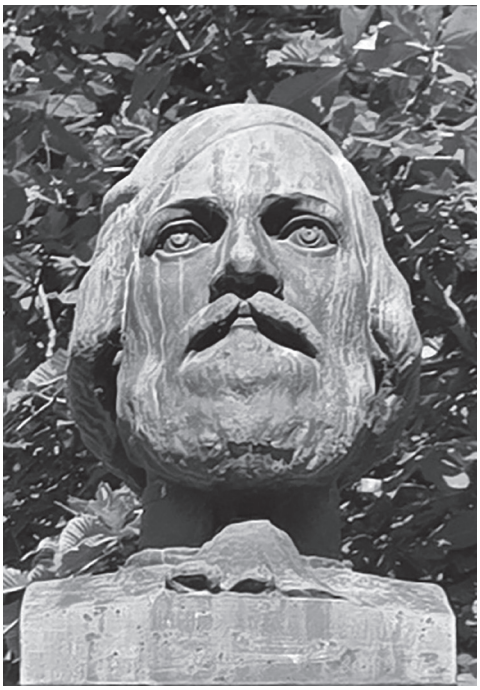

Figure 3. The bust of Antun Nemčić on the central town square in Križevci (Photo by Nataša Pavičić).

Conclusions

The vocabulary through which Nemčić presents to the reader the space he describes in his travelogue, the inhabitants, and the culture of the 'other' – often compared to his own – shows that representations of national character (ethnotypes, imagemes) are not historical constants. They depend on context, historical moment, and discursive structure. An imageme, that is, a set of ideas about a nation, consists of historically variable stereotypical oppositions. These oppositions are permanently present in the social imaginary, and when a certain image is deemed inappropriate, it is replaced by another – often its opposite. However, such replacement does not erase the previous image, which may be reactivated when circumstances allow[39].

[37] Nemčić, 1996: 220, 217, 143,
[38] Nemčić, 1996: 77, 174, 162, 191, 217.
[39] See Dukić, 2009; Leerssen, 2009b.

For example, Nemčić's image of Italy – at a time when the Venetian Republic no longer exists and when Hungary and Austria carry a negative connotation due to historical circumstances – includes a blue sky and a land of culture and rich history. After the experience of World War II, entirely different hetero-images are drawn from the historical reservoir and activated. Today, social media is flooded with posts from 'travel addicts' sharing their experiences of trips to Italy. Once again, we read about the rich culture and history of the country, the Italian lifestyle, the *dolce far niente* Italian gastronomy and picturesque landscapes – in other words, everything Nemčić once wrote about.

Therefore, the imagological interpretation – which, among other things, draws on historiographic and other knowledge – is particularly suitable for the analysis of travel writing. In addition to bringing to the surface both hetero- and auto-images, which can be observed from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives, it also provides the tools to interpret them. Since the approach is based on the premise that every European national stereotype is shaped by underlying forces, the analysis adopts a supranational perspective – one that avoids value judgments and 'taking sides'.

At that time, the main purpose of travelogues was to entertain readers. To this end, Nemčić draws on the spaces and cultures of cities, which have a certain pragmatic potential – meaning their ability to have an effect on the audience. He chose Italy itself as a metaphor for the South/Mediterranean, precisely based on the great pragmatic potential that this country held for the traveller of that era. However, it is clear from the travelogue text that Venice is a toponym – the cultural sign with the greatest pragmatic potential, the cultural and geographical space to which the most attention, text, and time are dedicated.

Through an imagological analysis of the vocabulary itself, as well as the stereotypical and factual utterances about Venice – some of which were mentioned in the final part of this study – the mechanisms of their creation, the ideological constructs on which they rest, become apparent. This also provides the possibility of understanding how they were formed, spread, and possibly gradually disappeared or survived to the present day. This, in turn, opens up opportunities for contributions to other intercultural travelogue studies that include additional fields[40] that go beyond literature.

[40] The Ivan Goran Kovačić Library, under the title 'Children of the World', promotes travel writing as a literary genre and form that includes cultural context, using it as a literary template for sensitising children and young people to multiculturalism and a culturally diverse society.

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II.
The 'Italian Grand Tour' and the North-east of the Adriatic Sea

‘Reading’ Venice Through the Eyes of Three Czech Travellers from the Late 19th Century

Anna-Maria Perissutti*, Francesco Visentin*

Introduction

Giannantonio Paladini[1] wrote:

> During the nineteenth century, Venetian culture was focused on history. Over the decades, a genuine process of ‘memory elaboration’ unfolded, accompanied by a sense of ‘mourning’ for the tragic downfall of the Republic of Venice in 1797.

Around the nineteenth century, many authors, poets, painters and intellectuals came to Venice and reflected on its history and its present state. Notable French visitors included Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand (1797); the prolific writer George Sand (1830-34); the writer Alfred de Musset (1838); the French historian and essayist Jules Michelet (1839); and the writer Théophile Gautier (1846); prominent figures from Germany at this time included the poet August von Platen (1824) and the composer Richard Wagner, who visited Venice six times between 1858 and his death in 1883; many prominent English visitors came to the city, most notably the poets George Byron, who visited in 1816-1819, and Percy Shelley, a guest of Byron’s in 1818, the painter and engraver William Turner (who travelled to Venice in 1819, 1829, and 1840), and the poet Robert Browning, who died at the Ca’ Rezzonico Palace in 1889. The city also attracted the writer Henry James, who went there fourteen times between 1869 and 1907, as well as the English writer Charles Dickens, who stayed in Venice in 1844 and 1853. John Ruskin, the renowned aesthete and art critic who played a key role in the Pre-Raphaelite movement, also spent time exploring the city.

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[1] “Nel corso dell’Ottocento la cultura veneziana è una cultura rivolta alla storia. Nei decenni si attuò una vera e propria ‘elaborazione della memoria’ e, addirittura, del ‘lutto’ legato alla traumatica caduta dello Stato veneto nel 1797”. Paladini, 2004: 35 (Our translation).

These 'other' perspectives played a pivotal role in shaping perceptions of Venice and establishing the foundation for the enduring 'topos', or narrative, of Venice as a tourist destination. This was also fuelled by the changing social and economic conditions experienced by an increasing segment of the population during the nineteenth century, which made travel (or tourism) central to the emerging bourgeois culture. These changes also transformed the nature of travel itself.

As Andrea Zannini explains:

> Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the time taken to travel decreased. This development coincided with a growing appreciation of travel, nature, and the 'sentimental' ability of destinations to evoke emotions, which needed to be channelled, directed, and intensified[2].

In the realm of travel accounts, descriptions, and representations, namely the broad landscape of travel guides, the works by Central European travellers and their distinctive viewpoints remain relatively unknown. What did their Venice look like? What elements attracted their attention the most? Which monuments did they visit? What sources inspired them? Which guidebooks did they reference? How did they travel? What did they eat? What kind of relationships did they form with everyday spaces and the people they met?

This study focuses on travel books by three Czech authors who arrived in Venice between the 1870s and 1880s:

- Jindřich Lorenz, *Výlet do Benátek* [Trip to Venice, 1874][3], (hereafter referred to as 'Lorenz');
- Ludevít Rajmund Pazdírek, *Cesta z Vídně do Terstu, Benátek, Římu*, *a popis*

[2] "Tra Sette e Ottocento la tempistica del viaggio si accorcia: è un fenomeno che ha luogo contemporaneamente alla nascita di una nuova sensibilità per il viaggio, per la natura, per la capacità 'sentimentale' dei luoghi di suscitare emozioni, che devono essere però indirizzate, guidate, massimizzate". Zannini, 2002: 1136 (Our translation).

[3] Lorenz was born on August 20, 1854; he died on October 8, 1935. A publisher and bookseller from Třebíč, a town in Moravia, he graduated from the royal school in Jihlava and trained as a bookseller in Jan František Kubeš's shop in what is now Havlíčkův Brod, before gaining experience in Brno, Prague and Vienna. In 1874, he published his work *Výlet do Benátek* [A Trip to Venice]. In Vienna in 1877, he founded an antiquarian bookshop with a colleague; he later returned to Třebíč and, in 1880, together with J. F. Kubeš, he established a company that initially operated as a branch of Leopold von Lowenthal's bookshop in Jihlava. On January 1, 1884, he took over the bookshop and ran it under his own name from 1885. Between 1884 and 1935, he published around two hundred works of literature (in various languages), fiction, as well as Lorenz's yearbook of booksellers, publishers and related trade unions in the Czechoslovak Republic and Czechoslovak factories abroad. Please refer to https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jindřich_Lorenz (consulted on 20-7-2024).

Italie [Journey from Vienna to Trieste, Venice, Rome and Description of Italy, 1881][4], (hereafter referred to as 'Pazdírek');

- Jan Jelínek, *Cesta do Lublaně a do Benátek* [Journey to Ljubljana and Venice, 1888][5] (hereafter referred to as 'Jelínek').

Attempting to experience Venice through the eyes of nineteenth-century travellers can expand our understanding of tourism, a phenomenon that is now so widespread, contradictory, complex and paradoxical that it is difficult to interpret.

Reading these texts and considering the dialogue between 'insiders and outsiders' in a different historical context can help us to place the debate in perspective and detach it from negative present-day assumptions. Above all, it can help us to break free from the well-worn clichés that influence our judgements and which contemporary life so often imposes on us.

By examining these three travel accounts, we will focus on their material and spatial dimensions, where the authors combine experience, description and representation.

Action and movement are fundamental to learning, particularly in the context of 'learning by doing', including in tourism. Without the opportunity to engage with the world around us through direct experience and reflection, our spatial knowledge and sense of direction would likely be much more limited (Lando, 2016[6]). Literature, especially travel literature, can serve as a valuable source of information and a suitable 'diagnostic index'[7] with which to measure the 'geo-

[4] Pazdírek was born in Citov, in the district of Přerov, on August 23, 1850, and died in Brno on April 3, 1914. He was a teacher, school director, composer of sacred music, and publisher. From 1889 onwards, he taught in various Moravian towns. In 1879, he established a publishing house in Horní Moštěnice, near Přerov. This was moved to Olomouc in 1897 and then to Brno in 1911. Together with his brother, František, he published the *Všeobecná příručka hudební literatury* [General Handbook of Music Literature]. Further information is published in the online encyclopaedia of the history of Brno: https://encyklopedie.brna.cz/home-mmb/?acc=profil_osobnosti&load=11407 (consulted on 20-7-2024).

[5] Jelínek, whose date of birth and death are unknown, was a school director in Třebíč and later a school inspector in Velké Meziříčí from 1883 to 1894. He was successfully involved in the development and progress of schools in rural areas. For more information, please refer to: https://is.muni.cz/th/vztyh/Plny_text_prace.pdf (consulted on 20-7-2024); https://cs.wikisource.org/wiki/Str%C3%A1nka:Vlastiv%C4%9Bda_moravsk%C3%A1_-_T%C5%99ebick%C3%BD_okres_-_1906.djvu/174 (consulted on 20-7-2024); https://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:625ada60-9ed9-11e3-a744-005056827e52?page=uuid:24f82d50-a97c-11e3-9d7d-005056827e51005056827e51 (consulted on 20-7-2024).

[6] Lando, 2016: 141-162.

[7] Tuan, 1976.

graphical awareness' of societies[8]. Therefore, analysing literature written by past travellers can deepen our understanding of the relationship between Venice and tourism, offering a more complete, complex and nuanced perspective.

From a geographical point of view, the use of literature should therefore be understood not only as an effective tool for exploring many aspects of human life, of which landscape is a central part, but also as a means of revealing the hidden layers of habits and attitudes that shape space over time. Tourism, as a widespread model for experiencing the world, has a powerful capacity to reshape environments and influence cultural, social and economic contexts, acting as a driver of both transformation and hybridisation.

By analysing and understanding the works, we will attempt to move beyond a purely linguistic approach to identify shared themes that convey the traveller's experiences and impressions.

We will also examine the spatial dynamics and everyday life of Venice. Our observations will focus on three main themes related to tourism.

These themes emerged consistently across all three works: gastronomical aspects as a means of exploring alterity, mobility as a way of understanding the landscape, and cultural heritage as an essential part of the tourist experience.

In this sense, the analysis of odeporic literature has a long tradition. Our contribution aims to offer the perspective of travellers from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, specifically Czech travellers.

This viewpoint has received far less attention than the many studies focusing on the experiences of travel writers from English-, French-, and German-speaking countries.

While it represents a fresh perspective, as we will see, travel literature and guidebooks had already played a considerable role in shaping itineraries and stimulating the imagination by the end of the nineteenth century.

The three travel manuscripts against the background of the literature of Czech travel to Italy

Travel to Italy in general, and to Venice in particular, has been one of the most common themes in Czech travel literature from the Middle Ages onwards[9]. Notable nineteenth-century Czech authors who visited this city and wrote travel books include František Palacký, Jan Neruda, Josef Svatopluk Machar, Karel Hynek Mácha, Milota Zdirad Polák and Jan Kollár[10].

[8] Lando, 1993 e Papotti, 1996.
[9] Please refer to, for example, Hrbata, 2014: 540-541.
[10] Please refer to, for example, Kondratenko, 2015.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, when the journeys of our three authors took place, economic development in the Czech Lands, one of the wealthiest and most industrialised regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the simultaneous creation of the railway network led to the emergence of tourism in this part of Europe.

Slavic tourism emerged from the specific historical and political context of the late nineteenth century, marked by rivalry among Slavs, Germans, and Hungarians within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As evident from numerous journals and pamphlets of the time, it played a crucial role in fostering reciprocity[11].

The three travel books at the centre of our research either refer to this situation or speak about it explicitly. From this point of view, the most significant work is that of Jelínek, who gives an account of the first group trip organised by the newly established *Klub českých turistů*[12] [Czech Tourist Club], which aimed to reach Bled, the Postojna caves, Ljubljana, and the Adriatic Sea (the so-called 'Blue Adria'[13]).

All three authors we have examined arrived in Italy by the same route. They travelled by train from Vienna to Trieste, passing through the town of Semmering, followed by Graz and Postojna. The last leg of the journey was by steamboat, from Trieste to Venice.

The details they provide about the train ticket, the itinerary and the role of the railway are particularly interesting. These details demonstrate how the con-

[11] Following the Pan-Slavic cultural movement of the nineteenth century, which spread liberal and national ideals among educated Slavic circles after the Romantic era and the Napoleonic Wars, tourism to Slavic countries (including those on the Adriatic) was seen as an activity that could bring Slavic peoples closer together, with the ultimate goal of creating a single Slavic national state. This idea is clearly expressed in brochures from that period, which feature titles such as 'Uchovejme Slovanské moře Slovanům', meaning 'Let us keep the Slavic Sea for the Slavs', and similar ones. In the 1912:712 article by Guth, for example, we read: "Tourism, more than almost any other factor, has the potential to be an important part of the reciprocal nature of Slavic cultural exchange. It is the first natural bond of reciprocity because reciprocity can only develop through contact with, and knowledge of, the territories and living conditions of other Slavic peoples".

[12] The *Klub českých turistů* [Czech Tourist Club] was an association founded in 1888 under the leadership of Vojta Náprstek, modelled on the Austrian Alpine Club, which was created in 1862. Created to promote and spread tourism, introduce the public to cultural and natural attractions, and, at the same time, take care of these attractions, it played a significant role in the development of Czech tourism, also contributing to the construction of numerous tourist facilities. The monthly magazine *Časopis turistů* [Tourist Magazine], which began publication in 1889, became the official publication of the Club.

[13] As stated in the interesting thesis by Bergmanová, 2010: 11. "Approximately 500 people took part in the trip, which happened in 1887".

struction of the European railway network in the nineteenth century was a key factor in shaping modern tourism[14].

From a literary perspective, the three works have a composite structure that is typical of odeporic writing[15]: the personal narrative style of travel diaries, including the date, place of departure, mode of transport, and companions, is combined with features of the emerging genre of tourist guides, particularly in Pazdírek and Lorenz. These include information on service prices and recommendations on sights, dining, and accommodation.

The fact that there was already extensive travel literature on Italy written in Czech at the time, capable of shaping the imagination of its readers, is evident in the peculiar intertextual structure of the works: the three manuscripts constantly 'dialogue' with printed guidebooks (the *Red Baedeker*, the *Gsell-Fels Guide*) and with Czech travel books written in the first half of the nineteenth century (especially by authors such as J. Kollár and M.Z. Polák), drawing on scenes, passages, metaphors and comparisons. Recurring clichés across all three works include the sunrise over the sea; passengers suffering seasickness aboard the steamship; Venice nicknamed the 'Dead Queen of the Adriatic'; its portrayal as a 'melancholic city'; and the scene of the symbolic 'marriage between Venice and the Adriatic Sea'; the songs of the gondoliers; anecdotes about pigeons; the image of St. Mark's Square as a dance floor; the etymology of the place name 'Riva degli Schiavoni', which, according to Kollár and Pazdírek, demonstrates the city's Slavic origins and is therefore of particular relevance to the Czech audience.

Another element shared by the works, which reveals the stereotypes surrounding Venice and Venetians as well as the strategies employed by the traveller-narrators, is plurilingualism. This primarily involves inserting Italian expressions into the Czech text.

The topic warrants a more in-depth investigation, which the limited space available here does not permit.

In this section, we will offer a few observations: in all three works, place names and monument names are presented in a bilingual format, with the Czech translation appearing first, followed by the original Italian in parentheses.

The authors often make spelling mistakes in Italian, bringing the Italian spelling closer to Czech pronunciation. In other cases, the errors stem from a misunderstanding of the Italian word, as in Jelínek, who interprets the plural

[14] On this point, please refer to Attl & Nejedl, 2004: 83. At the beginning of his work, Lorenz states that he purchased a ticket similar to the modern-day Interrail pass (the *okružní lístek*, a circular ticket).

[15] In this regard, please refer to Hrbata, 2014: 562.

noun *giganti* (giants) from the place name "La Scala dei Giganti" as if it were an adjective. An example:

> Using the so-called *gigantesca* staircase (Scala dei Giganti) […][16].

In contrast, clichés and stereotypes familiar to the Czech readership are given in Italian, without any translation into Czech, such as the word 'signore' and the expression 'dolce far niente', as shown clearly in this example:

> […] we observed, on the pavilions above the canal, several 'signore' dressed in magnificent clothing, sitting motionless in the stillness like marble statues, absorbed in the famous 'dolce far niente'[17].

Based on what has been presented, the three authors present themselves as educated and sophisticated travellers who serve as cultural intermediaries for their readers.

As we have seen, they are writing within a literary genre that was well established by the second half of the nineteenth century, which meant they could rely on an audience that was already familiar with Italy.

We will now proceed to the comparative analysis of the three works, examining the three chosen themes: gastronomical aspects, mobility, and cultural heritage.

Gastronomical aspects

In this section, we would like to discuss a topic that often plays a decisive role in shaping the tourist experience: the relationship with local cuisine. A cross-analysis of the three manuscripts reveals that the three Czech travellers did not appreciate 'Italian' food, which is in stark contrast to its current and almost universal popularity, even in Central and Eastern Europe.

In this regard, Lorenz writes, for example:

> We did not go to local taverns for lunch because we had already tried the local food in Trieste and did not like it. We always had a Viennese-style lunch at the hotel where we were staying. They also served beer there, but it was expensive; a jug, subject to high duties, cost around 24 Kr in our currency. The restaurant owner, a

[16] "Po schodech tak zvaných 'obrovských' (Scala dei Giganti), […]". (Jelínek, 1888: 48).

[17] "[…] viděli jsme na pavlánech nad průplavem do ulice vyčnívajících signory skvostnými šaty oděné jako mramorové sochy nepohnutě seděti a v zátiší sobě hověti dle známé zásady 'dolce far niente'". (Jelínek, 1888: 41).

> Moravian named Bauer, named the hotel where the Stella d'Oro restaurant was located after himself[18].

Jelínek echoes his sentiments:

> I had decided not to eat any seafood in Venice because I had been disgusted by the fried fish in Trieste, and now even the soup seemed to smell of oil. I added cheese to the 'tagliatelle soup', but as I struggled to eat the long strands of pasta in the hot soup, the cheese inside melted and stretched into long, stringy strands. After that, I wanted nothing more to do with Italian cuisine[19].

This suspicion towards Italian food is also evident when it comes to 'street food'. The three works describe the fish, fruit and vegetable market in Rialto as an extraordinary spectacle due to the richness and variety of the produce on display. However, beyond the wonder, a certain unease is apparent. In fact, Pazdírek writes that:

> The fish market is a unique spectacle, marked by an unpleasant smell that can be detected from a distance. Here, a wide variety of small and large fish, shellfish, oysters, snails, starfish and other aquatic animals are sold. A foreigner finds it hard to believe that animals with such unsightly and strange shapes are being sold. Just as we sell all kinds of bread on the streets and in taverns, in Venice, the vendors offer starfish, which they call fried octopus. Our guide bought two of these octopuses from a street boy who, with his eyes sparkling, began to devour them. I would have been happy to taste these fried delicacies myself, had I not seen that the boy had spilt oil all over himself while gobbling them down[20].

[18] "Na oběd jsme nechodili do vlašských osterií, neboť již v Terstě jsme okusili vlašského jídla, které nám dokonce nechutnalo. Obědvali jsme raději po vídeňsku v hôtelu, kde jsme byli ubytováni. Zde nalévali též pivo, které však bylo velmi drahé; džbánek s dosti velkou portou stál asi 24 kr. dle našich peněz". (Lorenz, 1874: 89).

[19] "Nechtěl jsem v Benátkách rybu jísti, poněvadž v Terstu zošklivil jsem si rybu na oleji pečenou, a teď zdálo se mi, že i ta polévka olejem zapáchá. Dal jsem si v Benátkách sýr do polévky nudlové; ale co jsem dlouhými nudlemi v horké polévce se zabýval, zklíhovatěl mi jaksi v ní sýr, až se jako provázky táhl, a proto – nepřeji si více vlašské kuchyně […]". (Jelínek, 1888: 50-51).

[20] "Zvláštní podívání jest na rybím trhu, jenž zdaleka již svým nepříjemným zápachem se prozrazuje. Zde prodávají se rozmanité malé i velké ryby, neúhlední korejši, ústřice, hlemýždi, všelijací hvězdýši a jiná vodní zvířata. Cizinec sotva uvěří, že zvířata tak nehezkých a podivných tvarů požívati se mohou. Jako u nás prodává se po ulicích a po hospodách všelijaké pečivo, tak v Benátkách nabízejí prodavači ke koupi hvězdýše, jež polypy nazývají, na oleji smažené. Náš průvodčí zaplatil dva takové polypy jednomu pouličnímu hochu, kterýž očima zajiskřiv s takovou chutí do nich se pustil, že bych byl rád také takové smaženky okusil, kdybych byl neviděl, jak onomu hochu z pojídané lahůdky špinavá břečka po bradě teče". (Jelínek, 1888: 61-62).

This passage reveals not only the amazement felt at the spectacular display of shapes and colours, but also the discomfort felt by the traveller due to the unpleasant smell of the fish, the unsightly appearance of some crustaceans and, above all, the disgust at the sight of the boy eating fried fish and getting himself covered in oil. The three travellers had similar impressions during their stay in Trieste. They do not appreciate the food, and, despite the city still being Austrian, they associate it with Italian cuisine. In general, they show a certain wariness towards food, and towards sea fish in particular, which they are unfamiliar with. At this stage, the semiotic link between typical products and their place of origin had not yet become a means of reinforcing local identity. Nor was it yet considered an essential component of the tourist experience, comparable to visiting museums or cultural landmarks.

Based on the descriptions provided by these travellers, the meals they ate were very different from what we consider 'Italian cuisine' today. As Montanari[21] and Grandi[22] have clarified, the Italian culinary tradition, which is now easily recognisable and universally appreciated, began to take shape in the 1970s and only later became established as a tourist attraction and part of the national identity. Nevertheless, cross-analysing the three manuscripts reveals a certain reluctance to consider food or food tourism as part of experiencing and living the cultural heritage of a territory.

Mobility

This brings us to the topic of mobility: how did our travellers get around the city? First of all, we should point out that the Venice they visited at the end of the nineteenth century was quite different from the Venice we know today: At that time, many canals had not yet been covered over to improve traffic flow, reclaim certain areas, clean them up, and make the city more pedestrian-friendly. Indeed, Jelínek observes that:

> Almost all the houses are connected to a large canal. Other smaller waterways flow into the Grand Canal, which, in fact, means that the entire city of Venice can be navigated by gondola[23].

[21] Montanari, 2006.

[22] Grandi, 2018.

[23] "K velikému průplavu mají téměř všecky ostatní menší průplavy svůj směr, a proto bylo by lze na gondole celé Benátky proplavati". (Jelínek, 1888: 58).

Figure 1. A gondola with a *felze* (a removable cabin) is moored near the Rialto Bridge. Please note the absence of waves in the Grand Canal (Photograph by Carlo Naya, 1875, https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Venezia-_Ponte_di_Rialto-_1875_Carlo_Naya.jpg).

The gondola is the quintessential means of transport, dominating all the canals and featured in descriptions in all three works, and is the fastest and most economical way to get around the city. *Vaporetti* (water buses) were introduced in 1881, shortly after Jindřich Lorenz's visit in 1874 and Ludevít Rajmund Pazdírek's stay in the same year, and a few years before Jan Jelínek's visit in 1888. Given the current image of the gondola as a tourist icon and symbol, as well as an extraordinary and expensive means of transport, Lorenz's words seem almost paradoxical today, given that he did not witness the effects of motorisation:

> The primary means of transport here consists of several hundred gondolas and barges, which take the place of carriages and carts.
> This is why, despite its size, the city is very quiet. The gondoliers[24] and their boats

[24] Lorenz dedicates an entire subchapter at the end of his book to the interesting role of the gondolier. The author first notes the honesty of these people, which contrasts with their

Figure 2. A gondola sailing in a still St Mark's Basin seen from San Giorgio (Photograph by Carlo Naya, late 1800s. This photograph also appears in Jelínek's travel diary (https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Naya,_Carlo_%281816-1882%29_-_n._01_-_Venezia_-_Panorama_da_S._Giorgio_e_gondola.jpg).

> do not make as much noise on the water as horses and carriages do on rigid pavements[25].

We encounter this theme once more in Pazdírek's work, where he observes:

> This canal can be crossed in a quarter of an hour, but the trip along the Grand Canal usually takes more than an hour because the gondoliers stop at every famous palace to give explanations[26].

reputation. They are entertainers, storytellers, and authentic guides to Venice, sharing myths and legends about the city itself and its inhabitants.

[25] "Hlavním prostředkem kommunikačním jest několik set gondol a bark, které zde zastupují naše drožky a fiakry. Proto také panuje v městě, a jest veliké, náramné ticho […]". (Lorenz, 1874: 112-113).

[26] "Znamenitý tento kanál možno ve čtvrť hodině projeti, obyčejná jízda však trvá teměř hodinu, an průvodčí (gondolník) při každém znamenitějším palácu zastaví a vysvětlivky podává". (Pazdírek, 188: 71).

Jelínek's account shows that the conditions of transport had already changed. He pauses to reflect on the speed of the available means and the role they play in 'seeing' Venice, when he writes:

> Small 'vaporetti', or steamboats, cross the entire canal throughout the day, like buses in big cities or trams. Before crossing, they stop at 12 important points, known as 'traghetti', which are designated stops. Every 10 minutes, a new boat arrives, transporting passengers to their desired destinations. This mode of transport is undoubtedly very convenient for the public, especially for visitors like us who want to see as much as possible in a short amount of time. Of course, travelling by gondola would have been more advisable in the melancholic city of Venice. It would have been more enjoyable, but we would have been running late[27].

Clearly, the increasing number of motorboats was changing the rules of the game, including those relating to sound. The unique soundscape of Venice was altered forever. Although the *vaporetti* were already crossing the Grand Canal, this scene is not yet characterised by the wave motion caused by powerful diesel engines that we see today. In any case, a more detailed investigation into the types of boats, who operated them and their purpose would be worthwhile in order to understand the variety of watercraft that characterised the canals of Venice at the time.

Cultural heritage and tourism

Our third and final central theme, identified through a comparative reading of the works, is the concept of cultural heritage. Of interest is the fact that the stay of our three authors was relatively short (three to five days), which confirms the trend that, as tourism expanded, the time dedicated to travel became shorter. The focus of their brief visit was mainly on the *Sestiere* of San Marco (St Mark's Square, St Mark's Basilica, the Bell Tower, the Doge's Palace and the prisons), as well as the Arsenale and the churches. The three travellers also ventured outside this area to the Lido, the seaside extension of

[27] "Malé parníky projíždějí za dne celým průplavem jako u nás ve větších městech omnibusy neb vozy tramwayové, a než průplavem projedou, zastaví se na 12 důležitých místech –, jež slovou traghetto. Každých 10 minut připluje parník nový a platí se 10 centesimů za osobu, ať pluje kam chce. Zařízení takové jest zajisté pro obecenstvo velmi pohodlné, zvláště bylo pro nás cizince, když jsme chtěli v krátkém čase mnoho viděti. Ovšem plavba na gondole byla by se nám v melancholických Benátkách lépe doporučovala a byla by příjemnější, ale to by nás bylo zdržovalo". (Jelínek, 1888: 57).

Venice, which, as Andrea Zannini[28] explains, has no tangible equivalent in Europe. They also explored the island of San Lazzaro degli Armeni. Initially, their experiences were quite similar and influenced by the guidebooks they had read. These include the *Red Baedeker* and the accounts of *Gsell Fels*, as well as travel books on Italy written by the Czech 'best seller' authors in the early nineteenth century, as we have seen. The gondoliers also impacted their experience, providing transportation and acting as guides and storytellers who took tourists to the same places and shared the same stories. Our authors paint a picture of a Venice whose historic centre was crowded not only with tourists, but also with residents. St. Mark's Square is described as the true beating heart of city life: a popular yet lively place where it is difficult to find hotel or table reservations.

In this regard, Lorenz writes:

> All day long, from morning into the evening, people wander around here […][29].

Similarly, Jelínek also observes:

> We went to the Grancaffè Quadri, where we discovered that there was such an immense crowd sitting in front of the establishment, located under the arcades, that we could hardly make our way inside[30].

Lorenz also describes how St. Mark's Square is transformed into a ballroom in the evening:

> In the centre of the square, a military band played the musical tunes from *Rigoletto*, *La Traviata* and other Italian operas. As if it were the time of the Carnival, people danced with joy and delight[31].

Many similar descriptions appear across all three works. There is another point concerning the macro-theme of cultural heritage that we believe is significant in defining the view of Czech travellers on late nineteenth-century Venice. Although they mention the rich collections, especially of paintings, in Venetian

[28] Zannini, 2014: 191.

[29] "Po celý den, od rána až do večera toulají se tu lidé […]". (Lorenz, 1874: 110).

[30] "Šli jsme tedy nedaleko do 'Café di Guadri', kdež bylo veliké množství host sedících před kavárnou pod arkádami, tak že jsme sotva přišli k místu". (Jelínek, 1881: 43).

[31] "Celé náměstí sv. Marka zdálo se býti velikým sálem koncertním. […] vojenská hudba hrála uprostřed náměstí arije ze zpěvoher Rigoletta, Traviaty a jiných oper vlašských, a jako v době karnevalu oddal se všechen lid radosti a veselí". (Lorenz, 1874: 91).

Figure 3. A crowded St Mark's Square with Italian flags waving (The photograph was taken between 1890 and 1900, https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:St._Mark%27s_Church_and_the_clock,_Venice,_Italy-LCCN2001701003.jpg).

churches and museums, the three texts never elaborate on the visual arts and the wealth of pictorial art for which Venice was already renowned in the nineteenth century. The only exhibition described in detail in Jelínek's travel book has nationalistic motives and objectives. One description reads as follows:

> […] Many of the works on display here were intended to ignite Italian patriotism and stir up anti-Austrian sentiment. For instance, there was a large painting depicting Austrian soldiers mistreating Italians. Another piece was a group of metal statues depicting a woman in chains, in pain and fighting back. Apparently, she is a symbol of Trieste […][32].

[32] "Mnohá díla zde vystavená měla za hlavní účel, aby italské vlastenectví roznítila, a nepřátelství k Rakousku upevnila. Tak na př. jeden veliký obraz představoval, jak vojáci

This description can be supplemented with the only passage in which Lorenz refers to paintings. These are two paintings on display in the restaurant at the Hotel Bauer, depicting two key figures in the Unification of Italy, also known as the Risorgimento:

> The portraits of Vittorio Emanuele and Giuseppe Garibaldi hanging in front of us were a reminder that we were no longer in Austrian territory, which was now a place we had left behind forever[33].

In this case, the peculiar perspective of these late nineteenth-century Czech travellers is revealed not in their view of the paintings themselves, but in what they see in them. The paintings act as a mirror, reflecting the nationalism that characterised the diverse peoples governed under the Habsburg crown at that time. To some extent, we are confronted with a particular tourist perspective, the 'tourist gaze'[34], which emphasises that the viewpoint of visitors is never impartial or comprehensive, but rather influenced by the frame of reference they have developed at home.

The gaze of Czech tourists at the end of the nineteenth century was conditioned by the historical circumstances of their country (dominated by the so-called 'Czech Question', the birth of the nation state, and liberation from the Austro-Hungarian Empire) which led our three tourists to focus on artefacts that gave voice to their anti-Austrian patriotic sentiments rather than on the works of Titian and Tintoretto.

The unique cultural climate of Central Europe has influenced the perspective and narration of our three travellers, and this is revealed to the Czech reader in the way they summarise the history of Venice, especially its fall. This is evident, in our view, in the emphasis placed on the end of the Republic of Venice: from Queen of the Adriatic, it became a poor servant subjected to foreign powers before gaining its freedom thanks to the newly established State of Italy. Consider, for example, Jelínek's description of the Ca' Pesaro Palace:

> […] As our guide explained, the last owner was a magistrate who had served Garibaldi. He sacrificed his fortune of approximately five million lire for his country and was now forced to sell the works of art he had inherited from his ancestors to avoid labour and starvation. As I imagined the Pesaro Palace in its former glory and com-

rakoušstí nelidsky zacházejí s Italiany. Jedno kovové soušosí představovalo přikovanou a bolestně vzpírající se ženskou osobu (symbol prý to Terstu)". (Jelínek, 1888: 54).

[33] "Obrazy Viktora Emanuela a Garibaldiho před námi visící nám připomenuly, že nejsme více na půdě rakouské, kterou jsme tentokráte po prvé opustili". (Lorenz, 1874: 60).

[34] Urry and Larson, 2011.

> pared it to its current state of decay – the statues dismantled, the walls scratched, and the precious paintings covered in dust – I said to myself, 'Sic transit gloria mundi': thus passes the glory of the world[35].

For his part, Lorenz focuses on describing the cruel fate of the descendants of one of the most influential families in Venice: the Foscari:

> What fate did the descendants of Venice's proudest Doges meet? They ended up in misery and poverty. In front of their ancient palace, where kings once stayed but whose windows are now dirty, with long bayonets of soldiers visible inside, a sign was placed in Via Foscari in June 1854: 'Honour our company with your visit, which will certainly enchant you', signed 'Foscari'. He was the last descendant of Francesco and played Pulcinella in a theatre company. His grandfather, Filippo, had been a respectable man, and his great-grandfather, Francesco, had been an ambassador to Constantinople. And now here he was, a poor jester, representing the great family. The transition from tragedy to comedy is a short one. The stories of this unique family reflect the destiny of Venice[36].

This interpretation of the history of Venice seems to support the narrative of the rise of internal nationalisms within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the end of the nineteenth century, these movements aspired to establish their own identity, even if it meant challenging the authority of the great imperial power[37].

In this regard, Jelínek's description of the Garibaldi statue in the Royal Gardens is fascinating, as he mistakes one of the soldiers standing behind the General for an Austrian soldier:

[35] "Jeho poslední majetník sloužil pod Garibaldim, pak (jak náš průvodčí vypravoval) svůj statek okolo 5 millionů dílem promarniv, dílem na oltář vlasti obětovav, prodává nyní umělecká díla svého spustlého paláce po předcích zděděného, aby, nechtě pracovati, hladem nezemřel. […] Porovnávaje v duchu dle hlavních rysů vnějších nádheru paláce s jeho nynejší vnitřní spustlostí, kde umělecké sochy suráženy, stěny poškrábány jsou a drahocenné obrazy v prachu se povalují, prohodil jsem: 'Sic transit gloria mundi'". (Jelínek, 1881: 60).

[36] "A jaký osud zastihl potomky nejhrdějšího dože benátského? V bídě a nouzi hynou jeho dědicové. Naproti jejich bývalému paláci, v němž králové se ubytovali, z jehož však oken nyní špinavé prádlo a dlouhé bodáky vojínů vykukují, v ulici Foscariho, byla v červnu r. 1854 na zdi cedule přilepena, kterouž kočující společnost herecká oznamovala své představení. – 'Poctěte společnost návštěvou, která ničeho neopomine, aby si získala přízeň Vaši', tak končil plakát, a dole bylo jméno Foscari. Byl poslední z rodu dože Francesca, potomek neštastného Jakuba; hrál úlohu pulcinelly čili šaška. Jeho děd Filip byl ještě osobou váženou, a praděd František, vyslancem v Cařihradě – a nyní samá a samá bída. Z tragického ke komickému jest toliko jeden skok; v příbězích této jediné rodiny obráží se osud Benátek". (Lorenz, 1874: 86).

[37] In this regard, it is interesting to consider how our Central European travellers view citizens of other Central European states, including both Slavic and Hungarian people.

> We followed the Riva degli Schiavoni and arrived at the public gardens, which offer wonderful views of the city, lagoons and scattered islands. This is where the monument to Giuseppe Garibaldi is located. This towering rock spur is located in the centre of a small lake, with Garibaldi standing on top of it, observing the landscape. Behind the stone outcrop stands an Austrian soldier on guard[38].

The bronze statue at the rear of the rocky outcrop depicts a soldier from Garibaldi's army standing guard with his rifle slung over his shoulder. Many identify the figure as Giuseppe Zolli (1838-1921), a Venetian who took part in the Expedition of the Thousand.

In the eyes of Czech travellers, the soldier who followed Garibaldi in his fight for Italian freedom and unity came to be seen as an Austrian soldier, guarding and defending the power of the Empire. This was a kind of cognitive bias, or perhaps simply the unconscious desire to associate Czech independence with what the visitors had before their eyes.

Conclusions

Comparing these three travel books about Venice, which focus on broad, recurring themes such as gastronomical aspects, mobility, and cultural heritage, has given us an idea of what Venice was like as a tourist destination. However, it also highlights the differences between that and the city as it is today. What is interesting is not just in terms of numbers or how widespread the phenomenon was, both of which were fairly predictable. What is more interesting is how travellers in the nineteenth century were influenced by a specific imaginary typical of their time and place of origin.

Their cultural background shaped their expectations and contributed, not just metaphorically, to their focus on specific aspects at the expense of others.

Cultural models are so powerful that they influence the activities and tastes visitors engage in once they arrive, helping us to understand why some aspects of tourism are temporary while others maintain their appeal over time.

The analysis revealed a distinctive perspective on the role of Czech tourists in shaping the image and history of Venice. This outlook was influenced by the

[38] "Prošedše nábřeží slovanské dostali jsme se do veřejných zahrad (Giardini publici), odkud jest rozkošná vyhlídka na město, na laguny a na ostrovy sem tam rozložené. Zde stojí pomník ke cti Josefa Garibaldiho zbudovaný. Jest to uprostřed velkého vodojemu vysoká skála, na níž stojí Garibaldi, obzíraje krajinu, vzadu za skálou stojí rakouský voják na stráži". (Jelínek, 1881: 53).

ideas of the Czech National Revival movement at the end of the century, as well as the guidebooks in circulation at the time, which played a key role in moulding their preferences, attitudes and opinions.

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Ideological Travelogue: Machar's Image of Rome in its Historical Context

Jana Vrajová*

Josef Svatopluk Machar (1864-1942) was a Czech poet, prose writer, and journalist. His criticism of the petty bourgeoisie and use of satire and irony followed in the footsteps of Karel Havlíček Borovský and, in particular, Jan Neruda. He is one of the representatives of realism in Czech poetry and a co-author of the *Manifest České Moderny* [Manifesto of Czech Modernism][1], which was significant for the Czech literary context at the turn of the century. Although he began as an author of subjective lyrics, his most significant poetic works are associated with historicizing poetry. This culminated in the nine-part cycle *Svědomím věků* [Conscience of the Ages]. The best known are the first two books, *V záři helénského slunce* [In the Glow of the Hellenic Sun] and *Jed z Judey* [Poison from Judea], in which Machar developed his criticism of Christianity, which he considered to be 'the murderer of antiquity'[2]. He admired antiquity and its legacy, becoming a great populariser of the era. He was a sharp critic of clericalism and engaged in polemics and conflicts with many representatives of the Catholic Church. He toured Czech and Moravian cities with a lecture entitled 'Antiquity and Christianity'. The theme of the clash between two great historical concepts[3] also led him to visit Rome repeatedly and to write a book about his experiences.

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[1] The Czech modernist manifesto, known as *Manifest České Moderny*, is a declaration or proclamation that articulated the ideas and demands of a new generation of artists at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It emerged as a response to the conservative criticism of young authors around the review *Osvěta* and some representatives of older literature, such as Jaroslav Vrchlický and Vítězslav Hálek. The Manifesto aimed to break away from traditional literary norms and embrace new artistic and intellectual approaches.

[2] "Christianity came. It killed individuality and destroyed the ancient Roman empire in order to establish a new Roman empire of enslaved souls". (Machar, 1919: 18. My translation).

[3] At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we can trace two poetic concepts of

On the path from Christianity to the admiration of antiquity

Machar's journey to rediscovering antiquity is well described in his book *Antiquity and Christianity*. He first stated his aversion to everything that reminded him of antiquity and its study:

> I fared like thousands and thousands of others who did not intend to become classical philologists: as soon as I graduated from high school, I took my Latin and Greek grammar books, both dictionaries, and all my classics to an antiquarian, and I felt such joy and exaltation as Cooper's Indians feel in his novels when they scalp their slain enemies. […] Yes, if interest in antiquity is being killed off somewhere, it is only happening in high school. […] They chased after words, examined their connections and the structure of sentences. […] And again, we chased after words, and when Caesar built a bridge, we analysed the structure of his sentences, and when he spoke to his troops, we examined whether he used the ablative absolute, the subjunctive, and the conditional correctly. We read a bit here and there, but we had no idea about the whole and the meaning of the work (Machar, 1930: 9-10)[4].

In the following passage, he reveals his personal journey to rediscovering his relationship with the intellectual heritage of the ancient world:

> Years later, when I was somewhat fed up with modern literature, I reached for Tacitus, which happened to fall into my hands. And by chance, I read the passage about Messalina. I read on, read incessantly, returned to the beginning and observed the beneficial effect: calmness, a peaceful mood and indulgence towards the present day […]. And so, I returned to Tacitus later, when I was fed up with modern reading, disgusted with the present, embittered by the discord of circumstances. I returned to that quiet, closed, finished past and looked at my dreams from there. And that perspective always had a beneficial effect on me (Machar, 1930: 13).

Machar's texts also contain a similarly detailed description of his break with the Christian faith. This is described in his memoir entitled *Konfese literáta* [Confessions of a Writer]. He begins by recalling how, as a child, he was particularly moved by the stories of the New Testament:

a return to antiquity in the Czech environment: antiquity as a space serving artists as an escape from the challenges and demands of their time (Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic) and antiquity as a projection onto which and a criticism of which the reality of the present was projected (Josef Svatopluk Machar). However, it is important to acknowledge that both concepts are devoid of historical context.

[4] The translations from Czech into English used in this work have all been made by the author of the study.

> I loved the Lord Jesus with a fanatical love.
> I used to think that I would have saved him if I had been his contemporary (Machar, 1984: 24).

The central figure of Christianity, therefore, suited Machar to a large extent, but he began to have problems with the interpretation of Jesus' life and teachings, which began with the Apostle Paul. In the poem "U býčí hlavy" ("At the Bull's Head") from the poetry collection *Jed z Judey* [Poison from Judea], he portrayed Paul as a fanatic who similarly influenced his followers:

> So, he spoke, and in the end, he seemed to be/the burning sun itself, light gushing/ into the space of the hall, beneath which everything/eyes, faces, souls/blazed (Machar, 1906: 46).

Machar's poetic and journalistic texts reveal that he believed Paul had actually destroyed the true message of Jesus and discredited his work. This is why Christians in his writings often display fanatical traits and are incapable of rational thinking. On the contrary, ideas based on ancient thinking (especially Stoicism) appealed to Machar personally and attracted him. This led him to attempt to purify Roman culture by relativising the facts that documented its decline: debauchery and excessive fondness for luxury, cruelty associated with slavery and gladiatorial combat, sexual orgies, etc[5]. Machar's black-and-white view may seem naive and simplistic to us today. However, at the time when he published his texts, anti-clerical sentiments were resonating in Czech cultural circles. In this context, we should recall the text by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, later the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic, who in 1904 published a work entitled *V boji o náboženství* [In the Struggle for Religion], in which he emphasised scientific knowledge and efforts to bring about change within the Catholic Church. Efforts were made to spiritually appeal to the modern people of the 20th century. Machar could not resist this tempting offer and used his role as a poet to do so. However, he did not come up with anything original, only bitter disappointment at humanity's inability to live up to ideals, which led him to hateful invectives against Christians of all eras and a not very critical view of the ancient world.

[5] Compare Daniela Čadková, *Oslnění hellénským sluncem. Recepce antiky v české literatuře v letech 1880-1914* [Dazzled by the Hellenic Sun: The Reception of Antiquity in Czech Literature in 1880-1914]. Prague: Filosofia, 2020.

Genre definition of Machar's *Rome*

The work to which I will devote most attention in my contribution is actually only partly a travelogue. Questions have even been raised about the genre of Josef Svatopluk Machar's book *Řím*[6], whether it might not be considered more of a collection of essays. This opinion is probably based on the fact that the individual episodes of the book were first published in serial form in the Sunday supplement of the magazine *Čas*, called *Beseda*, and can therefore be read as individual sections linked by a common theme. Another argument may be the fact that the documentary passages of the book are supplemented by extensive historical digressions and interviews with the fictional character Sofia Petrovna. Furthermore, readers may be confused by the fact that the term feuilleton appears as a subtitle in several of the first editions (*Řím* was published twelve times before 1928). It should be noted, however, that at the time, this term was used very broadly, often in the sense of reflection or consideration, and it is good that this subtitle was omitted in later editions. Some reviews of the book were also published in the feuilleton section. Today, this genre classification of Machar's book is rare; the character of the text corresponds to the travelogue genre, as I will show, but its intention is not to inform the reader impartially about what has been visited and seen, but to present them with a pre-prepared ideological (and demagogic) concept applied to historical events connected with the place described.

Indeed, Fedor Soldan already stated in his monograph that:

> Machar's *Rome* is more an evocation of antiquity and a judgment on the papacy than a travelogue, although it has some of the good qualities of Neruda's classic travelogues. It is written in a lively, colourful style with a sense of striking detail, at times with a humorous tone or a satirical edge[7].

The fact that Machar's communication strategy towards readers worked is evidenced, for example, by an advertisement for his newly published book, which appeared in *Lidové noviny* in 1907:

> Machar's Rome has just been published! Machar's chapters on Rome, which until recently were published in Čas, have aroused sensational interest. Now they have been compiled into a book that is rare in world literature. The book edition has been considerably expanded and supplemented[8].

[6] Všetička, 1989: 141.
[7] Soldan, 1974: 135.
[8] *Lidové noviny*, 1907, 247: 7.

Figure 1. Josef Svatopluk Machar, Rome, Monte Pincio. The photograph is from 1913, from Machar's second visit to Rome and Italy. The archives are stored in the *Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví* [Literary archive of the Museum of Czech Literature].

Reflections on the genre classification of Machar's *Řím* in travel literature culminate in a recent study by Jan Heller, who, in his analysis of the book, stated that:

> From a genre perspective, Machar's travelogue does not deviate from the generally accepted characteristics of the genre. The following can be listed as typical features of literary travel writing: a strong connection between the plot line and the setting, the subject of the 'travelling self' merging with the narrator, descriptive passages alternating with reflective and lyrical ones, and conversations that serve to convey the author's ideological intent. […] The composition of the travelogue is linear, and the time of the journey corresponds as closely as possible to the time of the narrative[9].

[9] Heller, 2020: 43.

A travelogue written 'à thèse'

Machar himself admitted to ideologically editing his travelogue in another of his Italian travelogues entitled *Pod sluncem italským* [Under the Italian sun]:

> Let's be clear: my travelogues are travelogues – and they are not travelogues. They are articles in the chain of thought that is my literary work; my development has inserted them there, and they must be there – if I had not travelled, there would be no landscape settings in my books, but an essential part, the articles, would have taken a different form, perhaps a novel, perhaps a drama. A certain sharp-eyed reader remarked to me about the book Rome: the work was apparently finished in my soul before I went there […]. And indeed: my Rome was largely within me before I saw the real Rome. The architecture of the book, however, grew in the city itself – it was on the steps of the Capitol that the structure of the work appeared to me in a flash of inspiration, thirty-five chapters forming a kind of pyramid […][10][11].

At the same time, Machar arrived in Rome equipped with excellent knowledge (not only) of ancient authors. He recommended that readers read Tacitus, Suetonius, and especially Livy, who:

> […] brings the ancient history of the city and its surroundings to life a hundred times better than Mommsen and tells more and everything more honestly than all the tour guides and all the thorough Baedeker guides.

Machar visited Italy three times, the first time in 1906, when he visited Rome, and at that time, he was already a great admirer of antiquity and especially its intellectual heritage, in which he sought a counterbalance to the concept of Christianity, which, as we know from his memoirs, disappointed him due to its practised clericalism. In this attitude, he resembles the life journey of Karel Havlíček Borovský. In Machar's memoirs, *Konfese literáta* [Confessions of a writer], we find information that as a child he "loved the Lord Jesus with fanatical love"[12]. His other texts devoted to polemics with Christianity clearly show that he opposed the fanaticism he saw in Christianity in many historical periods. This fanaticism was not caused by the so-called 'historical Jesus', but by his interpreters, especially the Apostle Paul, at the very beginning of the history of the Church. In the concept of the clash of two historical epochs, the book *Řím* forms a prosaic counterpart to the poetic books *Pod sluncem italským* [In the

[10] Machar, 1918: 210.
[11] Machar, 1918: 209-210.
[12] Machar, 1984: 24.

Glow of the Hellenic Sun] and *Jed z Judey* [Poison from Judea] (1906). However, Machar's companion, the poet and critic Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic, did not consider even these poems to be artistically successful:

> Rome gives Machar the key to books containing his ancient poems. It is now clear why such a conception of antiquity did not give rise to poems of fiery breath, violent, pagan inspiration, why grey, doctrinaire verses came out of him. The poet is drawn to antiquity by his intellect and negation of Christianity. His love for it is a love of reason, not emotion […]. Machar went against Christianity with hatred, but with the intellectual level of a daily newspaper columnist. That is why Rome did not fall, but Machar's own argumentation did[13].

Machar drew on his visits to Italy to write two books: *Řím* (1907) and *Under the Italian Sun* (1918). I have already mentioned that he left for Rome as an admirer of antiquity and a critic of Christianity, and he incorporated this rather simple concept into the concept of the book *Rome* without trying to conceal it in any way: on the contrary, he pathetically reveals his intention in the preface to the book:

> Since no book has yet been able to tell me what Rome is, I have tried to write one myself. I went there for the antiquities and found its beautiful white bones and saw its magnificent tomb. And on that tomb, I saw lying in agony her decayed and emaciated murderer[14].

We have already mentioned that Machar's view of Rome was based on the ideological concept of the superior position of ancient culture in world history and the absolute, fatal contradiction between it and Christianity[15].

One of the characteristic features of the travelogue genre, as we understand it today, is its relationship to the journey or place through which the traveller passes or travels, and on this basis, derives his knowledge and subsequently conveys it to the reader[16]. However, Machar's travelogue was well thought out and conceived in advance, and his knowledge of the history of Rome (but also of other cities he passed through, such as Trieste and Venice) was a priori concept that was merely realised in the description of his visits to these places. Jan M. Heller mentions in this context the myth of place: a lit-

[13] Karásek, 1927: 177.
[14] Machar, 1928: 9.
[15] Heller, 2020: 40).
[16] "A travelogue is primarily based on a more or less dynamic outline of a single, specific journey, which is accompanied to varying degrees by the writer's emotional and cognitive experiences". (Mocná-Peterka, 2004: 75).

Figure 2. Josef Svatopluk, Rome, Villa Borghese. The photograph is from 1913, from Machar's second visit to Rome and Italy. The archives are stored in the *Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví* [Literary archive of the Museum of Czech Literature].

erary myth associated with places in Italy such as Trieste, Naples, Venice, and especially Rome.

> Rome is a place that leads directly to a confrontation between the past and the present, to an erudite reconstruction or revival of past times, and, of course, to a search for lost integrity[17].

According to Heller, by choosing a place for his travelogue that travellers perceive as mystical or sacred in a way, Machar transforms himself from a traveller into a pilgrim.

The historical memory of the city is the key to Machar's ideological travelogue. Although he relates more or less to the other places he passes through on his way to Rome in their contemporary form, Rome is for him a crossroads of cultures, a representative of ancient eras, of which, as we have repeatedly noted, the ancient one unquestionably surpasses the Christian one in quality. The two historical periods are constantly confronted at each stop. However, Machar also confronts historical events associated with the same place in the text and comments on the current state of the monuments.

Contemporary critical response

Machar's book *Rome* provoked a wave of reactions in the press at the time. One critic who rejected the ideological travelogue was the historian Josef Šusta. He knew Rome intimately, having lived there as a full member of the Austrian Historical Institute from 1896 to 1901 and again from 1905 to 1906. He preserved his memories of his student years, including his stay in Rome and his travels around Italy, in the book *Mladá léta učňovská a vandrovní* [Young apprentice and wanderer years], and his experiences in Italy also inspired his literary attempt,

[17] Heller, 2017: 30.

the novel *Cizina* [Foreign land]. Šusta emphasised that the image of a city cannot be captured in a few features, nor can it be confined within a certain concept:

> All of them experienced Rome with passion, yet none captured the spirit of the city, which eludes artists like the true daughter of Nereus from the islands near the sea. The longer they looked into her eyes, the more they recognised the difficulty of the task and preferred to democratically join the ranks of countless scholars who, since time immemorial, have left Rome with a desire to return, with a vague idea of the great impression [...][18].

However, Machar's primary concept irritated him even more:

> He [Machar – JV] came to Rome apparently only to quickly tour the city and find a few props for his planned book of anti-papal invectives and panegyrics on old age[19].

Figure 3. Josef Svatopluk Machar, Capri, 1913, Machar's second visit to Rome and Italy. The archives are stored in the *Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví* [Literary archive of the Museum of Czech Literature].

He also criticised the character of Sofia Petrovna, a "Russian nihilist who speaks with a Viennese accent" (Šusta, 1907/8: 104), who accompanies the narrator of the travelogue for much of the journey. He believed that Machar had included her in the text solely to heighten his attack on the contemporary reality of Christian leaders. In the chapter named 'Catacombs', when the narrator stops at an old stone bishop's throne and delays his journey, Sofia Petrovna is harassed by a Trappist monk who is guiding them through the catacombs. From the very beginning of the tour, he is portrayed in the most debased anti-clerical stereotype:

[18] Šusta, 1924: 55.
[19] Šusta, 1907/8: 103.

> A well-fed brother, his coffee-coloured skirt stretched tight, almost bursting, hiccups incessantly, so loudly, so inconsiderately, and in such natural tones that it makes one feel sick, and with yellow eyes, he boldly sizes up Sofia Petrovna[20].

Moreover, the narrator adds that "he smells worse than an old dog". Although Machar's work is classified by literary history as realistic fiction, his writing also shows a clear engagement with the legacy of Romanticism – for example, in his verse novel *Magdalena,* which is based on a thoroughly Romantic plot. However, the aforementioned passage with the harassment of Sofia Petrovna by a lewd monk is a theme more characteristic of romantic literature, proving how obviously this work was written with a clear thesis in mind. This thesis was so strong for Machar that it did not prevent the author from using outdated and stale literary techniques, as long as their incorporation into the work was meaningful or served to heighten the drama.

Viktor Dyk also criticised the book *Řím* [Rome] in *Lumír*, disputing Machar's simplistic thesis characterising both the ancient period and the essence of Christianity, and responding to all the contemporary admiring cries directed at the author. He attributed their existence not to admiration for the text, but rather to the poet's established and significant position in the cultural sphere:

> 'Machar's Rome is our Czech creed!' declares S. in the introductory article of *Naše doba* [Our time]. Our Czech creed! Finally, a creed; we were lacking one. Three years ago, Mr. Horký from Golgata prayed for one. Now we have a creed. A new religion for the world. Its God is Machar[21].

Not everyone, as we have shown, reacted enthusiastically to Machar's new book. Jiří Karásek from Lvovice was uncompromising:

> It is supposed to be a book of defiance, strength, colour, a book of life. And it is a book of artistic faintness, with a decline in style and ideas, all the more serious because it comes from a poet of such quality as J. S. Machar.

And finally:

> I turn the pages of Rome with embarrassment. There is nothing to catch my attention. […] Old Kollár is deeper, more comprehensive, and more atmospheric [22].

[20] Machar, 1907: 146.
[21] Dyk, 1907/8: 88.
[22] Karásek, 1927: 175.

The ideologization of the travelogue genre was also noted by Otakar Theer, who stated that:

> His [Machar's – JV] Rome is above all a pamphlet, one of the sharpest that has been hurled at the papal city. It seems to me that as I read it, the sarcastic face of Voltaire flashed between the pages. I consider the conclusion of his review to be the most accurate assessment of how Machar's Rome resonated at the beginning of the 20th century: "We are not in the midst of cold erudition that shows the past with the pedantry of a museum guide. Like Kollár's philological Italy, Neruda's tourist impressions of Italy would also be foreign to us today. We need new, different relationships with the old soil of the classics. And if books are an expression of their time, then, for this time, in which anti-clerical struggles and storms are rumbling like distant thunder, Machar's book is one of the most characteristic[23].

Conclusions

In Machar's case, the travelogue genre proved to be suitable in terms of its persuasive function – the reader-friendly text, which made use of elements of satire and sarcasm, vigorously attacked the traditional form of the genre. Despite significant criticism, it enjoyed great popularity among readers, as evidenced by frequent reissues of the work. Machar himself confidently wrote in his travelogue *Pod sluncem italským* [Under the Italian sun] that his *Řím* was "a new type of literature, a new kind of travelogue" and that "it showed how such a travelogue should be done and how it will be done in the future"[24]. Whether it inspired imitation or controversy in the future, according to Eva Stehlíková, it became "part of the equipment with which travellers entered Italian soil"[25].

This fact can be illustrated by the example of Karel Čapek, who set off for Italy in 1923 and wrote a book about his experiences there entitled *Italské listy*. [Italian Notes]. He undertook his journey between April and June 1923. The main purpose of the trip was to recover from health problems and mental turmoil, which were preventing him from writing at the time. Čapek originally sent his essays from Italy to the editorial office of *Lidové noviny* individually, but they were published in a comprehensive edition in book form later that year. Unlike Machar, Čapek travelled to Italy unprepared, but he saw this as a positive thing:

[23] Theer, 1907: 152.
[24] Machar, 1929: 198.
[25] Stehlíková, 1994: 268-283.

> Before I left, good friends sent me thick volumes on Italian history, ancient Rome, art in general, and other things, with earnest advice to read them all. Unfortunately, I did not do so; the result of this negligence is this book[26].

Čapek was, as we well know, an observer of details, and it is precisely the everyday trifles that occupy the most space in the book. He also took note of historical monuments, and it was in this context that he mentioned Machar›s *Řím*: "Machar found antiquity in Rome. That's strange. As far as I'm concerned, I found mainly Baroque"[27]. The intertextual reference to Machar's *Řím* is mentioned without any additional information, making it clear that Čapek assumed general knowledge of this book in the Czech cultural environment.

Despite the negative reviews cited above, which could give the impression that the book *Řím* was doomed to failure, the opposite was true: Machar's ideological narrator managed to convince readers not only of the appeal of the travelogue genre but also of its potential as a platform for expressing opinions.

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[26] Čapek, 1936: 9.
[27] Čapek, 1936: 34.

Visions of the South: Naples, Pompeii and Ischia in Czech Travelogues from the Second Half of the 19th Century

Gaia Seminara*

Introduction

This article presents an overview of a recollection of data regarding the experiences of Czech travellers through the central and southern regions of the Italian peninsula, focusing on the areas of Naples and Pompeii and the island of Ischia. It takes into account five travelogues written and published between 1869 and 1897, whose respective authors come from different contexts and socio-cultural backgrounds. As it will become evident in the course of the chapter, most of the routes taken by the Czech travellers who were the authors and protagonists of the corpus of texts under examination followed the 'beaten track' of a long-established way of touring the country and narrating about it. A way that was already well known in all Europe at the beginning of 19th century thanks to many Grand Tour accounts, but that was probably settled in its unequalled literary shape for the Czechs by Milota Zdirad Polák's *Cesta do Itálie* [Viaggio in Italia] (1820-1822), a work that gave a seminal impulse to the further development of what was at the time perceived as a peculiar literary 'genre'[1].

For centuries, Italy has been a destination of religious pilgrimage and a source of cultural admiration, being the archetype of excellence in many fields of civilisation and the human arts, both tangible and intangible, from ancient times to the modern era. The 18th and 19th centuries saw fundamental political

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[1] "[…] we need to remind ourselves of the exceptional status […] of this quite independent 'genre', one would say, of European travel or documentary literature", are the words used by literary historian Zdeněk Hrbata to refer to accounts of travels to Italy at the beginning of 19th century in his note to the new edition of Polák's Cesta do Itálie [Viaggio in Italia] (Hrbata, 2014: 540-541). My translation. Original: "[…] musíme připomenout výjimečné postavení […] tohoto skoro by se chtělo říct zvláštního 'žánru' v evropské cestopisné nebo dokumentární literatuře".

transformations take place, which, on one hand, brought Italy into modernity as a united state, but on the other failed to acknowledge the deep-rooted fragilities and fractures within it.

The beauty Italy had to offer modern travellers was not equally distributed, and a clear shift in perception among travellers is noticeable in Polák's masterpiece[2], as well as in other European travellers' accounts that very probably influenced 19th-century educated tourists[3].

Where, and what is the 'South' of Italy at that stage of European travel literature? Up until about the first half of the 18th century, an imaginary line could be traced under the territorial borders of Rome, a city that was not only an inevitable destination for all kinds of travellers, but often represented the final stop of the journey. Below it, Naples was acknowledged as the metropolis of the Bourbon Kingdom, but was also the source of one of the most persistent cultural stereotypes among travellers[4]. The city of the *lazzaroni*[5], whose striking contrasts still amaze tourists today, became more frequented by travellers with the opening of the Pompeii archaeological site in 1748. The direction and management of the sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Oplontis alternated phases of systematic excavation work and exhibition of the findings through the second half of the 1700s to periods of stasis and even degradation following the restoration of the Bourbons at the head of the Two Sicilies. In the second half of the 19th century, improved transportation links to the sites, significant innovations in excavation techniques, and notable discoveries sparked a new wave of interest in antiquities. This was especially encouraged by the availability of photographic documentation, an interest shared by not a few Middle Eu-

[2] It is well known that Polák spent time in Naples (1815-1818) while serving Baron František Arnošt Koller, and as part of the Austrian military, he found himself among the occupying forces that had effectively ended the Napoleonic era in Southern Italy and restored Bourbon absolutism. While this context is reflected in his literary account, the focus of this discussion does not extend to Polák's political position. Further analysis of this topic is provided in Hrbata, 2014.

[3] Polák's account, too, of course, resonated with the voices of great European authors who had narrated their experience of the Italian peninsula. Hrbata (552-557) draws an interesting parallel with Goethe and Stendhal, especially about the passages on Naples and the 'South'.

[4] The English and French travellers (mostly noblemen and educated explorers) have been visiting Naples and the less frequented regions of mountainous central and central-oriental Italy since the 16th century and radically contributed to the construction and settling of the 'lazy South' cliché (Delli Quadri, 2012a; Delli Quadri, 2015).

[5] Delli Quadri (2018) offers a very well-documented synthesis of the origin and evolution of the character of the 'lazzaro', or 'lazzarone', through the travel accounts of English, French, German, and American travellers from the 16th to the 19th century.

ropeans[6]. The 'South' thus began to attract a wider and more diverse spectrum of travellers who willingly descended to Sorrento and Salerno before undertaking their comeback journeys, or even pushed to Sicily or the coasts of Apulia to further explore the Mediterranean.

The travel accounts discussed here all fit the concept of 19th-century Middle-European tourism and, although modest in quantity, they are a useful sampling of the whole second half of the century, a crucial period for Czech original cultural production. They also display interesting peculiarities, offering a few insights on how travelling South of Rome and relating to this unusual 'other' could be at the same time a standardised and yet a unique experience, a paradigm destined to change – and be deprived of a fair share of its fascination – in the era of mass tourism.

Corpus and context

The corpus of this case study consists of five travelogues written and published by Czech travellers in the second half of the 19th century. In this section, I will present information about the context of the travelogues, including the journals and magazines, publishing houses, and series they appeared in, as well as the available information about the authors. I will also suggest the socio-cultural context where those texts could find a suitable public. It is useful to point out that the travel accounts examined show a considerable variability in length, structure, and style, and offer abundant material for in-depth analysis from multiple angles.

The first text in order of publication, *Pompeje jindy a nyní*[7] [Pompeii then and now, 10 pages] by František Veličský was featured in 1869 in the periodical of the *Museum Království Českého* [Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia], the precursor of the National Museum and the first museum institution in the Czech lands. The journal was one of the main publications of the Czech national revival and covered wide areas of the natural and social sciences, to which belonged Czech, Slavic and foreign poetry, literature and literary criticism, historical matters, archaeology, etc.[8] There seems to be no available information about the author of this travelogue, apart from the title of 'professor' that accompanies his name on the first page of the text, but it could be the same

[6] Stehlíková, 1994; Longobardi, 2002.
[7] From this point onwards, Veličský, 1869.
[8] Časopis Národního muzea, 1985: 394-398.

professor František Velišský (1840-1883) who signed *Týden na ostrově Ischii*[9] [A week on the isle of Ischia, 9 pages], published in the periodical *Osvěta*[10] in 1883. This text also commemorates the author's death, which occurred mere days after a disastrous earthquake in Casamicciola, where he had stayed while on the island. Velišský was a well-known gymnasium professor, a translator from ancient Greek, an amateur archaeologist, and the accomplished author of a few educational volumes about ancient civilisations (Greeks and Romans, Egyptians); he died tragically and young in an institute for the mentally ill[11]. The two travelogues do not have much in common: both tell of the visit to a single place, or a single stage of the journey[12], they were published in similar magazines, yet they strikingly differ in terms of structure and style, as will be pointed out further on.

The other three travelogues all record a much longer journey through Italy and were all published as volumes. The account of Bedřich Kamarýt[13] was printed in 1876, but the narrative actually recounts a journey undertaken in 1858 from Hořepník, in the Vysočina region, to Rome (through Ancona) and Naples, and back through Rome again and Venice. Kamarýt (1831-1911) was born to a couple of successful innkeepers in Velešín; he completed his gymnasium studies in philosophy in České Budějovice and spent two years in Vienna studying medicine, but then chose to enter the seminary in Budějovice and became a priest in 1854. During his studies, he developed a strong interest in painting religious subjects. He was a much-appreciated painter and the Hořepník parish priest when he was invited to accompany the bishop of Budějovice, Jan Valerián Jirsík (1798-1883), on the trip to Rome organised for the bishop's sixtieth birth-

[9] From this point onwards, Velišský, 1883.

[10] *Osvěta* was "the first Czech representative magazine covering domestic literature, and contemporary literary, theatre, art and music criticism, literary history, art history, history, political and natural sciences essays". My translation, Original: "První česká reprezentativní revue zahrnující domácí literární tvorbu, soustavnou literární, divadelní, výtvarnou i hudební kritiku, stati literárněhistorické, uměnovědné, historické, politické i přírodovědné" (*Osvěta*, 2000: 704).

[11] Úmrtí. *Květy*, 5, 9, 1883: 378.

[12] In Velišský, 1883, we read "from the travel account of František Velišský" as a subtitle ("z cestopisu Františka Velišského"), which could indicate that the trip to Ischia is but a chapter in a more complex journey. Unfortunately, there is no trace of a more extensive text among the many publications collected for the purposes of the 'Digeocat & Lib.' project, nor among those scrutinised for this article.

[13] Kamarýt, 1876. *Cesta do Říma, kterou v průvodu jeho excellence nejdůstojnějšího pána, pana Biskupa Budějovického r. 1858 konal a sepsal, a ku poctě jubilea jeho excellence vydává Bedřich Kamarýt, misionář apoštolský, biskupský notář a farář v Deštné. Ku prospěchu dítek hluchoněmých na ústavu v Budějovicích.*

day, where Kamarýt was also anointed an 'apostolic missionary' by the Pope. Kamarýt dedicated his travel account to the bishop and published it to raise funds for the deaf and dumb children in the parish. In the following years, he moved to different parishes until he settled in Deštná and kept painting and publishing 'historical tales' with a strong moral orientation for charity, while also supporting cultural and educational activities among parishioners[14].

The author of *Cesta do Říma a dále do Neapole a Pompeje* [A journey to Rome and further on to Naples and Pompeii], Bohumil Hakl (1827-1904), had a very similar background and attitudes to Kamarýt: he was born to a weaver and supervisor in a textile factory, attended gymnasium and then entered the seminary in Hradec Králové and became a priest in 1851. He worked as a catechist and from 1855 to 1861 as a military priest in Northern Italy, where he returned in 1877 on the journey that he recounted and published in 1881. The travelogue was published by *Spolek Dědictví sv. Cyrilla a Methoděje* [Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius Association], founded in Brno in 1850: the organisation aimed at creating a cultural space for supporting and spreading the cult of the Slavonic saints within the Czech Catholic Church. Hakl was very active in his educational goal; he travelled much, mainly to central Europe, and when at home, he also devoted himself to writing manuals for the Christian education of children and poems oriented towards spiritual themes, which obtained considerable recognition for the spirited expressiveness of his poetic language. As the parish priest of Hořice and then as dean and vicar, he was a close friend of bishop Jirsík, and together with other progressive clergymen, he helped address the Czech clergy toward the election of Pope Leo XIII, to whom he dedicated the original poem that closes his account[15].

In the most recent travelogue, *Z krásné Italie* [From beautiful Italy], František Faktor recounts his trip from Northern Austria through Italy, down to Naples and back through Switzerland. In this case, too, the context in which the book was situated is distinguishing. Faktor (1861-1911) was a chemist and a school professor: in 1902, he was the first candidate to receive a doctorate in chemistry from the Czech Technical University. He taught physics, chemistry and geography in Prostějov, Prague, and České Budějovice, where he also spent his last years. Among the authors introduced in this study, he was certainly the most experienced traveller: he took frequent trips to Europe and ventured to the USA and Russia, to Palestine, Egypt, and Turkey – he also visited the Interna-

[14] Rosečský, 1886.

[15] Hakl Bohumil František. *Biografický slovník* českých *zemích*. https://biography.hiu.cas.cz/wiki/HAKL_Bohumil_Franti%C5%A1ek_1827%E2%80%931904 (consulted on 26-04-2025). "Leo XIII. Zvolen 20. února 1878". Hakl, 1881: 411-413.

tional exhibitions in Paris and Chicago. He was a seasoned writer too, of both scientific and didactic texts covering the wide range of his interests. *Z krásné Italie*, as well as other Faktor's works, was published in Prague by Mamert Knapp in 1897, in a series called *Besedy mládeže* [conversations, debates among young people, 1868-1914], that, along with a few others, contributed to the strong impulse that the literature for children and young people received in the second half of the 19th century[16].

A common trait to all the travelogues examined here can be identified in their cultural background context: they are products of a flowering national ideal, testimonies of a modern society moving forward in the quickly changing European environment as an answer to the growing need for a higher national cultural standard that was the main motive of the Czech 'all-cultural' national revival.

Naples

As stated before, in the second half of the 19th century, Naples was often an anticipated destination of the Italian tour. Out of the 94 pages of his travelogue, and two months of travel from February 28 to the beginning of May 1858, Kamarýt dedicates twelve (68-80) pages to Naples, the Vesuvius, and Pompeii, the southernmost part of the trip, where the author spent three days in mid-April before embarking on the journey home. In his extensive and colourful narration, Hakl covers the whole duration of the journey from Thursday May 17 to Saturday, June 9, 1877 in 486 pages, of which 36 (259-295) are dedicated to the three-day exploration of Naples and Pompeii; he also mentions Naples and the desire to visit that "land full of charm and delight"[17] in the very first lines of the introduction to his account. Finally, of the 82 pages that tell of Faktor's trip, started at the end of January and completed by the end of May (of an unspecified year, but close to the time of the book's publication), pages 41-68 describe the author's visit to Naples, Salerno, a boat trip to Capri, an excursion on the Vesuvius and its observatory, and then to Pompeii. In this case, the author does not take a count of the days, so it is nearly impossible to determine the duration of his stays.

When comparing the three travelogues, a few common aspects of how the city of Naples was perceived by the travellers emerge clearly. Kamarýt (1876) is the only author who went there before the unification of Italy, and in fact, he mentions the "Neapolitan borders" at the city of Fondi (70), where he and his

[16] Čeňková et al., 2006.
[17] Hakl, 1881: 5. My translation. Original: "země plna rozkoší a půvabu".

party have to pass a customs control (71). Since the first railway station to connect the city with the North was completed in 1867, he is also the only author to reach Naples by carriage, arriving from Capua in the South-west area near the church of Santa Lucia (a mare), while the area surrounding the station is the first one Hakl and Faktor come into contact with upon arrival. This, however, does not alter the impression of all three travellers that Naples is a very noisy city[18], including a variety of noises and the sound of music as well. Even Velišsky, upon his return to Naples, immediately complains about the unbearable noise: "Naples welcomed us with its endless rattle and clamour, which, after the sepulchral silence of the island, was all the more repugnant to us"[19].

Another recurrent trait is the presence of beggars and what he calls *lazzaroni*. Kamarýt tells the tale of how he tested his oratory talent to dissuade a horde of beggars (men, women and children) and save his companion, the bishop, near Fondi[20]. The party is later almost attacked by *lazzaroni*, bearded men with black eyes who voluntarily carried the group's luggage to the accommodation and then demanded payment (73). Hakl is surrounded by beggars while at the market and describes them using that specific term:

> It is known that not long ago Naples counted over 60,000 'lazzaroni', that is, people who eke out a living here and there on the streets, but mainly lie about on the steps of churches. […] 'Lazzaroni' now are a class of workers and porters, not just idle men and beggars[21].

Faktor[22] mentions beggars, young and old, on the streets of the city, providing another definition:

> On the sea shore, on the rocks that have been warmed up all day by the sun and are still warm, the lazzaroni laze about, people without a roof over their heads or employment. Some enjoy a game, some have already fallen asleep[23] (44).

[18] Hakl, 1881: 277, 278; Faktor, 1897: 41.

[19] Velišský, 1883: 831. My translation. Original: "Neapole uvítala nás neskonalým lomozem a hlukem svým, jenž po hrobovém tichu ostrovním ještě mnohem více nám byl odporný".

[20] Kamarýt 1876: 70-71.

[21] Hakl, 1881: 262-263. My translation. Original: "Známo jest, že měla Neapol ještě před nedávnem přes 60.000 Lazaronů, t.j. lidu, kteří jsou živi z ruky do úst a leckdes po ulicích, hlavně však na stupních chrámů se povalují […] 'Lazzaroni' tvoří dnes třídu dělníků a nosičů a ne již povalovačů a žebráků".

[22] Faktor, 1897: 42.

[23] My translation. Original: "U samého mořského břehu, na kamenech, které po celý den ohřívany byly sluncem a dosud jsou teplé, povalují se lazzaroni, lidé to bez přístřeší a bez zaměstnání. Někteří baví se hrou, jiní již oddali se spaní".

When in Naples, a mandatory stage of the trip is the National Museum (now the National Archaeological Museum of Naples), where the main findings from Pompeii and Herculaneum are displayed along with collections of great artistic value. The routes followed by travellers sometimes diverge, with the clergymen being more interested in churches and monasteries, and Faktor much more attracted to the observation of everyday life on one side and the phenomena linked to volcanic activity on the other. Vesuvius is undoubtedly the main attraction outside the city: all three authors with their parties make time for a field trip to the volcano (Hakl actually only reports the information on the ascent of some of his group), Faktor stops at the observatory too. He surely appears more original in his choice of targets, since he states that apart from the variegated everyday life, Naples hasn't much to offer the foreigners[24], and he resolves to visit the Phlegraean fields with the Cave of Dogs and the Pozzuoli Solfatara before reaching Salerno, Capri, and so exploring the Gulf of Naples. The admiration towards the volcano, sometimes personified as an old man, and the awe the travellers show when observing the thriving nature and the sea, often compared to an earthly paradise, seems to confirm the heritage of Polák's literary account[25]. At the same time, the clichés on the city (noisy, dirty, savagely beautiful) and its population (dirty, uneducated, lazy, yet resourceful) follow a two centuries long tradition of European travelogues on Naples[26] and apparently miss on the much more complex social situation that decades of political abrupt changes had created[27].

Pompeii and Ischia

Because of its proximity to Naples, the archaeological site of Pompeii could be reached with ease by all kinds of tourists. Furthermore, in 1840, a railway line had been completed, which connected Naples with the cities in the Vesuvian area, making access to Pompeii even easier.

On Monday, April 19, 1858, Bedřich Kamarýt and his entourage left Naples at six in the morning for Pompeii, the 'main excursion' of their three-day stay[28]. They travelled by carriage, and before reaching the main site, stopped in Portici, where:

[24] Faktor, 1897: 46.
[25] Hrbata, 2014: 549, 553-554.
[26] Delli Quadri, 2012a, 2015, 2018.
[27] Delli Quadri, 2012b.
[28] Kamarýt, 1876: 75-77.

> In a building, deep down in the ground, there is a corridor leading to the ancient '*Herculanum*' [sic]. Through the torchlight, we didn't see anything other than the so-called proscenium of the former theatre. A little further on, completely in the light of day, there is a well-preserved villa[29].

The ancient theatre was, in fact the first building in Herculaneum to be accidentally discovered at the beginning of the 18th century and to be intermittently abandoned, together with almost all the rest of the buried city, because of the risks that underground excavations would bring to the surrounding buildings, and also because the nearby Pompeii offered much easier and more productive open-air excavation sites. Both Hakl and Faktor mention Herculaneum in their travelogues, though in a very different way: on his train journey to Pompeii, the first comments that "Resina is memorable because it is built on a layer of lava in some places 90 feet high, covering the old '*Herculanum*' [sic]: who will ever dig them out?"[30]. Faktor dedicates a paragraph to his visit to Herculaneum on his way back from Pompeii. He mentions a hundred steps descending to the theatre and illuminated by artificial lights, and also explains that the excavation stopped to protect the above-standing city of Resina from the risk of collapse[31].

Kamarýt's excursion would continue to Pompeii, the city of "ancient pagans"[32]. The author does not describe the state of the excavations at the time he visits the city, but recounts that one-third of the ancient Pompeii has been uncovered completely. Since the dating of his travels is accurate, the buildings he sighted correspond to those of the *Regiones* VIII and VI (South and West areas) that had already been excavated at the time. Kamarýt and his companions accessed the city through the Stabian Gate, on the South side of the hill, walking past the Large Theatre[33] and the Triangular Forum and admiring the temple of

[29] My translation. Original: "[Zde se nachází] v jednom domě hluboce pod zemí chodba, jenž vede do starého *Herculanum* [sic]. Při světle pochodním jsme nespatřili nic jiného, než tak zvané proscenium bývalého divadla. O něco dále nachází se ale zcela na denním světle dobře zachovalá villa". Kamarýt, 1876: 75. The author may be referring to the Villa of the Papyri, for at that time it was the only other finding to have been excavated in the second half of 18th century and then left on its own for two centuries.

[30] Hakl, 1881: 263-264. My translation. Original: "[a obě města, ještě více však] Resina, jsou pamětihodná tím, že vystavena jsou na vrstvě lávy, místy až 90 střevíců vysoké, kteráž staré 'Herculanum' [sic] kryje; kdo je kdy vykope?".

[31] Faktor, 1897: 68.

[32] Kamarýt, 1876: 76.

[33] The author mentions the "Amphitheatre", which is situated in the *Regio* II site, on the South-east side of the city near another gate (the amphitheatre gate) and had been excavated in 1748 and 1813-1814. The fact that it was quite distant from the other buildings he mentions (all next to the Stabian Gate) and that two theatres (the Large Theatre and the Small

Isis, then exploring the site for three hours while guided by a 'veteran' and exiting the city from the Herculaneum Gate and the villa of Diomedes. The excellent state of preservation of many buildings, paintings and objects provokes conflicting feelings in the traveller, to which he dedicates more space in his account than he does to the description of the city itself:

> Everything is just so surprisingly preserved that one can quite vividly imagine what everything looked like here over two thousand years ago. A melancholic feeling of mourning dominates someone when he walks through these lonely roads, when he sees those temples and altars and columns, yet without gods and priests, those theatres, yet without actors and spectators and audiences, those fountains that no longer gush, the shops with scales and containers without customers and sellers. We walk to the private houses, to kitchens, and yet no fires, no cooks are here to be seen. Just the walls from the bedchambers, to the gardens, to other rooms, etc. […] It seems as if one could simply wait for the citizens to return. But they are gone over 1700 years and will never return; everywhere there is a profound desolation, a solemn silence only interrupted by the veterans who guide foreigners in this city of death and dread[34].

We will see the same feeling prevailing in Hakl, too. In this case, the author extensively describes his visit[35] from the train journey through the four stations that connect Naples to Pompeii, to the meeting of the guides[36], who escorted

Theatre, or 'Odeion') were accessible from the Stabian Gate, and that almost no part of the eastern *Regiones* had been excavated at that time lead me to think that he may have confused the Large Theatre with the Amphitheatre.

[34] Kamarýt, 1876: 76-77. My translation. Original: "Vůbec jest vše až ku podivu zachováno, tak že si každý dosti živě představiti může, jak to zde před dvouma tisíci lety vypadalo. Jakýsi teskný cit opanuje člověka, když těmi osamělými ulicemi kráčí, když ty chrámy a oltáře a sloupy spatří, a všas bez bohů a kněží, ta divadla, avšak bez herců a diváků a poslouchačů, ty vodotrysky, které však nyní více netekou, zde krámy s váhami a nádobami bez kupujících a prodávajících. Přicházíme do domů soukromých, do kuchyň, ale žádný oheň, žádný kuchař není tu k spatření. Zdi od komnat, do zahrad, do jízby, atd. […] Zdá se jednomu, jen aby se posadil a návrat obyvatelů očekával. A hle tito jsou již 1700 let pryč a více se nenavrátí; všude jest hluboká pustota, slavné ticho, přerušené sem tam veterány, jenž cizince v tomto městě smrti a hrůzy provádí".

[35] Hakl, 1881: 263-274.

[36] He calls them "Ciceroni", who "usually speak three, four, even more languages, those being: Italian, German, French, English, Spanish; only of the Slavic nobody know anything; the most numerous Nation in Europe is a stranger here and has no representatives, although many Russians and other Slavs do come here quite often […]. This always hurts us […]. Why are we always the pariah of the educated world?" (265). My translation. Original: "Ciceroni ti mluví obyčejně trojím, čtverým, snad i vícerým jazykem, a sice: vlašsky, německy, francouzsky, anglicky, španělsky; jen o slovanštině žádný ničeho neví; národ, v Evropě nejčetnější,

the visitors throughout the site, offering accurate historical information and also showing them the active excavation places[37]. And again, after exiting the site through the Herculaneum Gate necropolis, Hakl reflects upon the meaning of this experience:

> Thus, we ended our journey in Pompeii, no different from the underworld or a prehistoric era. For the whole time, we could not save ourselves from mournful feelings and the more we penetrated that city of the dead, the more melancholic we became, almost to the point of crying; and we could not have laughed at anything in this world; so much we were filled by those sentiments of grief, sadness, misery and sorrow[38].

František Faktor informs the reader of his outing to Pompeii[39] (by mainly offering historical information about both the development of the main cities on the slopes of Vesuvius until the fatal day of the eruption and the progression of the excavations on the site since its discovery (61-64). He considers Pompeii as "an inexhaustible treasury that keeps the most diverse evidence for learning the way of life of 18 centuries ago"[40] (68). He makes only a few references to the route taken on the site, so that it is not traceable, and comments on the buildings and especially the artistic works in a general and comprehensive way. Nevertheless, he too reflects on the feelings inspired by the dead city: "Only the footsteps of those who walk on the lava-paved streets make a sound, and a sepulchral silence reigns throughout the houses where splendour and merriment once prospered"[41] (65).

jest zde cizincem a nikde tu zástupce nemá, ač zajisté dost Rusů a jiných Slovanů do roka tudy přejde […] To nás vždycky zabolelo. […] Což jsme pořád ještě ta paria ve vzdělaném světě?". The representation, of lack thereof, of the Slavic people abroad is a recurring theme in Hakl's travelogue.

[37] The topographical information about the route Hakl and his entourage followed inside the city and out, and his reports about the management of tourists and excavations confirm not only the data relating to the history of the excavations, but also the very propitious moment that the excavations were going through in those years, thanks to the direction of Giuseppe Fiorelli and Michele Ruggero.

[38] Hakl, 1881: 272. My translation. Original: "Tím ukončili jsme pouť svou v Pompejích, nejinak, než jako v podsvětí, anebo jako v době předhistorické. Nemohli jsme ubrániti se po celý ten čas pocitům truchlivým, a čím déle jsme v tom městě mrtvých chodili, tím teskněji bylo nám, téměř ku pláči; a byli bychom je nezasmáli, ani za nevíme co na světě; tak přeplnění jsme byli těmi city žalosti, smutku, útrpnosti a bolu".

[39] Faktor, 1897: 64-68.

[40] My translation. Original: "Pompeje jsou nám nevyčerpatelnou pokladnicí, ve které jsou uschovány nejrozmanitější doklady ku poznání způsobu života před 18 věky".

[41] My translation. Original: "V ulicích, dlážděných lávovými deskami, ozývají se jen kroky chodce a v domech, kde jiná nádhera a veselí měly své sídlo, panuje hrobové ticho".

Veličský is actually the second traveller in chronological order to visit Pompeii, in 1869. Because of its stylistic features, Veličský's narrative resembles a history schoolbook for young students much more than the account of an individual's experience. The author gives no information about his arrival at or his departure from the site, nor about the route, the season or the time he went there, and there is absolutely no contact in the text with any element of the present time apart from the objects that he observes and dutifully illustrates. The text opens on August 24 of the year 79 AD, the day when the city of Pompeii was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius – a date mentioned by all the other travellers as well. The author briefly introduces the main towns of the area at that time and informs the reader that "the most interesting, because of its misfortune, is the memorable city of Pompeii, and through it I will escort in spirit the gentle reader"[42]. From the first page, the story of the visit to the site overlaps with the history of the ancient city, whose liveliness the modern spectator is able to recall with the help of the well-preserved architecture, objects and decoration, as well as other cited sources. His description of the route followed within the city is very accurate[43]: Veličský reports everything in detail and adds a corollary of historical information[44]. For example, he uses the description of the spaces of private domuses to narrate the daily customs of the citizens of Pompeii (160-162). The individual completely disappears in the dense description of a lost civilisation, and the text acquires the informative content and partially the style that we typically relate to that of a tourist guide[45].

Given the educational and scientific orientation of the journal in which Veličský's text was published, its style does not surprise us; however, it makes it much more challenging to determine if Professor F. Veličský may actually be the Professor František Velišský who just four years prior had been on a trip to the island of Ischia. *Týden na ostrově Ischii* [Una settimana sull'isola di Ischia] is in fact a completely different tale: it is a text full of misspellings, incorrect in-

[42] Veličský, 1869: 158. My translation. Original: "Nejzajímavější pro nás jest osudem svým pamětihodné město Pompeje a tudíž provedu laskavého čtenáře v duchu skrze ně".

[43] He entered from the North-western Herculaneum Gate through the necropolis – as was typical at the time, given the railway station nearby – and followed the city walls South, stopping at almost all the available buildings and findings of the *Regiones* VI, VII, VIII, then moving to the furthest eastern building accessible at the time, the Amphitheatre. From the thermopolium to the House of Sallust and that of the Tragic Poet, to the Forum and the thermae, the temple of Jupiter and the basilica, the Large Theatre and the Amphitheatre.

[44] That goes from citing an ancient Latin writer (Veličský 1869: 158), to giving measurements of the streets and the buildings (159; 163-164), to inserting the – correct – Latin names of objects and places next to the Czech ones, or using italics to highlight the main spots on the way.

[45] Lenderová, 2016.

formation, second-hand knowledge and impulsive, personal reflections, pervaded by irony, conveyed in an unruly style and an often-unrefined phrasing. First of all, the dates indicate that the text was written or revised quite some time after the voyage[46]. Secondly, the whole trip consists of Veličský being trapped for eight days on the island, and the travelogue reports without embellishment the events of an unplanned adventure. In fact, he impulsively decides to leave a 'completely dead' Naples – incredibly silent because of the approaching Easter, all museums and churches closed, all its noisy citizens holed up at home – on Friday, and to come back on Sunday. But his plans are thwarted several times due to the terrible weather. Thus he waits, meets other foreigners (a few Germans and an Englishman with his family), reads a bit, admires the local bountiful nature, drinks wine, expresses his longing for the continent, moves around the main cities, Casamicciola, Ischia and Forio; he explores the lava trails on the side of Mount Epomeo, tries the food, complains about the shortage of meat at the taverns. When he manages to board a steamboat to the mainland, he sees the summit of never-reached Epomeo through the dispersing clouds, as if mocking him from afar. Back in Naples, he finally has to account for his return to the police, because his wife and daughter, worried about his unannounced absence, had reported him missing. It is particularly interesting that such a tale, short yet dense and varied in content and style, was inspired by an unplanned trip off the beaten track of Italian travel; it certainly deserves a more in-depth study and, at the same time, offers a useful starting point for reflecting on the literary canons of travel writing of that era.

The accounts of visits to Pompeii offer an excellent starting point for an analysis of travel texts: the dead city, as it is systematically referred to by all the authors examined, provokes suggestions that the travellers transfer into their own texts. The time spent on the site, the points of interest and the impressions they report vary quite a bit, as does the accuracy of the knowledge disclosed. But the relationship with the 'other' finds no other correspondent than death, time, and the unpredictability of events, pushing the travellers to reflect on these questions personally. Ischia, on the contrary, seems to represent a last

[46] The short travelogue was published in *Osvěta* in 1883, but the author states his journey occurred in 1865. He reports Friday March 25 as Good Friday, which is incorrect, because in 1865 Easter fell in April. However, the dates exactly correspond to the holidays of the previous year, 1864, which does not change our perspective on the historical information contained in the text. Moreover, unlike the editorial note that announced both the death of the author and the earthquake in Casamicciola in the year 1883, information about the devastating earthquake that hit Casamicciola in 1881 was added by the author, thus confirming that he worked on the text long after having completed the journey.

resort, perhaps too far from the coast compared to other beauties, such as Capri[47], which is more within reach.

Conclusions

The above partial analysis has hopefully given an idea of the quantity and variety of information that travel tales can convey. We have seen that travelogues can be studied and interpreted from many different viewpoints. For example, we can investigate the context in which they originated or track the enormous volume of data they contain in order to better understand changes in the perception of foreigners and the 'other' over time and space. In terms of the need for further analysis, the stylistic features that differentiate the accounts provide a wealth of material with which to approach the complex issue of a pseudo-literary genre. A systematic analysis of how travel itself changed in the country over half a century is also necessary. Information on currency, modes of transport, accommodation and hospitality, and the economic conditions of the local population is sometimes merely implied or hinted at, while at other times it is discussed in depth by the travelling authors. Such an investigation would open up a world of opportunities when we address the texts through concepts such as the representation of the 'other' and self-representation. Within this framework, it is possible to identify the characters that are perceived as significant in shaping the identity of both the traveller to a foreign land and the foreigner they encounter on their journey.

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[47] Faktor took a boat trip from Sorrento to Capri to see the renowned 'Blue Grotto', of which he offers an articulated description (Faktor, 1897: 56-57).

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Two Worlds of the 19th Century (on the Example of Selected Czech Travelogues from Istria and Kvarner)

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Travel literature underwent significant development throughout the long 19th century, with Czech literature exemplifying this trend. The travelogue texts produced by Czech travellers were notably distinctive, reflecting dynamic forces closely tied to the Austrian or Austro-Hungarian context. The cultural and ideological frameworks embraced by Czech travel writers, which influenced their perceptions of the experiences and observations encountered, markedly differed from those of their counterparts in England, France, or America. This highlights the evident interdependence of identity – whether collective or individual – and alterity, a foundational aspect of travel literature studies[1], alongside the crucial relationship between self-images and hetero-images in imagology[2]. Despite being a semi-fictional genre[3], the demands imposed by imagology are pertinent, emphasising the necessity of examining perceptions of foreign lands as functions of general social and historical relations[4]. This paper will specifically focus on 'general social and historical relations' and their reflection in a relatively small sample of Czech travelogues from two distinct periods of the 19th century, linked by the shared geographical context of the Croatian Northern Adriatic and the Istrian peninsula. The texts under consideration are Jan Kollár's travelogue from the early 1840s *Cestopis obsahující cestu do Horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Bavorsko se zvláštním ohledem na slavjanské živly* [A Travelogue Covering a Journey to Northern Italy and Beyond Through Tyrol and Bavaria, with Special Emphasis on the Slavic Population], and the works of Karel Liebscher *Na pobřeží Istrie* [On the Coast of Istria] and Karel Konrád *Quarnero*. These will be analysed within the framework of 19th-century political, social,

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1 Cf. Thompson, 2011: 20; Blanton, 1997: 9.

2 Cf. Müller-Funk, 2021: 180; Pageaux, 2009: 127-129; Syndram, 2009: 79.

3 Duda, 1998: 50; Heller, 2020: 16.

4 Fischer, 2009: 43.

cultural, and technological shifts. The objective of this paper is to demonstrate that the selected travelogues – Kollár on one side and Liebscher and Konrád on the other – emerge from fundamentally different cultural, ideological, and technological paradigms, which significantly shape the representation of the world depicted in their texts. It will be shown that the world experienced by Liebscher and Konrád diverges markedly from that of Kollár, who journeyed nearly half a century earlier. This analysis will be grounded in four key indicators: the geopolitics of the territories traversed, the corresponding ideologies of the travel writers, the modes of transport utilised, and tourism.

Slovak and Czech revivalist, Evangelical priest, writer, and principal proponent of Pan-Slavism in the 19th century, Jan Kollár (1793-1852), embarked on his journey to Northern Italy (including Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Lake Garda, Sirmione, Brescia, Milan, Lake Como, Monza, etc.) on September 7, 1841. The journey lasted two months. The travelogue documenting this journey was published in 1843 in Pest, Hungary, by Trattner-Károly, where Kollár resided at the time[5]. Czech landscape painter and illustrator Karel Liebscher (1851-1906) travelled to Istria and Kvarner in either 1888 or 1887, publishing his travelogue in 1888 across four issues of the magazine *Světozor*. The journey of Catholic priest, composer, conductor, and music historian Karel Konrád (1842-1894) likely occurred in 1889 or 1890, with his travelogue published in two issues of the Czech magazine *Vlasť* in 1890. Kollár's journey and those of Liebscher and Konrád are thus separated by nearly half a century. This temporal divide presents significant qualitative differences. The everyday life, the prevailing political realities, modes of travel, and the literary representation of the world, along with state structures, underwent profound transformations over these fifty years, as evident in the three travelogues. The pre-modern, pre-industrial society of Kollár's era yielded to the modern, industrial world experienced by Liebscher and Konrád. To what extent and in what manner does this significant historical transition manifest in the travelogues mentioned above?

After being under French rule as part of the Illyrian provinces from 1809, Istria and Kvarner reverted to the Austrian Empire after Napoleon's defeat in 1813. However, with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise and the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, these two regions came under distinct spheres of influence. Istria, with Trieste as its capital, became part of Austria, which also acquired the Kvarner archipelago. Conversely, the Kvarner coast

[5] Kollár's travelogue was published in 1862 in Prague by the publisher I. L. Korber, albeit in a reduced and amended form. In 1907, it was published in its original, unabridged version by the publisher J. Otto, also in Prague.

belonged to Hungary, with Rijeka granted a unique status. Following the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise of 1868, Rijeka functioned as a 'corpus separatum', or separate entity, but was annexed to Hungary in 1870, remaining so until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918. Both Istria and Kvarner held strategic significance for Vienna and Budapest: after 1870, Hungarian authorities developed Rijeka into their principal port, while Trieste served a similar role for Austria. Additionally, Pula, the contemporary administrative centre of Istria, evolved from the mid-19th century into the headquarters of the Austrian Navy and the main Austrian shipyard.

The objective of Kollár's journey was not Istria or Kvarner, but rather (Northern) Italy, a bastion of classical culture that he greatly admired, which was also part of the Austrian Empire. The true motivations for this journey, however, were distinctly ideological. Jan Kollár emerged as a prominent proponent of Pan-Slavism in the first half of the 19th century. At the time of his travel from Pest to Northern Italy, he was a well-known figure in Slavic countries, particularly in Croatia. After studying Protestant theology in Jena, Kollár served for three decades (1819-1849) as an evangelical pastor for the Slovak minority in Pest, concluding his life as a professor of Slavic archaeology in Vienna (1849-1852). Consequently, he spent the majority of his life in a predominantly non-Slavic milieu, continually confronting the challenges of Magyarization and Germanization, which profoundly influenced him both artistically and ideologically. He identified a pathway to alleviate the oppression experienced by the Slavs through the Pan-Slavist program, which he articulated in the poetry collection *Slávy dcera* [The Daughter of Sláva]. This cycle of sonnets was developed over nearly three decades, expanding from an initial 151 sonnets in its first edition in 1824 to 645 by its final version in 1852. For Kollár, poetry served as a tool, an effective means for promoting the Pan-Slavic program[6]. In addition to poetry, Kollár actively advocated for this program through programmatic texts that aspired to scientific discourse, notably in his works *Rozpravy o jménách, počátkách i starožitnostech národu slavského a jeho kmenů* [Discourses on the names, beginnings and antiquities of the Slavic People and their tribes, 1830], *Staroitalia slavjanská*[7] [Slavic ancient Italy, 1853], and *O literárnej vzájemnosti mezi kmeny a nářečími slávskými* [On literary mutuality between Slavic tribes and dialects, 1836], in which he elaborated on the concept of literary mutuality among

[6] Cf. Šmahelová, 2002: 138.

[7] The complete title of the book in Czech is *Staroitalia slavjanská aneb objevy a důkazy živlů slavských v zeměpisu, dějinách a v bájesloví, zvláště v řeči a v literatuře nejdávnějších vlaských a sousedních kmenů, z kterých zřejmo, že mezi prvotními osadníky a obyvateli této krajiny i slavjané nad jiné četnější byli.*

Slavic peoples. This context is essential for understanding Kollár's travelogue from 1843. His journey, therefore, represents an effort to validate and reinforce the Pan-Slavist program. It can be interpreted as an ideological project affirming the premise that a superior and historically oppressed Slavic culture and heritage underlie all endeavours. Kollár's journey is inherently conflictual because it takes place in a permanent confrontation between Slavism on the one side and the hegemony of Hungarian, German (Austrian), and Italian influences on the other side, which he emphasises throughout the journey. This confrontation also manifests on a personal level, as the narrator positions himself as a representative of Slavism traversing hostile territories (Hungarian, Austrian, and Italian).

Kollár departs by carriage from Pest, accompanied by two unnamed companions, to attend the wedding of the brother of the director of the Pest Institute for the Blind, to be held in Brežice[8], situated in today's Slovenia. However, he ultimately does not arrive at the wedding, having intentionally altered his itinerary, which suggests his original purpose served merely as an excuse rather than a genuine reason for travel. The locations he visits and resides in are meticulously selected with the aim of constructing an image of the cultural superiority of the Slavs. This inclination is evident from the outset of the journey, as he extensively discusses Slavic influences and traces in Hungarian cities and towns, as well as the position of the Slavic population within them (for instance, in the gallery in Martonvásár, he discovers a painting by the "Czechoslovak" artist Jan Kupecký[9]; in Székesfehérvár, he expresses discontent that the reading room only provides newspapers in Hungarian and German, but not in Slavic languages; in Zalavár, he pauses to visit the church where Cyril and Methodius briefly resided; and in Nagykanizsa, he notes with pleasure that "the Illyrian language could be heard from the courtyards and streets"[10]. The journey is portrayed through the perspective of a threatened Slav. The only exception occurs in chapters where he traverses present-day Croatia, surrounded by Slavic friends. This shift in the traveller's mood and his overall attitude towards the regions he traverses becomes evident at the initiatory moment of crossing the border, a common motif in travelogue literature[11]. Upon crossing the Mura River and entering the terri-

[8] Kollár, 1907a: 1.

[9] The fact that Kollár's travelogue requires a broader, Pan-Slavic interpretation, as previously suggested in his other works, is evident for several reasons, one of which is the author's reference to the 'Explanations' (i.e. an extensive appendix to *Slávy dcera* [The Daughter of Sláva]), which provides a more detailed account of Kupecký (Kollár, 1907a: 17).

[10] Kollár, 1907a: 48 (My translation).

[11] Heller, 2020: 32.

tory of the Slavs (Croats) in what was then Hungarian Croatia, he remarks: "[…] with offended hearts we said goodbye to the Hungarian landscape and all the more freely and joyfully we walked through the Croatian land among the friendly brothers […]"[12]. After visiting the cities of Čakovec, Krapina, Varaždin, Zagreb, and Karlovac, he encounters numerous cultural figures in Croatia. He expresses delight at the palpable Slavic enthusiasm he perceives most acutely in Zagreb: "Nowhere have I been imbued with such a pure Pan-Slavic life as here"[13]. However, during his journey through Kvarner and Istria to Trieste, his enthusiasm noticeably wanes, attributed to the adverse political and cultural situation of the Slavs in the region, compounded by the predominance of the Italian language[14]. Kollár exhibits a contradictory stance towards Austrian Northern Italy. On one hand, he regards it as 'Divina Italia', a land rich in history, culture, and art. Conversely, he emphasises the historical injustices experienced by the Slavs in these areas. Metaphorically speaking, Kollár views Northern Italy as a kind of palimpsest, a Slavic text that has been overwritten. He considers this Slavic text to be the foundational cultural layer. This perspective is evident throughout his journey across Northern Italy, where he contends that "the root of the tree of Italian life is in the land of Slavs"[15]. This sentiment is particularly pronounced in Venice, where he resides the longest, asserting that it is "originally a daughter of Sláva, founded by Slavs and named by Slavs"[16] .

Figure 1. A pen and ink drawing in black and grey, washed, by Thomas Hrnčiř, after a drawing by Miklós Barabás. A Preliminary sketch for the 'Kronprinzenwerk' (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Pictures, Vienna 1886-902), Vol. 'Bohemia II'. 1896: 113 (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_Koll%C3%A1r.jpg).

[12] Kollár, 1907a: 49.
[13] Kollár, 1907a: 68 (My translation).
[14] Cf. Kollár, 1907a: 84 i 87.
[15] Kollár, 1907b: 391 (My translation).
[16] Kollár, 1907a: 123 (My translation).

In summary, Kollár claims to have discovered Slavic traces everywhere, elaborating upon them in extensive historiographical discussions. However, his argumentation is occasionally inconsistent, subjective, forcefully articulated, and even naive17. For example, while describing St. Mark's Square, he observes an abundance of pigeons, which he interprets as direct evidence of Venice's Slavic origins and character:

> Here, Venice reveals its Slavic origins and character, demonstrating its connection to our *pigeon-loving people*, whose tribes have cherished these birds since ancient times. […] The term pigeon ('columba' or 'palumba') migrated from the Slavs to other European peoples, along with the subject itself[18].

He also wrote: "Singing is innate to the Venetians, further confirming their Slavic origins"[19].

Kollár's travelogue and those of Liebscher and Konrád are linked by their focus on the same geographical regions (Istria and Kvarner); however, they are characterised by markedly distinct political interpretations and attitudes. Kollár regards Istria and Kvarner as foreign territories, contrasting sharply with his enthusiastic portrayal of Northern Croatia, which he attributes to its vibrant national (Slavic) sentiment. In contrast, Liebscher and Konrád approach and depict these regions in a fundamentally different manner. The Central European landscape has undergone a radical transformation, while the notion of Pan-Slavism, once idealistically framed within cultural mutuality among Slavic peoples and highly relevant during Kollár's era, gradually assumed a nostalgic and anachronistic connotation by the late 19th century. The notable ideological shift evident in Liebscher's and Konrád's perspectives is marked by a transition from the sentiment of 'it is theirs (foreign, hostile)' to 'it is ours', which is inherently ideological. This ideological evolution entails a departure from Pan-Slavism,

[17] It is pertinent to note that the linguistically and historiographically unfounded determination of Slavic etymology of certain words, as well as the general emphasis on the presence of Slavism in certain areas, is also expressed in Kollár's other travelogue text *Cestopis druhý* [Travelogue two], in which the author describes his journey to Rome in 1844 (cf., e.g. Kollár, 1863: 24, 31, and 82). In response to Kollár's efforts to see Slavic traces and influences everywhere, the author of the preface to the edition of his travelogue from 1907, Jan Jakubec, openly criticised this tendency by referring to it as "Kollár's fantastic works" (Jakubec, 1907: XXIX. My translation).

[18] Kollár, 1907a: 144 (Author's italics; my translation). The motif of the dove and the dove's (peaceful) character, which Kollár uses several times in relation to the Slavs (cf. Kollár, 1907a: 172), was relatively frequent and also appears in the works of other Czech travel writers of the 19th century (Heller, 2020: 13).

[19] Kollár, 1907a: 217 (My translation).

which now exists predominantly in the form of declarative sympathies towards other Slavic peoples, while simultaneously gravitating towards the power centres (Vienna, Budapest), which Kollár perceived as hegemonic and consequently antagonistic. In other words, both Liebscher and Konrád experience the Monarchy as their state. When travelling to Istria and Kvarner, Liebscher and Konrád are not primarily in search of Slavic heritage. Their motivations are distinctly different: they wish to explore the easternmost territories of 'their' monarchy. The ideological context, therefore, starkly contrasts with that of Kollár. What was seen as ideological and cultural alienation by Kollár is articulated by Liebscher and Konrád as a sense of belonging: although they encounter an unfamiliar territory, they recognise and depict it as their own, notwithstanding intermittent critiques regarding the dominance of the Italian language and Italians who marginalise the Croatian (Slavic) populace[20]. Liebscher concludes that the coast of Istria is "without a doubt one of the most interesting parts of the coast of 'our monarchy'"[21]. Similarly, Konrád expresses his connectivity to the Monarchy and the surrounding environment during his visit to Opatija on the Kvarner coast, stating that Opatija is "the warmest of all 'our bathing places' in winter"[22]. His sense of belonging to the Monarchy is also expressed during his stay in the largest city of Kvarner, Rijeka: "It is situated almost in the middle of the Kvarner Sea and, after Trieste, is the most important centre of maritime trade in 'our empire'"[23]. Praising the robust industry in Rijeka, he observes that the Smith & Meynier paper mill "prints 'our paper money'"[24].

If one were to accept the prevailing view that the 19th century represents the inception of the modern era, it becomes evident that Kollár occupies a critical position at the intersection of the pre-modern (romantic) world and the modern one. This is evidenced not only by his journey being motivated by (pseudo) scientific and ideological factors, typical of pre-modern travelogue[25], but also by the mode of transportation he employs during his travels. Although he utilises various forms of transport, Kollár predominantly relies on the carriage. His journey from Pest through Zagreb to Rijeka along the Louisiana Road, completed in 1811 to supplant the inadequate mountain Caroline Road[26], exemplifies this. From a contemporary viewpoint, his journey appears relatively slow

[20] Cf. Liebscher, 1888d: 422; Konrád, 1890a: 603.
[21] Liebscher, 1888d: 422 (My emphasis; my translation).
[22] Konrád, 1890a: 603 (My emphasis; my translation).
[23] Konrád, 1890b: 846 (My emphasis; my translation).
[24] Konrád, 1890b: 850 (My emphasis; my translation).
[25] Blanton, 1997: 15-16.
[26] Duda, 1998: 102.

(characteristics we will further discuss later in this paper), complicated by the necessity to switch carriages, engage multiple coachmen, and navigate concerns regarding their reliability. Besides the fact that they have no other motives for travelling than the journey itself or reporting on new spaces, Liebscher and Konrád, in that sense, confidently stand with both feet in the modern world. In the years between their travels to Istria and Kvarner and Kollár's, significant advancements in transportation emerged. Approximately fifteen years after Kollár's journey (1857), the Vienna-Trieste railway line became operational. The Rijeka railway line, established by the Austro-Hungarian Southern Railway Company in 1873, connected Rijeka via Sv. Petar in Istria with the Vienna-Trieste route. Consequently, Liebscher and Konrád travel to Istria and Kvarner by train[27], with the railway's role emphasised in the introductory sections of their travelogues:

> Upon arrival at the station of Sv. Petar na Krasu, the southern line of the Austrian railway branches into two directions. One of them turns West and ends in Trieste. The other continues along its original route and, after a few stations, reaches the village of Jurdani, after which it turns in a wide arc towards Rijeka[28].

> If we ride the southern line from Sv. Petar na Krasu from the station of Jurdani pod Krasom towards the station of Matuglie-Abbazia, we will soon see the surface of the Kvarner Bay at a considerable height above the sea, the first, unexpected sight of which is enchanting[29].

The railway should not be construed solely as a functional and pragmatic means of transport; rather, it represents a technical innovation that fundamentally altered contemporary understandings of time and space, as well as human daily life. Additionally, the arrival and expansion of the railway correspond with what Wolfgang Schivelbusch refers to as the "reduction of the natural world"[30], wherein the landscape is transformed into a mere geographical (topographic) space[31]. Schivelbusch posits that rail travel signifies the cessation of the foreground as it was perceived in pre-industrial travel. Objects in the foreground now move with such rapidity that they become unrecognisable.[32] Unlike car-

[27] It is interesting to note that Konrád will spot the Louisiana Road from the train, which Jan Kollár travelled fifty years earlier, and that he will refer to it in his travelogue (see Konrád, 1890d: 850).
[28] Liebscher, 1888a: 376 (My translation).
[29] Konrád, 1890a: 602 (My translation).
[30] Schivelbusch, 2010: 20.
[31] Schivelbusch, 2010: 76.
[32] Schivelbusch, 2010: 205.

riage travel, these objects are now perceived in an impressionistic and ephemeral manner. Beyond a purely pragmatic function, the means of transport depicted in all three aforementioned travelogues also possess a semantic function, as they directly affect the representation of the encountered space. This phenomenon is perhaps most vividly illustrated in Kollár's travelogue. Kollár, situated at the intersection of the pre-modern and modern worlds, undertook only two brief journeys by train (in Italy and Austria). He captures his inaugural experience of train travel in the following manner:

> It was my first steam engine ride on solid ground, the fastest journey of my life. I have never experienced such speed on any other railway line since. The trees, gardens, towers, and surrounding villages just flew by and then disappeared again[33].

This description illustrates the travel writer's astonishment and admiration for technological advancements[34], alongside his sense of inadequacy in articulating his observations during the train journey. His prior travel experiences prove entirely inadequate for depicting the scenes he encounters, resulting in descriptions that revert to a mere taxonomic listing of objective reality or a catalogue of objects.

The antithesis of slowness and speed constitutes a compelling filtrate of the comparative analysis of travelogues from two distinct periods of the 19th century. Kollár, as previously noted, travels by carriage, resulting in a journey significantly slower than those undertaken by Liebscher and Konrád, who utilise trains at the close of the century. However, this mode of travel also affords Kollár a particular freedom, primarily manifested in the ability to deviate from a predefined route, to request a reduction in travel speed to capture details more thoroughly or to halt the carriage whenever he seeks to engage more intensely with his surroundings. Kollár's travelogue is notably extensive, comprising just under 500 pages, and with additional historiographical, cultural, and etymological appendices, totals nearly 750 pages. This length significantly affects its rhythm; Kollár pauses in various locations to provide detailed descriptions of his encounters. Rather than focusing solely on the horizontal (synchronic) perspective of the present, he is more engrossed in the vertical (diachronic) perspective, reflecting upon the historical context that undergirds the contemporary experience. As a result, he often engages in extensive digressions, which include historiographical or cultural considerations and interpre-

[33] Kollár, 1907a: 250 (My translation).

[34] Kollár will also express the excitement caused by advancements in transport upon returning to Pest (Kollár, 1907b: 484-485).

tations. This approach results in a decelerated journey, paralleling the slower pace of reading his travelogue. Conversely, the travelogues of Liebscher and Konrád are markedly brief, comprising only 7 pages (Liebscher) and 10 pages (Konrád). Their works do not exhibit the same extent of thoroughness and detail in description and interpretation as found in Kollár's travelogue. They spend minimal time in the locations they visit or merely pass through, offering only cursory descriptions. In contrast to the aforementioned explicative (historiographic) verticality present in Kollár's travelogue, Liebscher's and Konrád's accounts are characterised by a degree of superficiality. This term is employed in a neutral context, referring to a strategy that prioritises the immediate observations of a hurried travel writer, which, to invoke Dean Duda's terminology, could be likened to a "postcard"[35]. Liebscher's and Konrád's descriptions occasionally exhibit a lapidary quality, primarily concentrating on observations related to the landscape's topography and vegetation. Both authors (and especially Konrád) seldom engage in a deeper analysis beyond superficial observations and do not acquaint the reader with a vertical, diachronic perspective.

Liebscher's and Konrád's travelogues from the late 19th century document a substantial shift that occurred following Kollár's journey to Istria and Kvarner. This transformation pertains to the emergence of tourism as a notable phenomenon of the modern era, intricately linked with the expansion of the railway system. Specifically, the construction of the Rijeka railway rendered Kvarner and Istria appealing to substantial investors, which, in turn, attracted tourists. Konrád notes that the Southern Railway Company acquired the renowned Villa Angiolina in Opatija, subsequently establishing the first hotel in Opatija, the Quarnero Hotel, in 1884, marking the inception of Opatija's extensive tourism. In the following year, the Southern Railway Company also constructed the Stephanie Hotel, which featured Viennese cuisine[36]. Both Konrád and Liebscher affirmatively discuss the flourishing of tourism in Opatija, which was officially designated a spa resort by Emperor Franz Joseph I in 1889, as a noteworthy achievement of 'their' Monarchy. Konrád, for instance, commends the newly established Franz Joseph Sanatorium in Opatija, concluding his account with an invitation reflective of an Austrian perspective: "Everything is ready for a pleasant stay. Come and see for yourself"[37]. Liebscher, while subtly critiquing the environmental impact of tourism at times[38], also positively acknowledges

[35] Duda, 1998: 65.
[36] Konrád, 1890a: 603 i 604.
[37] Konrád, 1890a: 606.
[38] Liebscher, 1888b: 392.

Figure 2. A drawing by Karel Liebscher depicting the Southern Railway Company Hotel in Opatija, taken from Liebscher's travel book, published in the magazine *Světozor* on May 18, 1888, No. 25: 396.

the development of Opatija into a "magnificent spa resort"[39], highlighting the contributions of Austrian investors in ensuring the utmost comfort for tourists in this fashionable destination[40]. The reflection on the emergence of tourism in the works of Liebscher and Konrád, contrasted with its absence in Kollár, serves as another parameter reinforcing our initial hypothesis regarding the distinct worlds associated with their travelogues.

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[39] Liebscher, 1888b: 392.
[40] Liebscher, 1888b: 392 i 393.

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Narrating Intercultural Contacts: Alberto Fortis and the Carniolan Intellectuals

Irena Prosenc*

Introduction[1]

The Italian naturalist and travel writer Alberto Fortis (1741-1803) set out to explore the Eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea on several occasions. Besides establishing a close-knit network of contacts with Dalmatian scholars[2], he also had a keen interest in Carniola. This article examines the relationship between Fortis and Carniolan intellectuals, exploring the exchange of theoretical reflections and empirical findings. This provides a more comprehensive understanding of Fortis's experiences and interactions in Carniola.

Alberto Fortis' scientific interests

Fortis was one of the most significant figures of Italian Enlightenment culture. Originally from Padua, he later lived in Venice, Naples, Paris and Bologna. In his youth, he joined the Augustinian order, more for practical reasons than because of a spiritual vocation. However, as his scientific interests conflicted with the expectation that he would devote himself to the study of theology, he gradually distanced himself from the order and eventually left it, while still retaining the title of 'abate' (abbot), with which he signed many of his works.

Fortis engaged in a wide range of disciplines characteristic of the Enlighten-

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[1] The paper presents a more concise version of the article Stiki med Albertom Fortisom in slovanskim svetom ob vzhodnem Jadranu (Prosenc, 2020 b), originally published in Slovenian. We thank the editors of *Acta Histriae* for their kind permission. It was written as part of the research programme P6-0239, co-funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

[2] Giurgevich, 2010: 17.

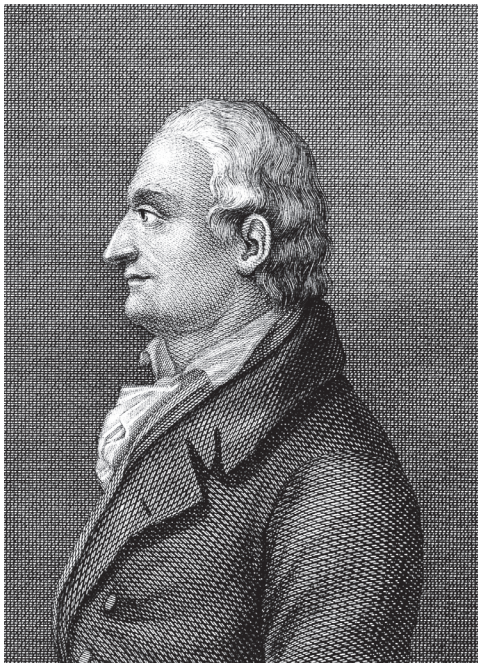

Figure 1. Alberto Fortis. Wikimedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alberto_Fortis._Line_engraving_by_G._Dala_after_himself._Wellcome_V0001977.jpg).

ment era, such as geology, mineralogy, petrology, palaeontology, ethnology, history, agriculture and literature. He served as a royal adviser on mineralogy in Naples, pursued natural sciences in Paris, and later directed the library of the Italian National Institute in Bologna. He was a member of numerous scientific societies and maintained correspondence with natural scientists in Italy and abroad[3].

Fortis' journeys along the Eastern Adriatic coasts

Between 1765 and 1791, Fortis travelled extensively along the Eastern Adriatic and studied the region from a scientific perspective. He visited Dalmatia eleven or possibly twelve times and travelled to Carniola once, spending a total of more than thirty months on the road[4]. While exploring the Slavic world, he documented his observations, gaining recognition across Europe. His first journey took place in 1765, when he visited Istria[5]. In 1770, he explored the islands of Cres and Lošinj, considering them as a single island. Initially driven by mineralogical and palaeontological interests, he later focused on the inhabitants, language, literature and the islands' economic and political conditions, which the Venetian Republic had neglected[6]. A year later, he published the treatise *Saggio d'osservazioni sopra l'isola di Cherso ed Osero* [Observations on the Island of Cherso and Osero], which discusses the islands' geographical and geological features, summarises their history, examines the origins of place names and contains observations on the inhabitants, flora, fauna, agriculture, fishing, fossils and ancient inscriptions.

[3] Ciancio, 1997.
[4] Muljačić, 1996: 146; Bratulić, 1984: XIII.
[5] Muljačić, 1996: 19; Bratulić, 1984: VII; Ciancio, 1995: 61.
[6] Muljačić, 1996: 29-30.

Between 1771 and 1791, Fortis travelled extensively through coastal and inland Dalmatia. After his first two trips, lasting two and seven months respectively, he wrote the travelogue *Viaggio in Dalmazia* [Travels into Dalmatia], published in 1774, in which he discusses the regions around Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split and the Dalmatian islands. In the introductory part, the author asserts the scientific rigour of his investigations and highlights the superiority and practical benefits of natural science, which is "recognised by the whole of cultured Europe today, after repeated experiments, as the least disputatious and uncertain, and consequently, the most directly advantageous of all"[7]. These observations reflect the spirit of an era that valued knowledge as the sole guarantor of prosperity and viewed natural science as the most comprehensive of all disciplines. The travelogue is written in the form of letters addressed to prominent scientific and political figures of the time. According to Wolff, by appealing to his network of patronage, the author seeks to "recommend the importance of Dalmatia to the Venetian government and the European Enlightenment"[8].

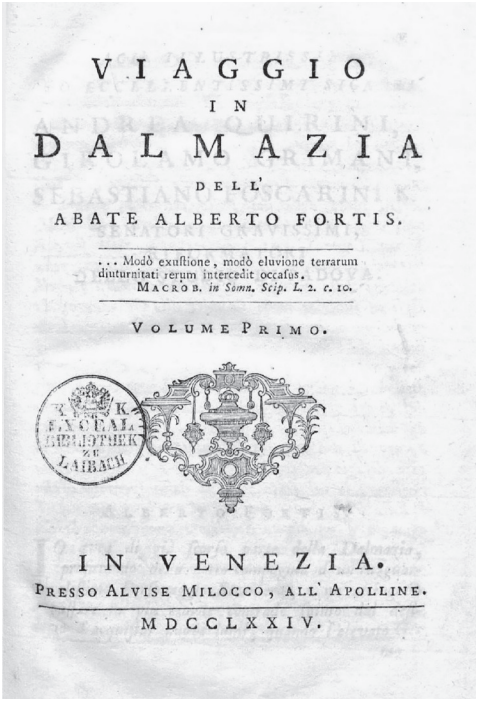
VIAGGIO
IN
DALMAZIA
DELL'
ABATE ALBERTO FORTIS.
... Modò exustione, modò eluvione terrarum
diuturnitati rerum intercedit occasus.
MACROB. *in Somn. Scip. L.* 2. *c.* 10.
VOLUME PRIMO.
IN VENEZIA.
PRESSO ALVISE MILOCCO, ALL' APOLLINE.
MDCCLXXIV.

Figure 2. *Travels into Dalmatia*. The Digital Library of Slovenia (https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-OCJUEQMB).

As a keen observer, Fortis primarily focuses on the geographical, geological and economic characteristics of the places he visits, while also examining their historical, archaeological, cultural, linguistic and literary aspects. *Viaggio in Dalmazia* reflects a cultural climate that valued the exploration of peripheral regions and the production of travel literature. As a result, it was soon translated into German, French and English. Its widespread circulation brought it great popularity and played a key role in reviving European intellectual interest in the Balkans.

[7] Fortis, 1774: VIII. Original: "*da tutta l'Europa colta riconosciuta a' dì nostri dopo replicate sperienze come la meno disputatrice ed incerta e, per conseguenza, la più direttamente vantaggiosa d'ogn'altra*" (author's italics, my translation).
[8] Wolff, 2001: 77-78.

Fortis' travel to Carniola

In 1777, Fortis travelled to Carniola, where he was particularly drawn to karst phenomena[9]. Between February 20 and March 22, he journeyed from Trieste to Ljubljana, documenting his observations in *Lettera orittografica* [Oryctographic Letter] published in the journal *Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze e sulle arti* [Selected Pamphlets on Sciences and Arts] in 1778. In the first half of the text, the author examines the petrological structure of the Triestine hinterland and the Karst. He then turns his attention to Vilenica Cave, which he visited in the company of the mineralogist František Dembsher, director of the pyrite mines in Agordo and a former professor at *Die Bergakademie Schemnitz*, the Mining Academy in Banská Štiavnica[10]. *Lettera orittografica* includes the first published description of Vilenica[11], in which Fortis praises the "magnificence of its underground spectacle"[12]. During their visit, the two travellers carved their names into a stalagmite column. Fortis recounts:

> We used a ladder to descend the cliff of a small circular sinkhole to the mouth of the cavern, though it would have been possible to descend without it. The entrance is very comfortable, the vestibule wide open, and clear enough to distinguish without the help of torches the first two large columns that support the daring underground vault […]. As we descended toward the innermost part of the vast cave, the spectacle grew even more captivating. […] The objects, which shifted in configuration and arrangement with every step, held our attention for a good stretch of the descent until we reached the point where one ascends to cross a kind of rise that divides the great cavern into two parts; here, the men of Cornial[13], accustomed to guiding curious visitors through such dark places, have made a reasonably comfortable staircase from debris. From the top of that staircase, turning back, we enjoyed the most beautiful underground perspective we had ever seen […]. The aforementioned rise serves as the base for a column, not very large but nevertheless a foot and a half in diameter, which connects to the vault. On this column, we inscribed our names with the point of a hammer; they will perhaps be used to mark the growth of the stalactite in a few centuries' time, as they are deeply carved[14].

[9] Muljačić, 1975: 101-108; Muljačić, 1978: 259-260; Muljačić, 1996: 114.
[10] Morel, 2015: 513-514; Corniani degli Algarotti, 1823: 50-51.
[11] Shaw, 2008: 81.
[12] Fortis, 1778a: 259. My translation. Original: "magnificenza dello spettacolo sotterraneo".
[13] The name 'Cornial', an archaic form of the Italian 'Corgnale', refers to both Vilenica Cave and the nearby village of Lokev.
[14] Fortis, 1778a: 259-260. My translation. Original: "Noi ci servimmo d'una scala onde calarci giù pella balza d'un picciolo sprofondamento circolare sino alla bocca della caverna, ma s'avrebbe potuto anche scendervi senza quello. L'ingresso è comodissimo, vastamente aperto il vestibolo, e chiaro abbastanza per distinguervi senza l'aiuto di fiaccole le due prime gran

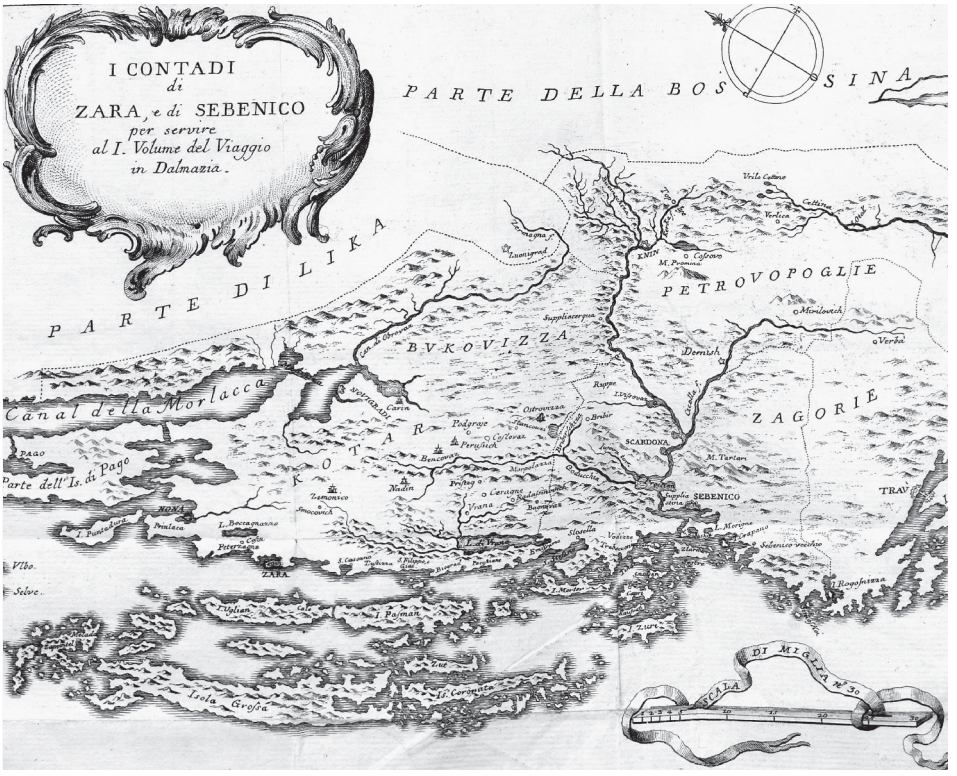

Figure 3. Travels into Dalmatia: A map of the territories of Zadar and Šibenik at the Digital Library of Slovenia (https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-OCJUEQMB).

Although Fortis' actions may today seem unthinkable, Shaw notes that such behaviour was not unusual among his contemporaries, who often wrote their

colonne, che sostengono l'arditissima volta del sotterraneo […]. A misura che c'innoltrammo calando verso la più interna parte del vasto sotterraneo, lo spettacolo divenne più interessante. […] Gli oggetti medesimi, che variano nella configurazione e disposizione ad ogni passo, ci occuparono per buon tratto di cammino discendente sino a tanto che giunsimo ad un luogo, dove si risalisce per sormontare una spezie d'argine che divide la gran caverna in due parti; gli uomini di Cornial, avvezzi a condurre i curiosi per que' luoghi bui, v'hanno fatto una bastevolmente comoda scala di rottami. Dal capo di quella scala voltandoci addietro godemmo del più bel punto di prospettiva sotterranea che avessimo mai veduto […]. L'argine summenzionato serve di base a una colonna non molto grossa, ma che avrà però un piede e mezzo di diametro la quale va a congiungersi colla volta; su di questa a punta di martello scrivemmo i nomi nostri, che serviranno forse a segnare gl'incrementi della stalattite di quì a qualche secolo, essendo profondamente incisi".

names on the cave walls, broke off pieces of stalactites and took home specimens of Proteus. Shaw concludes that "by the custom of the time […] these actions were not considered so reprehensible", adding that "[w]riting names at certain points in the caves was normal"[15].

After Vilenica, the two travellers headed towards Postojna, but were unable to visit the cave due to the high-water level. Instead, they stopped in Planina Plain, which was flooded at the time. They likely did not visit the intermittent Lake Cerknica, although Fortis includes a description of the lake, probably relying on authors such as Valvasor and Fabricius, whom he mentions in his text.

Fortis and Hacquet

In Ljubljana, Fortis met Balthasar Hacquet (1739/1740–1815), a doctor and natural scientist of probable Breton or Lorraine origin. Hacquet was one of the most active travellers of his time. Among his many pursuits, he participated in several attempts to reach the summit of Mount Triglav, the highest mountain in Slovenia[16]. It seems possible that Fortis stayed at Hacquet's residence during his time in Ljubljana[17].

In an extensive work entitled *Oryctographia Carniolica*[18], written in German, Hacquet published the results of his geological, mineralogical and morphological explorations of the Carniolan territory. Like Fortis, he describes Lake Cerknica and various karstic caves, including Vilenica[19]. A familiarity with *Viaggio in Dalmazia* emerges from his work.

Traces of the interaction between Hacquet and Fortis can be seen in some of their writings. Fortis recounts their meeting in Ljubljana in the final part of *Lettera orittografica*, where he admits that he did not actually visit the city, as he was too engrossed in intellectual exchanges with his friend:

> In Ljubljana, I had the consolation of embracing the esteemed Mr. Hacquet, a member of many renowned academies, professor of anatomy and secretary of that industrious Society[20]. I left the city without any distinct impression, as I was so con-

[15] Shaw, 2008: 28.
[16] Hacquet, n.d.; Dolezal, 1966; Brecelj, 2013; Pintar, 2013.
[17] Muljačić, 1996: 114.
[18] Hacquet, 1778, 1781, 1784, 1789.
[19] Hacquet, 1778: 67; Hacquet, 1789: 40-41.
[20] The author refers to *Die Kaiserlich-königliche Landwirthschafts-Gesellschaft in Krain*, the Carniolan Agricultural Society.

> tent with his enlightening conversation, the company of books and his collection of minerals, that I scarcely left his house until it was time to return to the carriage that had brought me there[21].

The same issue of *Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze e sulle arti* in which the letter was published also contains Hacquet's *La lettera odeporica* [The odeporic letter], in which the author recounts his navigation on the River Sava from Ljubljana to its confluence with the Danube. The text is accompanied by the following note: "This letter was communicated to us by Mr. ab. Fortis and was translated in the presence of the author, who made many additions to it"[22]. Fortis may have translated it during his stay in Ljubljana[23].

Another encounter between Fortis and Hacquet is documented in the Swiss Alps in September 1781[24], when Fortis was accompanying Tommaso Bassegli, the son of his Ragusan friends, to Bern. While travelling along the route between Poschiavo and Chur, the two crossed the Crap Alv pass, where they met Hacquet. We find an account of this meeting in a letter written by Fortis to Tommaso's sister, Teresa Bassegli Gozze:

> We had the most unexpected encounter yesterday, precisely at the summit of Mount Crap Alv. We were lingering among the ruins of the narrow valley that divides it, exchanging thoughtful reflections, when we spotted a man, hammer in hand, chipping away at the granite boulders scattered across the landscape. He was on foot, with a small horse and a peasant following behind him. 'Here is certainly a naturalist!' I said to Mr. Tomo. 'Do you know him?' he asked. 'I probably should,' I replied. By then, we had reached him, so he overheard my words and replied almost without looking at our faces: 'Cela n'est pas possible. Je suis un Français, qui habite en Carniole.' – 'Tant mieux!' I exclaimed, dismounting from my horse and embracing him warmly… It was Professor Hacquet from Ljubljana, a tireless observer and my dear friend. Convinced that I was in Ragusa, he had difficulty recognising me, just as I, believing him to be in Ljubljana, had failed to recognise him from afar. Naturalists, as you see, are the knights-errant of our age. After a brief but joyful reunion in that desolate place, as was fitting after five years since we had seen each other, we contin-

[21] Fortis, 1778a: 264. Original: "A Lubiana io ebbi la consolazione di abbracciare il valoroso sig. Hacquet, membro di molte celebri accademie, professore d'anatomia e segretario di quell'operosa Società. Della città non ho portato meco nessuna idea, perché contento dell'istruttiva conversazione di lui, della compagnia de' libri, e della collezione di miniere, ch'egli possiede, io non uscii quasi punto di casa prima del momento di rimontare nel calesse che colà mi aveva condotto" (My translation).

[22] Hacquet, 1778a: 27. Original: "Questa lettera ci è stata comunicata dal sig. ab. Fortis tradotta sotto agli occhi dell'autore, che vi ha fatto di molte aggiunte" (My translation).

[23] Muljačić, 1975: 104.

[24] Muljačić, 1975: 101-102.

> ued on our separate journeys: he towards the Tyrol, I towards Switzerland; who knows in what cave, what wilderness, what precipice we shall meet again[25]!

Hacquet recounts the same episode in his *Physikalisch-Politische Reise aus den Dinarischen durch die Iulischen, Carnischen, Rhätischen in die Norischen Alpen* [Physical and Political Journey from the Dinaric Alps Across the Julian, Carnic and Rhaetian Alps to the Noric Alps], published in 1785[26]. He highlights the scientific aspects of the encounter, which offered him an opportunity to prove the validity of his theories on the origin of Alpine rocks – a topic he and Fortis had previously discussed in letters. He comments:

> While I was busy making fresh cuts in the rocks, two travellers on horseback arrived, who were also preparing to cross these mountains on their way to Zurich. They paused briefly, conversing with each other. Since I was alone in that remote wilderness with my guide, I had no way of knowing their intentions. Finally, one of them addressed me: 'You must be a connoisseur of stones', and asked me which country I was from. When I told him, he assured me that he knew me. To reinforce his claim, he called me by name and embraced me. He reproached me for not recognising him, even though he had visited me at my home in Ljubljana some years earlier and we had been exchanging letters for a long time. I hesitated for a moment before realising that it was none other than Mr. Abate Fortis, whom I would never have expected to find there. One can easily imagine how surprising this moment was for both of us, as we met so unexpectedly; but even greater was the pleasure that we met in this very place, which could settle our differences of opinion regarding the limestone mountains, about which we had been arguing at length in our letters[27].

[25] Fortis' letter to Teresa Bassegli Gozze dated September 18, 1781 in Chur (Giurgevich, 2010: 253; Muljačić, 1952: 69-140, 105-107). Original: "il più inaspettato incontro lo abbiamo fatto jeri, precisamente su la cima della Montagna Crapalf. Noi ci trattenevamo fra le rovine di quell'angusto Vallone, che la divide, facendovi sopra le opportune riflessioni, quando vidimo comparire un uomo che andava col martello alla mano rompendo scheggie dai massi di granito che ingombrano quel luogo. Egli era a piedi, con un cavalluccio dietro, e un villano. 'Ecco certamente un Naturalista!' io dissi al S.r Tomo. Ed egli: 'Lo conoscete?' Ed io: 'dovrei conoscerlo probabilmente.' Intanto eravamo giunti a lui, cosicchè udì le mie parole, e rispose quasi senza guardarci in faccia: 'Cela n'est pas possible. Je suis un Français, qui habite en Carniole'. – 'Tant mieux!' esclamai io, scendendo da cavallo, e abbracciandolo strettamente… Egli era il Professore Hacquet, di Lubiana, osservatore infaticabile, e mio grandissimo Amico. Persuaso ch'io mi trovassi a Ragusa, egli durò fatica a riconoscermi; ed io, credendolo a Lubiana, non l'avea ravvisato di lontano. I Naturalisti, com'Ella vede, sono i Cavalieri erranti dell'età nostra. Fattoci un po' di festa reciprocamente in quel deserto luogo, come conveniva dopo cinque anni, che non c'eravamo veduti, proseguimmo la nostra via, egli verso il Tirolo, io verso gli Svizzeri; chi sa in qual grotta, in qual selva, in qual dirupo c'incontreremo un'altra volta!" (My translation).

[26] Hacquet, 1785: 74-77.

[27] Hacquet, 1785: 75. My Translation. Original: "Als ich mich eben mit Machung frischer

Hacquet refers to the debate on the origin of rocks that emerged in the late 18th century and was based on two fundamental theories: Neptunism posited that all terrestrial rocks were formed through marine sedimentation, whereas Plutonism argued for a magmatic origin. While Hacquet supported the latter view, Fortis adopted a more nuanced perspective, acknowledging the role of multiple factors in rock formation[28].

Fortis' books in Carniolan libraries

Fortis left his mark in Carniola through his travelogues, naturalistic studies, and mineralogical writings. These works were preserved in various Carniolan libraries, including those of Baron Zois and the Carniolan Agricultural Society.

Baron Žiga (Sigismundus) Zois (1747-1819) was one of the most prominent figures in 18th-century Carniola. He assembled a group of intellectuals who championed Enlightenment ideals and promoted the cultural, literary, linguistic, and scientific development of the region while fostering connections with broader European culture. The baron was well-versed in mineralogy, geology, chemistry, metallurgy, mining, botany and zoology. He owned an extensive library and collected works in natural sciences, history, linguistics and Slavistics, as well as numerous travel books[29]. His collection included several volumes by Fortis. *Viaggio in Dalmazia* is listed in a library catalogue from the early 1780s[30],

Brüche an den Felsen beschäftigte, kamen zwey Reisende mit Pferden, welche gleichfalls im Begriff waren, über dieses Gebirge zu setzen, um nach Zürich zu gehen; sie hielten einige Augenblicke an, mit Unterredung unter sich. Da ich hier in dieser Einöde mit meinem Führer allein war, so konnte ich nicht wissen, was sie für Absichten hatten. Endlich gieng einer auf mich los mit der Anrede: 'Ihr müsset ein Steinkenner seyn', und fragte mich, aus wessen Lande ich sey; als ich ihm nun solches nannte, so versicherte er mich, daß er mich kenne, und um dieses Geständniß zu bekräftigen, nannte er mich beym Namen, umarmte mich, und machte mir zugleich den Vorwurf, daß ich ihn, da er doch mir vor einigen Jahren in meiner Behausung zu Lublana einen Besuch abgestattet habe, und schon so lang mit ihm Briefe wechsle, nicht mehr kenne. Darauf besann ich mich einen Augenblick, und errieth, daß es Herr Abaté [*sic*] Fortis sey, den ich zwar nie hier erwartet hätte. Man kann sich leicht vorstellen, wie überraschend dieser Augenblick für uns beyde war, da wir uns so von ungefehr begegneten; aber noch größer war das Vergnügen, daß wir eben an diesem Orte zusammentrafen, der unsere verschiedene Meynungen, in Betref des Kalkgebirges, worüber wir lange Zeit in Briefen stritten, entscheiden konnte".

[28] Ciancio, 1995: 148.

[29] Valenčič, Faninger & Gspan-Prašelj, 1991.

[30] ARS, SI AS 1052.

while a catalogue compiled in 1821[31] includes its French translation titled *Voyage en Dalmatie*[32], *Saggio d'osservazioni sopra l'isola di Cherso ed Osero* and two geographical treatises[33].

After Zois' death, the volumes listed in the second of the two catalogues were purchased by the *Kaiserlich-königliche Lyceal Bibliothek*, the Lyceum Library, and are now housed at the National and University Library, which traces its origins back to the Lyceum Library. Another Italian copy of *Viaggio in Dalmazia* was owned by the Carniolan Agricultural Society, as indicated by its library catalogue from 1781[34]. It is likely that the volume passed to the Lyceum after the Society's dissolution in 1787, and that it corresponds to the copy of *Viaggio in Dalmazia* currently preserved in the National Library, while all trace of Zois' Italian edition of *Viaggio in Dalmazia* has been lost[35]. Nevertheless, it is possible to hypothesise that Fortis' works were at least partially accessible to the educated individuals of the time through Carniolan libraries.

Conclusions

Alberto Fortis' expeditions to Kvarner and Dalmatia and the travelogues he wrote about them were driven by both scientific curiosity and his personal affection for these regions and their people. His detailed observations, written in the spirit of the era, sparked European interest in these peripheral and relatively unknown areas. Alongside his many journeys to the Adriatic coasts, Fortis travelled from Trieste through the Karst to Ljubljana, as he recounted in his *Lettera orittografica*. Although this is one of his shorter and lesser-known writings, it remains an important document offering insight into his interest in Carniola, particularly its karst phenomena, and his interactions with the naturalist Balthasar Hacquet. Fortis's natural history writings and travelogues were preserved in Zois's library, the Carniolan Agricultural Society Library, and later in the Lyceum Library, suggesting that they were accessible to the educated circles of the time.

The network of exchanges established by Fortis, combined with the presence of his books in Carniolan libraries, provides valuable insight into the flow of ideas between 18th-century Carniola and Italian scientific and cultural circles of the time.

[31] NUK, Ms. 667. 1821.
[32] Fortis, 1778c.
[33] Fortis, 1778b and 1788.
[34] NUK, CL. 1781.
[35] Prosenc, 2019: 345-352; Prosenc, 2020a: 150-152.

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III.
Looking at the Mediterranean

‘Off the Beaten Track’. Czech Travels to Spain around 1900

Sarah Lemmen*

Introduction

In the summer of 1914, Božena Heritesová, a thirty-one-year-old schoolteacher from the Bohemian town of Vodňany, started her European sightseeing tour in Luzern, then went on to Geneva and Lyon and eventually arrived at the French town of Bayonne. She had come to the Basque Country to visit her friends, who were two teachers who had worked at a language school in Prague, teaching French. Together, they visited the famous seaside town of Biarritz and then Saint-Jean-de-Luz. It was there that she was surprised by the outbreak of the First World War. The official announcement was a tense moment, as she described it in her travelogue. She feared making her friends and hosts uncomfortable, as they suddenly found themselves defined as citizens of enemy states in an atmosphere of heightened nationalist fervour, which had ignited practically overnight, even in this tranquil seaside town[1].

When Heritesová prepared to abort her European trip and head home, she learned that her scheduled route to Prague, via Paris, Strassburg and Nuremberg, was closed to her, as trains heading eastwards were now used for the transport of troops and barred to civilians. At the same time, rumours spread that citizens of Austria-Hungary who resided in France might be interned for the duration of the war[2]. The quickest and safest route home thus promised to be to cross into Spain, which kept its neutrality during the war, then travel to Barcelona and from there to catch a boat to Trieste or any port of a country

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1 Heritesová, 1914: 538-539.

2 Heritesová, 1914: 540.

friendly to Austria-Hungary[3]. Despite the extraordinary circumstances, Heritesová described this rearrangement of her plans as an adventure which would lead her outside the simple world of regular summer holidays: Even during the tense first days of the Great War, she was "looking forward to a romantic escape from France either by foot or in a small cart pulled by a little donkey". Eventually, and to her "small disappointment", she obtained conventional train tickets, and the mayor of Saint-Jean-de-Luz personally authorised her trip to the Spanish border. Her romantic escape from France had turned into an official, comfortable trip of only one hour[4].

Heritesová's unexpected detour to Spain in August 1914 reflects the various perceptions of travel to Spain at that time: First, Spain was not yet a common tourist destination. Most travellers throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century chose destinations in Italy or Greece if their focus was on ancient culture, on history and the arts, or in Great Britain and France if they were interested in modern culture, technology, or fashion. Only a few travellers would decide to cross the Pyrenees to visit the Iberian Peninsula.

The unplanned character of Heritesová's trip – and her longing to travel by donkey or on foot – mirrors, second, the general description of Spanish travels as unconventional, adventurous, and 'off the beaten path'. Her romantic vision – certainly enhanced by the looming war – reinforced an implicit image of Spain as somewhat backward and more exotic than the more common European travel destinations.

Using this perception of Spain as a starting point, this chapter focuses on Czech travellers to Spain from the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War. How did they perceive Spain? How did they relate to Spanish customs, history, and everyday encounters? Based on twelve travelogues published between 1848 and 1914, this chapter reflects on their perceptions as a distinct part of a more general European imagery of the Iberian Peninsula. As will be discussed, Czech visitors to Spain broadly shared the general European notion of Spain as a country with a great, albeit exotic, historical past, primarily referring to the period of Muslim rule in Al-Andalus, and a less fascinating, and less Spanish, present. Contemporary Spain was instead described as lacking in great culture as well as in the amenities of modern life and travel. At the same time, the Czech tourists in part identified with the Spanish struggle to uphold their values and characteristics, especially against the strong cultural (and linguistic) influences from France. As I have argued elsewhere about the Czech perception of the world and their own position in it,

[3] Heritesová, 1914: 552.
[4] Heritesová, 1914: 540.

Czech travellers in the long nineteenth century tended to reproduce European imagery about European and non-European regions, often using 'classic' Orientalist imagery to ascribe levels of civilisation to different parts of the world[5]. While Czech travellers agreed with their British and French counterparts that European culture and technology were at the pinnacle of human development, and generally replicated the negative stereotypes about non-European cultures present in European discourse at the time, they also rejected the unquestioned dominance of British and French culture in the world, as well as the dominance of German culture in the Bohemian lands. I have called this partial questioning of European dominance in the world 'non-colonial Orientalism'[6]: In their attempts to position themselves in the colonial world of the nineteenth century, Czech travellers agreed generally with the trope of European supremacy in many parts of the world, but they also partially identified with the oppressed or the subordinate societies, referring to their own national conflicts in the Bohemian Lands specifically and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at large. As we will see, Czech travellers orientalized Spain as an exotic and only partly European travel destination and described the Spanish culture as somewhat backwards and traditional. At the same time, they identified in part with the common people of Spain in their attempts to preserve the Spanish ways and in their rejection of the dominant French culture, conceptually linked to the modernisation process.

Spain as a travel destination 'off the beaten track'

Božena Heritesová's original reluctance to travel to Spain, and then her perception of Spain as exotic and adventurous, reflected a general European imagery. Since the eighteenth century and well into the twentieth century, Spain was and remained a marginal destination for the increasing number of European leisure travellers[7]. Even during the early modern period, when Europe was becoming progressively more interconnected thanks to the growing number of travellers (although they were mostly limited to the descendants of the nobility on their Grand Tour), Spain was not considered worth the effort of crossing the Pyrenees[8]. As the historian Sasha D. Pack noted, by the eighteenth century, Spain – once the "empire on which the sun never sets" – had become "in the minds of

[5] Lemmen, 2018.
[6] Lemmen, 2013.
[7] Pillet Capdepón, 2016: 573.
[8] Some examples are given in Hontanilla, 2008: 122-123.

many a model of failure"[9]. This negative image was shared by representatives of the Enlightenment, as illustrious as Montesquieu or Voltaire, who questioned whether Spain had contributed anything of value to European culture and society. This critical vision of Spain was eventually codified and widely publicised in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* of 1782[10].

The early nineteenth century saw a slight shift in the perception of Spain, when the qualities of Romanticism helped to reinterpret the perceived Spanish 'backwardness' and lack of modernity, as well as its dry and jagged nature – so different from Central and Western Europe – as positive traits. As early as 1789, the French ambassador to Spain until the French Revolution, Jean-François de Bourgoing (1748-1811), described Spain as a country "as interesting as it was little known"[11]. The English writer Richard Ford (1796-1858), one of the most prominent advocates of Spain in nineteenth-century Europe, summarised this change of perspective in one of the earliest travel guides about the country (*A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, 1845), where he described Spain as "the most romantic and peculiar country in Europe"[12]. This partial reinterpretation led to a gradual increase in foreign travellers to the Iberian Peninsula during the long nineteenth century, searching for the adventure of the exotic and unknown. The overall number of visitors to Spain, however, was still low by the end of the century. This delay in the development of tourism in Spain is also symbolised by the late publication of the first *Baedeker* travel guide on Spain in 1898, a full twenty years after the publication of a guide to Egypt and thirty years after those to France, Switzerland and Italy[13]. It would still be a long time before Spain became the major tourist destination it was in the 1960s.

Czech travels to the Iberian Peninsula

This halting conversion of Spain into a tourist destination since the late 1890s is also mirrored in the little attention it received from travellers from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. As citizens of Austria-Hungary, they shared with Spain a Habsburg legacy of the early modern period. Since then, however, relations between the Czech Lands and the Kingdom of Spain were limited at best. In

[9] Pack, 2006: 19.
[10] Bolufer, 2016: 453. The British perception of Spain was not necessarily more positive. See Black, 1992; Hontanilla, 2008.
[11] Bourgoing, 1789, here cited from Pillet Capdepón, 2016: 573.
[12] Ford, 1845, here cited from Pillet Capdepón, 2016: 574.
[13] Baedeker, 1863; Baedeker, 1867a, Baedeker 1867b, Baedeker 1878.

fact, Spain did not occupy the broader Czech public interest until the founding of the second Spanish Republic and – especially – the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, where indeed up to 3,000 citizens of Czechoslovakia participated in the International Brigades[14].

Among the Czech travellers to Spain up to the First World War were well-known figures of public and cultural life. Most had the means to travel comfortably and for an extended period of time. Among the most well-known was Jiří Guth-Jarkovský (1861-1943), a teacher, chair of the Club of Czech tourists and author of about twenty travelogues on countries in Europe and North Africa. He was also the author of various guidebooks on good behaviour and etiquette, one of them specifically on travelling etiquette[15]. František Klement (1851-1933) became known as a writer and professional traveller, and published travelogues on various European countries as well as Northern Africa and the Near East[16]. Pavel Durdík (1843-1903) was a widely published travel writer as well, known especially for his reports on Sumatra and East Asia[17].

Both Ota Pinkas (1849-1890), a celebrated playwright and well-known figure in Czech cultural life, and the physician Erazim Vlasák (1863-1904) were representatives of the growing well-to-do class of the urban bourgeoisie. Pinkas' travelogue, *Cesta po Španělích* [Trip through Spain] (1890), published in Czech, was also noted in the Spanish kingdom and received a prize from the Spanish Order of Charles III[18].

Two of the Czech travellers to Spain did not fit the characteristics of the prosperous urban bourgeoisie of Bohemia. Josef Chmelíček (1823-1891) was a Catholic priest and professor of theology who wrote a travelogue on the Holy Land (1865) before publishing his book *Cesta do Francouz a do Španěhel* [Travel to France and Spain] in 1869[19]. The only woman to publish a travelogue during this period was Božena Heritesová (1883-1963), a teacher who was introduced at the beginning of the article. She visited Spain more by circumstance than as part of a planned itinerary.

The reputation of Spain as an unlikely travel destination was not lost on the Czech visitors themselves. František Klement, for example, presented (under his pen name Quido Mansvet) the Spanish Balearic Islands as virtually void of

[14] Timko, 2022: 28.

[15] Guth, 1917. This 'tourist catechism' was used as a reference on social norms abroad by Heritesová, 1914: 537.

[16] Klement published some of his travelogues under the pseudonym Quido (or Kvido) Mansvet. Among his travelogues are: Mansvet, 1873; Klement, 1894; and Klement, 1895.

[17] Durdík, 1893, and others.

[18] Pinkas, 1878; Vlasák, 1899.

[19] Chmelíček, 1865; Chmelíček, 1869.

foreign tourism. Klement argued that the indifference toward islands such as Mallorca or Ibiza was not necessarily due to any difficulties in reaching them. Rather, according to Klement, foreigners:

> Have little interest in them, because they don't know them. And they don't know them, because they have little interest in them. For tourists, they are either too close or too far away, and – this is undoubtedly how many think – what could there be of interest?[20]

This general indifference toward Spain was taken up again by Ota Pinkas in 1878, when he reflected on the marginal relations between the Czech lands and Spain:

> And yet relatively little has been written about this country. In our literature, it is almost entirely unknown to us, especially when compared with the literature of other nations, such as the French and the English [.] Even our neighbours, the Germans, were unable to produce a proper travel book[21].

In a positive turn, he would conclude:

> And yet, Spain very much deserves more attention from all scholars than it has received until today. The paths here are not yet as well-trodden as, for example, in Italy[22].

In the 1880s, Jiří Guth generally agreed that Spain was unjustly shunned by European travellers, as he referred to the cultural and natural riches of the country. He confirmed, however, the overall lack of tourist infrastructure, which negatively impacted the travel experience. He considered the railroad connections to be inadequate; furthermore, "hotels in Spain are generally in a poor state, not even in Madrid do they meet modern requirements". Most symbolically, he saw the absence of a *Baedeker* guidebook for Spain (not published until 1898) as proof of the limited attraction of the country to the European traveller[23].

[20] Mansvet, 1873: 417. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.
[21] Pinkas, 1878: v.
[22] Pinkas, 1878: v-vi.
[23] Guth, 1888: 103.

"Africa begins at the Pyrenees". A non-colonial orientalization of Spain

The limited resonance that Spain experienced among European travellers in the nineteenth century was rooted in the unique image of Spain embedded in the collective European imagination. As historians and literary scholars such as Sasha D. Pack, Rafael Nuñez Florencio, Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, Lily Coenen and others have demonstrated, European visitors since the eighteenth and well into the twentieth centuries often depicted Spain as "exotic", "foreign", and "unfamiliar" and only partially European[24]. This is certainly captured by the phrase "Africa begins at the Pyrenees", which is often attributed to Alexandre Dumas *père*, but was likely a common expression already since the early nineteenth century. Writers such as Stendhal or Victor Hugo used this imagery in their descriptions of the South European Kingdom[25].

The perceived 'Africanness' of Spain was linked to the Arabic heritage on the Iberian Peninsula, especially visible in Andalusia. It was mostly seen as fascinating and considered to be the source of Spain's attraction. This exotic reading of Spain promised a unique travel experience off the beaten track and was considered to be a "guarantee of more adventures and difficult passages to overcome than in an average European country"[26].

Czech travellers generally shared this European image of Spain as exotic and as only partially European, focusing on the Arabic heritage. Andalusia thus became the main – if not the sole – region that represented "true" and "traditional" Spanish culture. The South of Spain became the most visited area, especially towns such as Seville, Córdoba, and Granada.

In Seville, the tourist highlights included the cathedral, the Royal Castle (Alcázar) and the 'Casa de Pilatos', a noble palace from the sixteenth century. In Córdoba, the mosque-cathedral was highlighted, while in Granada, the royal palace Alhambra was at the centre of attention[27]. Most of these buildings were constructed in either the Islamic or Mudejar styles. This type of architecture is often described as beautiful, exotic and oriental.

Referring to the Alhambra in Granada, the Moravian Catholic priest Josef Chmelíček described in 1869 "a work that has no equal in the world"[28]. His praise continued:

[24] Coenen, 2012; Hillgarth, 2001; Nuñez Florencio, 2001; Pack, 2006. See also Binková, 2007 and Binková, 2009.
[25] Domínguez, 2006: 426-427.
[26] Coenen, 2013: 10.
[27] Guth, 1887: 450; Guth, 1889: 163; Pinkas, 1880: 81-86, and others.
[28] Chmelíček, 1869: 339.

> In general, it must be said that the Alhambra manifests in its entire appearance such a great beauty and grace of the oriental architectural style that it seems that in the past not men, but members of another species had lived here[29].

In 1896, the well-travelled Pavel Durdík described these examples of Moorish architecture as "masterpieces of enchanting and immortal beauty" and as quintessentially Spanish[30]. Jiří Guth went one step further in his interpretation, when he described "so many beautiful remnants of the old Moorish glory, so much poetry" in Andalusia, and then went on to claim that the "riches, marvels and fame" of Spain had disappeared with the Reconquista by the Catholic monarchy: For Guth, the most Spanish of Spain was the one under Arab rule, and thus, it was already history[31].

This interpretation of Spanish culture and greatness as historical remnants of an earlier age was coupled with a rejection of or, at least, indifference to contemporary Spain. This description can be found in the *Baedeker*, which described Granada as the "culminating point of a journey in Spain (…) for the glimpse it affords of the past", of "the famous Moorish kingdom". However, in contrast, "(u)nder Spanish rule the city soon began to decline"[32]. Contemporary Granada was less favourably portrayed, as it "is with more or less justice that the modern Granada has been described as a 'living ruin'"[33].

The *Baedeker*'s verdict on contemporary Córdoba was similarly harsh:

> The traveller whose expectation is on tiptoe as he enters the ancient capital of the Moors will probably be disappointed in all but the cathedral, the former mosque, which is still, in spite of all defacement, the most imposing monument of its time. With the exception of a few Moorish doors and Arabic inscriptions, the Christian Spaniard has either marred or destroyed all else that would recall the Mecca of the West, the once celebrated nursery of science and art. The city now presents a mournful picture of departed greatness…[34]

Czech travellers echoed these tropes in their travelogues, as exemplified by Jiří Guth, who saw the contemporary cities of Andalusia in physical and moral decay. To him, the streets in Córdoba looked "sad, very sad", while he described

[29] Chmelíček, 1869: 342.
[30] Durdík, 1896: 154.
[31] Guth, 1887: 409. See also Pikhart, 1905b: 866.
[32] Baedeker, 1898: 333-334.
[33] Baedeker, 1898: 333.
[34] Baedeker, 1898: 338.

"lazy people in the streets"[35]. In Málaga, he saw workers who spent "hours on the beach" instead of working[36].

Madrid, "one of the finest cities in Europe"

Located in the geographical centre of Spain, the capital city of Madrid received special attention from travellers, second only to Andalusia. Madrid was portrayed as a modern city, earning it the titles of "one of the finest cities in Europe[37]" but also "the least Spanish city", suggesting that it was less exotic than the others[38].

Descriptions focus mainly on representative buildings such as the Royal Palace, the Prado Museum and – outside the city proper – the 'El Escorial', the sixteenth-century royal castle and monastery in the mountains to the Northwest of Madrid. This is to say, the architecture of Madrid represented to the travellers the seat of Castilian power since the Spanish Golden Age.

Madrid was also presented as a modern city. In 1878, for example, Ota Pinkas described in awe the central square of the city, Plaza del Sol, as modern, busy, and brightly lit with electric light. This was indeed a novelty, as electricity had been installed in this public square only three years prior[39]. Pavel Durdík, who dedicated his travelogue to the art of the 'corrida' or bullfight, highlighted the modernity of Madrid with its "elegant coaches and tramways"[40], as well as with omnibuses, considered the "engine(s) of modernity"[41].

While Madrid represented modernity, it was not necessarily seen as a 'truly' Spanish city. Jiří Guth considered Madrid to be "much less interesting than the other […]" cities, as "it might have the least Spanish character". While, according to Guth, the administration commendably created an "almost completely modern city" with "schools, museums, gardens, railway stations, electricity stations, etc.", Madrid to him seemed "still too fresh (and) unfinished", while "everything comes from abroad, especially from France"[42].

In a different travelogue, Guth used the reference to France again to explain the dilemma of modernity for Madrid. Describing the modern layout of the

[35] Guth, 1889: 235.
[36] Guth, 1888: 104. Compare also to Pikhart, 1905a: 117.
[37] Baedeker, 1898: 62.
[38] Guth, 1887: 410.
[39] Pinkas, 1880: 31.
[40] Durdík, 1896: 7.
[41] Belenky, 2019.
[42] Guth, 1887: 410.

Spanish capital, with broad streets and "beautiful, tasteful shops with Parisian and English goods", he argued that Madrid would lose its Spanish character because it started to look "like everywhere else": "If you know Paris – you know France, but if you know Madrid, you do not know the most interesting part of Spain, Andalusia"[43].

From periphery to periphery. A Czech-Spanish understanding

To European travellers, Southern Spain was exotic and adventurous, with a graceful and marvellous Arabic heritage that was not quite European. Madrid, on the other hand, represented modernity, but was also considered too international and lacked a distinctively Spanish character. Not only did the city become too modern with its schools, museums and railway stations, as well as with the broad streets and tasteful shops. It was also the population of Madrid which lost its local distinction when it started to dress 'à la mode', always with an eye toward the fashion metropolis of Paris.

For travellers from Central Europe, French fashion and architecture, and the French language were certainly considered chic and enviable, and the epitome of modernity. However, they were also seen as foreign to Spain. Instead, the relationship between the dominant French culture, which was modern and refined but also posh and upper-class, and popular Spanish culture was compared to the relationship between dominant German culture and Czech culture in Austria-Hungary.

Thus, the Spaniards were depicted as rather down-to-earth and likeable, and as bright, energetic, hard-working and excitable[44]. In direct contrast with the French, Spanish society was described as not only rejecting the elegance of the French upper classes but also rejecting any form of class distinction altogether. The Spanish society was perceived as one where everyone was treated equally.

This apparent refusal by the ordinary people in Spain to adopt the French lifestyle was also reflected in their language use. When the travellers met locals (be it inn-keepers or shop-owners) who refused to speak French, the 'lingua franca' at the time, it was noted with surprise, but also with respect: When Jiří Guth recounts how a Spanish official resolutely refused to speak French, saying "No comprendo francés", he interprets this not as a lack of education or as backwardness, but as a sign of national pride. He even compared this proud Spaniard with

[43] Guth, 1887: 410.
[44] Pinkas, 1880: 49.

those Czechs who, during the national movement, lacked any national pride and allowed themselves to be humiliated, "and even say thank you for that"[45].

Ota Pinkas, again, also referred to the Spanish language as an icon of healthy national pride: During his visit to Madrid, he commented on the Spanish dialect spoken by those who had only recently migrated from the countryside to Madrid and who were, for Pinkas, the true bearers of Spanish national identity: These now somewhat urbanized peasants still wore the Spanish national dress (in contrast to the higher classes who preferred French fashion), and – as Pinkas said – spoke a beautiful Spanish: "the Spanish language out of a peasant's mouth was as nice as that from the beautiful lips of the noble ladies". To make his national argument clear, Pinkas referred to the status of Czech in Prague in comparison to German in the 1870s, ending with: "This [namely, classless beauty of the language] is truly a rare virtue of the Spaniards, which we Czechs can especially appreciate"[46].

Conclusions

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Spain was largely excluded from the expanding European travel network. Most European travellers stopped at the Pyrenees, instead moving between Great Britain, France, Italy, and the German-speaking countries. A lack of tourist infrastructure reflected this lack of interest. Many travellers who eventually made it to Spain were critical of the poor state of hotels and taverns, as well as the slowly emerging train system.

However, the travellers who did visit Spain were mostly fascinated by its medieval history. The Moorish architecture of Córdoba, Granada and Seville was considered beautiful, impressive and exotic. This was also seen as the purest expression of Spanish identity. As a result, Spain was orientalised from the perspective of many European visitors; Africa, as it were, "begins at the Pyrenees".

Czech travellers, who came to Spain in growing numbers since the last decades of the nineteenth century, confirmed and reproduced the European imagery of the Iberian Peninsula. The main attraction was Andalusia with its architectural highlights. The late nineteenth century also saw an increase in tourism to the Spanish capital. Madrid, however, had no visible Arabic heritage and was thus considered less Spanish, and, consequently, deemed "less interesting" than the towns in the South. Instead, Madrid was described as a growing and rapidly modernising city, on the verge of losing its national character to international fashion.

[45] Guth, 1887: 437.
[46] Pinkas, 1880: 32.

In the eyes of many, contemporary Spanish culture was not as fascinating (or as exotic) as the Arabic past of the peninsula. Neither could it hold up to the refined arts of its French neighbour and would thus see the high society of Madrid copying French dress and manners as the dominant culture of the time.

However, when travelling through Spain, travellers often identified more with the Spanish defiance against the French ideal than with the French ideal itself. Using the Spanish language and customs was seen as an expression of national pride. Czech travellers projected the national conflicts of the Czech lands onto Spain, identifying not with the elegant, sophisticated French, but with the down-to-earth, nationally conscious Spanish.

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A Thematic Analysis of Pavel Durdík's Book *Zápasy s býky* (*Corrida de toros*)*

Jiří Měsíc**

Pavel Durdík was born on May 23, 1843, in Hořice, in what is today the Czech Republic, into a large evangelical family. His oldest brother, Josef, was a prominent philosopher, aesthetician, psychologist, translator, and university professor, while his third brother, Alois, was a lawyer who translated the poetry of Mikhail Lermontov (1814-1841) and Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) into Czech. The family's passion for Slavic culture was further upheld by his fifth brother, Petr, who worked on the editorial team of *Otto's Learned Dictionary* and translated Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), in addition to lecturing at the university. Four of his other brothers pursued diverse careers: Antonín, who continued his father's vocation, was a hat manufacturer, Leopold an engineer, and Václav a doctor, while two of his three sisters, Marie, Růžena and Josefína, became teachers.

As the youngest of all his siblings, Pavel Durdík displayed interests spanning many of their fields. However, he ultimately chose medicine, graduating from Charles University in Prague in 1867[1]. Then he briefly continued his studies in Leipzig before becoming the personal physician to a Russian aristocrat in Yahotyn near Kiev. From 1868 to 1877, he practised medicine in Russia, where he had to retake his medical exams to be able to pursue his profession. Later, he became the director of a hospital on the estate of Count Orlov Davydov in Serpukhov, near Moscow[2].

While in Russia, Durdík wrote critical articles on the social and cultural conditions of Bohemia under the pseudonyms of A. F. Balan and S. J. Larin. They were published in Czech magazines, such as *Národní listy*, *Osvěta*, *Lumír*,

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** University of Granada, Spain.

[1] Between 1654 and 1882, the institution was known as the Charles-Ferdinand University.

[2] Veselý, 2022.

Květy, *Světozor* and similar. He also translated works by prominent Russian authors, such as Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852), Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883), and Alexander Ostrovsky (1823-1886). Like his brothers, he was a Slavophile, promoting Russian values, art and culture. However, it is said that at the end of his stay in Russia, he started attacking romantic and uncritical Slavophilia[3].

Shortly after his return home in 1877, he joined the KNIL (Royal Netherlands East Indies Army) as a military doctor in the Dutch colonies in Indonesia. He spent almost two months in Jakarta before moving to Padang in West Sumatra, and then to the battlefield in Aceh, North Sumatra, where he stayed for five years. Alongside his medical duties, he studied the flora, fauna, and the local population. He also became the collector of indigenous weapons, statues of idols and musical instruments. After his return to Prague in 1883, he donated his collection to the Náprstek Museum[4].

From 1883 he lived mainly as a writer, which is confirmed in manifold books about Sumatra, such as *O domácím životě Niasovců* [On the Domestic Life of the Nias], published in 1884, *Pět let na Sumatře* [Five Years in Sumatra] in 1893, *Příroda a zvířata na Sumatře* [Nature and Animals in Sumatra] in 1894, *U lidožroutů* [Among the Man-Eaters] in 1897, *Láska v tropech* [Love in the Tropics] in 1901, and *Manželství v tropech* [Marriage in the Tropics] in 1902.

In those books, he shows a great understanding of the locals and highlights his respect towards them for their incessant fight against the colonisers. For instance, in the book *Among the Man-Eaters,* he even shows sympathy for cannibalism and explains the reasons why indigenous people still ate intruders, thieves and enemies. His observations are not only sharp but also humorous and witty. His compatriot, a Czech politician, writer and traveller, Jiří Guth-Jarkovský (1861-1943), proclaimed that: "The style of his work is florid, pleasantly flowing; his depiction is distinguished by a healthy, manly honesty, clear and sober opinions[5]".

In 1894, Durdík travelled to Spain to explore a tradition that no other Czech writer had previously addressed in such depth. Driven perhaps by romantic ideals of a country where religion and tradition reigned supreme, he made the observations recorded in the book *Zápasy s býky (Corrida de toros). Dojmy a obrazy ze Španělska* [Corrida de toros. Impressions and Images from Spain], published in 1896, stand in stark contrast to the Western sensibility shaped by industrialisation and the consequent crisis of traditional values[6].

During his trip, he visited cities such as Madrid, Seville, Córdoba, Granada,

[3] Kalus, 2006: 242.
[4] See Kalus, 2006: 242.
[5] Lebrová, 2008.
[6] Cf. Binková, 2007: 200.

Valencia, and Barcelona. However, his primary interest was not in their monuments but in the 'corrida de toros'. Through its lens, Durdík explored topics such as national pride[7], courtship, Catalan anarchists, women's equality, marriage, illiteracy, the Inquisition, Moorish architecture, and more, often comparing these with the situation in Bohemia[8]. Finally, in addition to providing a detailed description of the 'corrida', its individual 'tercios', and the roles of the 'picador', 'banderillero', 'torero', and other participants, Durdík also explores its historical context, the attitudes toward it among Spaniards and foreigners, the lives of 'toreros', Spanish bull breeders, and more. On a linguistic level, he frequently demonstrates his understanding of Spanish, particularly words related to courtship, and defines in his peculiar way the terms such as 'salero'[9] and 'echar flores'[10]. Moreover, as the first Czech author, he translated the terminology related to the corrida, such as 'plachetník' (capeador), 'býčinec' (ganadería), or 'šípové háky' (banderillas).

According to his biographers, while working on the book, Durdík became reclusive, possibly due to the long-term effects of malaria he had contracted earlier in Sumatra. After its publication, he moved to Jaroměř to live with his sister Marie. In September 1901, he unexpectedly suffered a stroke that left the

[7] In this context, it is important to highlight Durdík's observations about the Spaniards and their differences from the Czechs: "A common Spaniard has personal pride and self-confidence. Anything that stinks of servitude is alien to him. No one has ever sung the *Songs of the Slave* to the Spaniards. […] I would like to see the Czechs so proud" (Durdík, 1896: 69). Note: The book *Písně otroka* [Songs of the Slave] refers to the nationalist poetry by Svatopluk Čech (1846-1908).

[8] Unfortunately, according to Simona Binková, a Czech researcher from the Centre for Ibero-American Studies at Charles University, half of the book containing these passages "destroys the homogeneity and interest of the text" (Binková, 2007: 205).

[9] "The word 'salero' cannot be translated. It is the most flattering, the most effective compliment, and the culmination of all that you can praise a beautiful woman with. For the Spaniards call the graceful beauties 'sal del mundo' (salt of the world). The word 'sal' (salt) and the word 'salero' (salt shaker) denote the sum of all that a true Spanish beauty boasts, the splendour of the face, the fierceness of the eyes, the grace of the body, the plasticity of the breasts, the effortless charm and a kind of majestic slowness of movement and gait, the sweet, teasing dreaminess, the defiance of the glowing lips and the resulting charm and infinite grace peculiar to them, which can be felt but not described in words" (Durdík, 1896: 13). However, it is important to highlight that the real meaning of the word 'salero' is more linked to elegance and sympathy rather than to physical beauty Durdík so vehemently described. Its Czech equivalent would be the word 'půvab' (grace).

[10] "To say a flattering word to a beautiful girl when you meet her is called 'echar una flor' (to throw a flower). Even if the girl already has a male companion, you can still throw her a flower, but more modestly; for example: what beautiful eyes! What a beautiful stature! What a straight little nose!" (Durdík, 1896: 14).

right side of his body completely paralysed. Despite this, Durdík relearned how to write. However, on August 17, 1903, he passed away at the age of sixty while visiting a local pharmacist. It is said that he died at his desk, in the middle of an unfinished sentence[11].

Thematic analysis of the book

The following analysis focuses firstly on the book genre. Then, it examines the book cover and the illustrations it contains, the date and venue of the 'corrida', the breed of bulls and bullfighters Durdík observed, and the issue of the dead horses in the ring. It is important to emphasise that the analysis is concerned exclusively with the 'corrida' itself. For this reason, it avoids dealing with nationalist sentiments and criticism that form a part of his work.

Book genre

Although Durdík's book is often described as a travelogue, it does not fully meet the usual criteria for travel literature. Firstly, it does not focus on the journey or the act of travelling itself. Instead, it centres on a Spanish tradition, its character, and its perception by both locals and foreigners. Like the works of other contemporary Czech authors and travellers in the 19th century, Durdík's book can be classified as a 'causerie' – an informal essay on a particular subject, typically characterised by a light and often humorous tone, with frequent digressions from the main topic.

This is very true for Durdík, who, although speaking about the 'corrida de toros', frequently digresses and assumes the role of a preacher, denouncing religious fanaticism, the stirring up of base passions, ideological dogmatism, and societal shortcomings, including politics, unserious journalism, lack of critical thinking, and the absence of honest work among Czechs, while simultaneously creating a rapport with his readers and making them accomplices in his diatribe.

However, despite his occasional ramblings, Durdík manages to write scientifically about the 'corrida', presenting its history both as a tradition and part of Spanish identity, thanks to studying books and specialised journals and magazines, which aligns him with other authors of the Czech National Revival period in the 19th century, characterised by "an empirical, scientifically based pres-

[11] Veselý, 2022.

entation of an unknown space"[12]. Therefore, Durdík's work could also be described as a study – a faithful depiction of the 'corrida', as well as a historical account of Czech and Spanish societies of that time.

The book cover

The cover of the book uses images typical of the city of Madrid and its bullrings. Firstly, we notice swifts hovering over the 'plaza de toros' (they are more common in Spanish bullrings than swallows). Then we notice branches with cherry, or almond blossoms – both are very typical for Madrid in the early spring, although there are only almond trees present in the streets and parks nowadays. There is also a drawing of the bullring, which is easily recognised according to historical photos. This is 'Plaza de toros de la Fuente del Berro', which existed between 1874 and 1934, accompanied on the left by a bull's head with a 'torero' sword, a 'picador' pike, a bandana, a fan and a ribbon called 'divisa' in Spanish representing a particular bull breed. On the right side of the ring, there is the head of a 'picador' horse with straps covering its eyes and ears in order not to see or hear the charging bull[13].

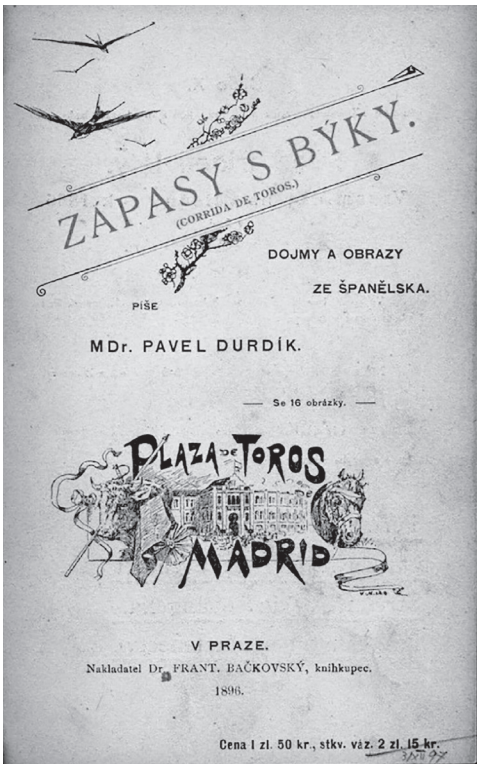

Figure 1. Book cover of *Zápasy s býky (Corrida de toros). Dojmy a obrazy ze Španělska* [Corrida de Toros. Impressions and Images from Spain], published by Dr. František Bačovský in 1896.

[12] Faktorová, 2012: 24.

[13] This collage is very typical of bullfighting posters of the 19th century, which were visually striking, often featuring dramatic, heroic imagery of bullfights, bold colours, and elaborate typography. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in their use. For example, consider the posters for the Feria de Otoño in Madrid (2019 and 2021), where original posters were reimagined. It is also worth mentioning the poster for the 2024 Feria de San Isidro by the Spanish artist Juan Iranzo, which is a tribute to the traditional bullfighting posters of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Durdík employed their typical design for his book cover.

Figure 2. Plaza de toros de la Fuente del Berro' (1874-1934) as depicted on a postcard from 1874 by J. Laurent. © Public Domain.

Inside the book, there are 16 illustrations: the bullring in Madrid[14]; bulls in the arena[15]; charging bull piercing the horse's ribs[16]; a charging bull[17]; a torero[18]; the killing of the bull[19]; the dragging away of the bull's corpse[20]; a bull in the countryside[21]; the bullring in Valencia[22]; a mounted guard of the bull herd[23]; a bull on the ranch[24]; and a 'picador' hat and paraphernalia[25]. In the 19th century, it was very common for travel books and books about the 'corrida' to be accompanied by illustrations, often modelled after drawings by Francisco de Goya (1746-1828)[26].

14 Durdík, 1896: 7.
15 Durdík, 1896: 19, 22.
16 Durdík, 1896: 23, 24, 32.
17 Durdík, 1896: 34.
18 Durdík, 1896: 35.
19 Durdík, 1896: 37, 40.
20 Durdík, 1896: 42.
21 Durdík, 1896: 66.
22 Durdík, 1896: 161.
23 Durdík, 1896: 168.
24 Durdík, 1896: 170.
25 Durdík, 1896: 231.
26 See, for instance, Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) and his book *Voyage en Espagne* (1843).

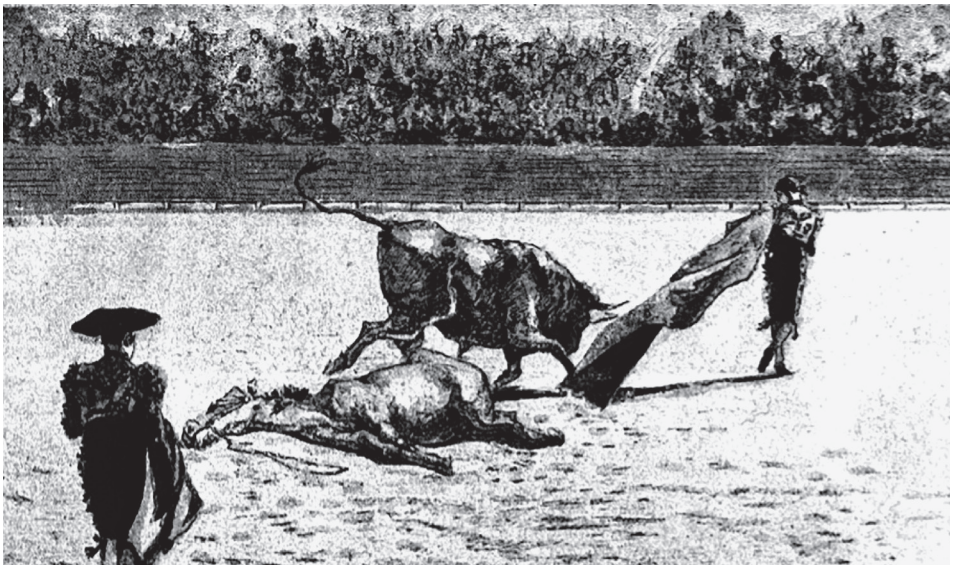

Figure 3. Drawing from the book capturing the moment when the bull is being led away from the fallen horse (Durdík, 1896: 33).

Date and venue

In the beginning, Durdík states that he saw the bullfight in April 1894[27], but he does not specify the exact date or location. He only mentions that 15,000 people attended[28]. However, after naming two of the main protagonists, Rafael Guerra (1862-1941) and Antonio Reverte (1870-1903)[29], we can identify the exact date of the 'corrida' and its location for that year. According to the weekly *El Toreo*, the 'corrida' took place on April 22, 1894, in Madrid's bullring. At that time, the only functional 'plaza de toros' in the city was the now-defunct 'Plaza de Toros de la Fuente del Berro' (1874-1934), which also matches the drawing on the book cover[30].

The French illustrator Gustave Doré (1832-1883) is the most renowned artist to have accompanied 19th-century travel books with his works.

[27] Durdík, 1896, 7.

[28] Durdík, 1896, 11. Actually, the capacity of this bullring was, according to various sources, 13,120 seats. See: Martín, 2024.

[29] Durdík, 1896, 17.

[30] The ring was demolished in 1934 to make way for the much larger 'Las Ventas', which seats 24,000 people. It is the most important bullring in the world, though it is surpassed in terms of capacity only by 'La Monumental de Mexico', which holds 42,000 seats.

Breeds of bulls

The author mentions the names of bulls such as 'Estudiante' (Student), 'Gitano' (Gypsy), and 'Cocinero' (Chef), which align with the report from *El Toreo*[31]. However, the most important detail to highlight is that these bulls were bred by Juan Vázquez Rodríguez (1835-1908) at the 'El Esparragal' ranch in Gerena, in the province of Seville. These animals, of the 'Encaste Vistahermosa' breed, gained notoriety after their first appearance in Madrid on September 29, 1887, when they were fought by the aforementioned Rafael Guerra. They soon appeared in the 'Plaza Monumental de Sevilla' and other major bullrings in Spain[32]. The magazine *El Toreo* highlights their fierceness and enduring multiple stabbings from 'picadors' in the ring: in total, 64. While attempting to stab the bulls, the 'picadors' were also thrown from their horses a total of 25 times[33]. As it will be shown later, the quality of bulls was measured at those times by the number of dead horses in the ring.

Toreros

Durdík saw two of the most prominent bullfighters of the period. The first was **Rafael Guerra** (1862-1941), also known as 'Guerrita', who was born in Cordoba. As a child, he helped his father in a slaughterhouse, where he also secretly fought bulls. He began his career as a 'banderillero', before passing his 'alternativa'[34], the rite of passage, on September 29, 1887, in Madrid. His 'padrino' (godfather) was the legendary 'torero' Lagartijo (1841-1900). According to the chronicles, the season of 1894, when Durdík saw him, was the most remarkable in Guerrita's history[35]. Historians even mention the fight with the third bull called 'Farolero', which was also described by Durdík himself:

> Of all the 'faenas' performed by Guerra at that time, one cannot fail to mention the one he carried out with the bull 'Farolero', by Vásquez, which he fought with the

[31] Curiously, first he names the bulls fought by Antonio Reverte, who was not particularly successful during the 'corrida' and was booed by the public. The complete order of bulls was as follows: 1. Mojoso (Guerra), 2. Estudiante (Reverte), 3. Farolero (Guerra), 4. Cuquito (Reverte), 5. Gitano (Guerra), 6. Cocinero (Reverte). See: Media-Luna, 1894: 2.

[32] See: Fernández, 2019, for more information. Later, at the turn of the century, the breed was acquired by Marqués de Villamarta and in 1905 by Eduardo Olea. See: Quintana Álvarez, 2012: 37.

[33] Media-Luna, 1894: 3.

[34] A young boy becomes a fully-fledged torero when he is given permission to fight bulls that are four years old or older. Another term commonly used in Spanish is 'doctorarse', which literally means 'to earn a doctorate'.

[35] Cossío, 2000: 98.

'muleta' in a marvellous manner and in which he attempted four times, irreproachably, 'the suerte de recibir', achieving in the fourth occasion a kill that pierced the bull up to the hilt of the sword[36].

Nevertheless, in Durdík's account, 'Farolero' is somewhat different from the description above. According to the author, the bull killed a horse immediately after entering the ring, but soon attempted to return to the corral from which he came and headed toward its closed door[37]. Such a bull is called a 'manso' in the jargon of the 'corrida', and for this reason, he received protests from the public. However, Guerrita was able to stick 'banderillas' into him perfectly and, during the 'faena', let the bravery of the animal flourish[38].

During that season, the audience in Madrid tried to have Guerrita confront a younger torero, Reverte, so he was continuously scheduled in 'corridas' with him[39]. However, despite his continuous triumphs, Guerrita became an unpopular figure for his frequent clashes with the audience, who were not pardoning any little error in his style. Still, Guerrita is the longest-serving torero in Spanish history, and if it were not for the hostility of the public, he might have remained active much longer[40]. Despite that, he is considered one of the greatest bullfighters of all time, also known as the second of the five 'Califas del Toreo'. Throughout his career, he fought 892 'corridas' and killed 2,339 bulls.

Antonio Reverte Jiménez (1868-1903), popularly known as 'Reverte', was born in the small town of Alcalá del Río, near Seville. He took his 'alternativa' in Madrid on September 16, 1891, at the hands of "Guerrita", his *padrino*, who let him kill the bull 'Toledano', from the 'Saltillo' breed[41]. On March 25, 1894, Easter Sunday, one month before Durdík saw him, he had the fight of his life in Madrid with a bull called 'Pocapena', from the 'Bañuelos' breed. Unfortunately, that was the end of all his triumphs that year, which is also reflected in Durdík's book, where he says: "Reverte is a good bullfighter, but not one of the best"[42].

[36] Cossío, 2000: 98.
[37] Durdík, 1896: 64.
[38] The magazine *El Toreo* described his triumph as follows: "They threw on him coats, and roses and 'tagarninas' of various qualities. The ovation continued for a long time" (Media-Luna, 1894: 2).
[39] Cossío, 2000: 98.
[40] Famous is his sentence from 1899, the year when he stopped fighting bulls: "I'm not leaving the world of bullfighting voluntarily. They are throwing me out" (Cossío, 2000: 103. My translation.). However, the reasons for his withdrawal were probably a goring that his rival Reverte experienced in Bayonne that year and which had a profound impact on Guerrita (Cossío, 2000: 104).
[41] Nieto, 2000: 102.
[42] Durdík, 1896: 17.

He was known for his bravery and willingness to take risks, which meant that he was continuously gored[43]. Another aspect of his fame was his popularity with female followers, as is attested by various 'coplas', a Spanish musical genre that blends flamenco and popular song[44]. In poetry, he was venerated by the modernist author Francisco Villaespesa (1877-1936)[45]. Reverte led an extravagant life. It is said that he was the first person in Alcalá to buy a car, and to drive well, he had the edges of the road marked with bricks. Additionally, he loved wearing fashionable clothes and flying in a hot air balloon[46]. His last 'corrida' took place in Marseille on September 6, 1901. Two years later, on September 13 1903, he died in Madrid from liver cancer. Throughout his career, he fought around 427 'corridas' as a full 'matador de toros' and killed 932 bulls.

There was also a third 'torero' scheduled to be present at the bullfight. His name was Manuel García Cuesta (1865-1894), popularly known as 'El Espartero' from Seville. Nevertheless, due to an injury, he could not fight alongside the other two toreros. For this reason, the 'corrida' was announced as a 'mano a mano', a duel between two 'toreros'. However, a 'mano a mano' always requires a third 'torero', known as the 'sobresaliente', to be present in case one of the two gets hurt. The 'sobresaliente' is usually a less experienced fighter. In this case, it was 'Maoliyo'[47]. Curiously, 'El Espartero', who was unable to fight that day, was scheduled in Madrid on May 27, 1894, when he was killed by the bull 'Perdigón' from the Miura ranch.

It is important to note that the author's description of the 'corrida' as performed by these two 'torreros' is accurate and has remained unchanged until now: the order of the bullfight, the bulls entering the ring, the individual 'tercios' (stages) of the fight, the awarding of trophies[48], and such, except for two

[43] Especially when killing the bull, he was one of the most willing to jump between the bull's horns, thus risking his life. From this comes a popular saying: "¡No te tires, Reverte!", meaning "Don't jump between the horns, Reverte!" See: Nieto, 2000: 103.

[44] Probably the most famous 'copla' is about his lover, Paola di Monte, an Italian cabaret singer who followed Reverte all over Spain and lost all her fortune in doing so. See: Nieto, 2002: 102.

[45] "The popular torero of all songs, / with a figure like a palm tree and eyes like a Moor, / all shining in silk and gold / beneath the dazzling rays of the sun. / With his 'muleta' he sweeps the ribs of the bull /while all of Seville applauds him in unison, / and enraged, he turns and twists, the bull roaring / grazing with its horns the fringes of the 'alamares'... / Reverte holds the 'muleta' tightly / and lines up the sword to deliver the death blow / and lay his enemy at his feet... / And, breaking the silence, suddenly a female voice sounds, broken with sorrow: / "Don't jump, Reverte, come with me!" Rpt. in Nieto, 2000: 103-104. My translation.

[46] Nieto, 2000: 104.

[47] Media-Luna, 1894: 2.

[48] Durdík does not mention which trophies were awarded. At that time, it was common to award a bull's hind foot, or tail.

significant changes. First, contrary to what Durdík described[49], the 'picador' is no longer in the ring when the bull enters. Instead, the bull is initially confronted by the 'torero', who assesses its strength with a few lances. Only then does the 'picador' appear to 'castigar' (punish) the bull with two or three stabs into its 'morillo' (hump) to weaken it. It is important to note that horses have not been killed in the bullring since 1928, when protection started being used.

Dead horses

The most shocking aspect of Durdík's very detailed description of the 'corrida' is when he speaks about dead horses lying in the ring after being gored by the bull. Historically, this practice of killing horses in the ring was not common. From Medieval times until the 17th century, bulls were mostly fought on horseback by the Spanish, Portuguese, and French aristocracy[50]. However, they were not only Christians, as there are also mentions of Muslim rulers in Granada organising bullfights[51]. Although there have been cases of horses being killed, these were very sporadic, as the bull was typically attacked with a long, sharp pole. As I mentioned elsewhere, these medieval rites were based on fertility rituals, although they were profaned and turned into a game enjoyed by the nobility. Still, the trophies awarded were rich in symbolism, such as the bull's scrotum given to the 'toreador'[52].

Each aristocrat had his own 'cuadrilla' – a group of people who assisted him. These people, unlike him, were from a lower class, and with the decline of interest in bullfighting among the aristocracy, they evolved into 'toreros' – those who fight bulls on foot[53]. The 'picador', with his short and shiny jacket and stylish 'sombrero', is the remnant of the old aristocracy that was pushed out of the centre of the ritual. Symbolically, he represents the old oppressor of the common folk. However, when performed correctly, the role plays an indispensable and valuable part in the 'corrida'.

Until 1928, 'picadors' were at the mercy of a charging bull. The horses they were given were often tired, old nags that, instead of being slaughtered, were sent on their final task – to confront the bull and die in the ring. Cruelty reigned supreme in those times, and as we see in Durdík's narrative, the quality of a bull was measured by the number of dead horses it left behind:

[49] Durdík, 1896: 18-19.
[50] Guillaume-Alonso, 1994: 77; also Vargas Ponce, 1961: 78-81.
[51] See: Abbadi, 1965: 91.
[52] Měsíc, 2021: 256.
[53] The first official torero to fight on foot is considered to be Francisco Romero y Acevedo (1700-1763) from Ronda.

> The more horses he gored to death, and the faster he tore them to pieces, the more praise the people gave him, the more enthusiasm, the louder the uproar he aroused in the excited crowd: 'Bravo toro!'[54].

However, the author shows no pity for the horses and even praises their quick death in the ring, suggesting that it was somehow preferable for them to be slaughtered by the bull rather than by a butcher.

> The horses of the 'picadors' are poor, emaciated animals withered with age, about the same as the poor horse of Don Quixote. They are no longer of any use, they are worn, crippled, broken, their legs like dry, twisted hay. The ravages of time have worked on their tails, and there are few horsehairs left, faded and twisted. Their belly hangs like an empty sack on their vertical ribs, their bony head with deep hollows above their eyes is held up by their thighs, and a blackened tongue sticks out of their vertical lips like a blackbird. You have pity on these old fellows. And yet death in the ring, which seems so cruel to viewers and readers, is a blessing, a redemption for them. They do not stay long in the midst of the ring. They do not bite their tongues in pain, dear reader, one or two minutes, and that's it. And in that pre-death stupor, they are incapable of a single thought. The more blood they lose from their wounds, the better; the less their brains work, the less they are aware of what people are doing to them[55].

Durdík's medical observations are frequent, and their graphic nature is often shocking to many readers, such as when he further describes horses' intestines:

> The intestines are fuming. A peristatic worm-like movement can be observed inside them, as it is constantly happening in every living creature – inside you, too, if you live, my dear reader[56].

To Durdík, the violent death of horses was nothing shocking. As a former war medic, he must have been accustomed to far greater bloodshed than what he witnessed during the 'corrida'. He even criticises those who cannot bear to watch the spectacle, claiming that they are mostly foreigners.

> If someone faints in the ring, it is always a foreigner. Perhaps that is why the Spaniards have such a bad opinion of foreigners – they reproach them with cowardice and tearful sensibility. Only a foreigner can pity a miserable, scrawny, emaciated nag. For she is just getting into the run when the 'picador gives her a merciless spur into her groin. What to do with such a nag? Let her be killed by a butcher or by an angry

[54] Durdík, 1896: 30.
[55] Durdík, 1896: 27.
[56] Durdík, 1896: 22-25.

> bull? Which is better? Of course, the latter. For a bullfight without horses would not give that divine exasperation which the Spanish men and women, with their strange blood and valiant hearts, feel in it. And this predilection is innate in them[57].

There are also passages in which he critiques the Western sensibility ingrained in our cultures, whereby the number of deaths in wars is often presented with little to no pity or sympathy – especially when the deceased are our enemies. He seems to project this mentality onto the tourists who enter the arena, only to leave in disgust, unable to process the genuine experience of death:

> A battlefield demonstrates human brutality far more vividly than a heap of hastily slaughtered old horses and six bulls. Yes, wars, in which everything strong, healthy, and brave perishes, reveal the general human savagery, cruelty, and depravity. Old generals officially proclaim to us that warfare and mass killing are entirely natural aspects of a nation's life – and yet you, sensitive tourist, are outraged by a dozen animal corpses? Did blood really rush to your head? Did you truly long for fresh air? Admit it – you were subconsciously reciting the phrases instilled in you at school when you were still a naïve little boy who believed everything he was told. And yet, this same sensitive tourist, upon hearing a battlefield report that fifty people have fallen, might say: "Only fifty? So few?" He has already grown accustomed to the mass killing of people, but the death of a few old horses would shake him so deeply? I do not believe in tourists[58].

There are also passages where he criticises the sensibility of the Germans and the French, who cannot bear anything outside their own world, especially the 'corrida de toros', as they analyse it through their own singular prism. What Durdík praises is the difference between nations and their cultural expressions[59].

Fortunately, at the turn of the 19th century, the sensibility towards horses started changing in Spain, and the cruelty inflicted on horses at that time was prohibited in 1928, when the Spanish dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja (1870-1930) mandated their protection. The so-called 'peto' was invented: a kind of padded covering designed to protect horses from the bull's charge. Initially, it was light and offered little protection, but over time, it was reinforced until it became the armour worn by the *picadors*' horses today, made of Kevlar and completely bulletproof.

[57] Durdík, 1896: 50.
[58] Durdík, 1896: 62-64.
[59] Durdík, 1896: 187.

Durdík and Hemingway: Their views on animal cruelty

The final part of this analysis focuses on the connection between Pavel Durdík and Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961). Upon studying Durdík's work, we realise that it bears frequent similarities to Hemingway's *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), making Durdík a precursor to foreign writing on the 'corrida', as his book was published some 36 years earlier.

Indeed, the lives of the two writers had many parallels, as Hemingway also participated in a war. More specifically, he served in the First World War, working for the Red Cross to deliver supplies to soldiers and evacuate the wounded from the battlefield. A few years later, Hemingway became a war correspondent, first in Constantinople covering the Greco-Turkish War in 1922, and later in Barcelona, where he covered the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and where he was actively supporting the Republican cause against Francisco Franco (1892-1975). During WWII, he continued to bring the news from the front to American readers.

As previously mentioned, Durdík served as a doctor during an armed conflict between the Netherlands and the Muslim Sultanate of Aceh, known as the Acehnese War (1873-1904). During his five years in service, he treated wounded Dutch and foreign soldiers, as well as members of the indigenous population, while also studying their culture. Like Hemingway, Durdík never became a soldier himself, but the experience of witnessing death on the battlefield deeply shaped his views.

The most striking aspect linking these two authors is their perspective on the death of horses and bulls in the ring, as well as the character of those who are shocked by watching a 'corrida'. For instance, Hemingway, like Durdík, was not affected by dead horses.

> I do not mind the horses; not in principle, but in fact, I do not mind them. I was very surprised at this, as I couldn't see a horse down in the street without feeling compelled to help it. […] In the bull ring, I do not feel any horror or disgust, whatever happens to the horses[60].

Hemingway saw his first 'corrida' in Pamplona in 1923, about five years before the mandate to protect the horses. Like Durdík, he also commented on the psychology of people who are repelled by the 'corrida'. Nevertheless, he goes further in identifying their mindset.

[60] Hemingway, 1984: 9-10.

> From observation, I would say that people may possibly be divided into two general groups: those who, to use one of the terms of the jargon of psychology, identify themselves with, that is, place themselves in the position of animals, and those who identify themselves with human beings. I believe, after experience and observation, that those people who identify themselves with animals, that is, the almost professional lovers of dogs, and other beasts, are capable of greater cruelty to human beings than those who do not identify themselves readily with animals[61].

The above comment is well substantiated by history. At the conference in Udine, I highlighted that after the Nazis came to power in 1933, they quickly enacted laws to regulate animal welfare. On April 21 of that year, the German parliament passed legislation stipulating that animals could not be slaughtered without anaesthetic, marking a significant step in animal protection. Germany then became the first country to ban vivisection and commercial animal trapping, a law pushed by Heinrich Himmler. The boiling of lobsters and crabs was also prohibited, and in one notable instance, Hermann Göring sent a fisherman to a concentration camp for cutting up a bait frog[62]. As a professed animal lover and conservationist, Göring threatened concentration camp sentences for Germans who violated the new animal welfare laws. Moreover, Joseph Goebbels described Hitler as a vegetarian who viewed the ethical distinction between humans and animals as a flaw of Judaism and Christianity, with Hitler even planning to discourage slaughterhouses in the German Reich after the conclusion of World War II[63]. Not speaking of the 'corrida' organised in honour of Heinrich Himmler on October 20, 1940, in Madrid, during which the Führer is said to have left the ring in disgust, almost fainting after the third bull. According to him, the 'corrida' was something "atavistic and uncivilised," with "nothing honourable about it[64]".

I would like to make it clear that I am not suggesting that people who are offended by the 'corrida' are automatically cruel to humans. However, Durdík's and Hemingway's observations suggest that they may sometimes hide behind a sense of moral superiority. Any public protest against the 'corrida de toros' is often imbued with this sentiment. Participants tend to become aggressive and impose their will on those who oppose them. Hopefully, Hemingway's words will serve as a warning to all ardent animal lovers and their supporters – those who love their pets so much that they confine them to cages and small apartments, forcing them to live with humans, and as humans.

[61] Hemingway, 1984: 10.
[62] Marquardt, 1993: 125.
[63] Goebbels, 1993: 679.
[64] See Amón, 2021, for more information.

Conclusions

As we have seen, a thematic analysis of a travelogue allows us to delve deeper into the context explored in the book and examine its linguistic, anthropological, and even zoological aspects. Indeed, Durdík's work has enabled us to go beyond the field of literary studies and adopt a truly interdisciplinary approach. However, due to the length constraints of this chapter, the analysis has not addressed other aspects of the 'corrida', such as the examination of individual 'suertes' and 'lances' that were common during the period in question, nor have we been able to trace their evolution. Similarly, our analysis has not allowed us to explore the role of religion and the Church in the culture of the 'corrida'[65]. Moreover, we have entirely omitted discussion of the sentiments of the Czech National Revival reflected in the book, and, finally, we could have conducted a more in-depth analysis of the mindset of those who oppose the 'corrida' for moral or other reasons.

Still, this short thematic analysis has brought forward crucial aspects of Durdík's stance on bullfighting, which, as in Hemingway's case, is not always flawless, and occasional errors and misinterpretations are present. Durdík sometimes contradicts the official narrative of the event, as described in the weekly *El Toreo*. For instance, he states that there were twenty dead horses in the ring[66], although the report mentions only twelve[67]. He also claims that Guerrita was 29 years old[68], but he was actually 32.

At times, the author misinterprets certain aspects of the 'corrida'. For example, when a bull was bleeding from its mouth, he attributed it to the torero piercing its heart, whereas it was actually caused by piercing the lungs[69]. Likewise, he consistently views the work of the 'capeadores' as making the bull more aggressive, which is not the case. Additionally, Durdík believes that the 'corrida' existed only in Mexico and Latin America[70], unaware that it has been celebrated for centuries in Portugal and Southern France as well.

However, despite these minor shortcomings, his book remains the most important study written by a Czech author on the 'corrida de toros' in book form to date and is comparable to internationally recognised authors, such as Ernest Hemingway. For that reason, the book urgently deserves a translation

[65] See: Měsíc, 2021 and 2025 for more information on religion and spirituality in the 'corrida'.
[66] Durdík, 1896: 43.
[67] Media-Luna, 1894: 2-3.
[68] Durdík, 1896: 32.
[69] Durdík, 1896: 99.
[70] Durdík, 1896: 137.

into Spanish and English. May this chapter contribute to its promotion and to the research on the 'corrida' and the work of Pavel Durdík.

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Two Parallel Worlds – Different Impressions of Greece and Athens in the Texts of Czech Travellers from the End of the 19th Century

Suzana Kos*

Introduction

Travel literature or travel writing has existed for centuries. In these texts, the traveller/writer depicts authentic events, experiences and impressions from his travels, and records his encounters with other countries, nations, cultures, and customs. Thus, these texts contribute to a better understanding and cultural exchange between different nations[1]. According to Aleksandra Korda Petrović, there is no precise definition of travel writing, and it is not easy to establish the characteristics that would separate it from some other literary genres, such as, for instance, letters or autobiographies. Travel writing is an open genre that encompasses different types of discourse. A simplified classification of this genre distinguishes between two kinds: the documentary and the artistic (9). Artistic travel writings are shaped to a large extent by the author's subjective relationship with the reality outside the text itself. The description of what they experience is thus complemented by the emotional, lyrical and essayistic approaches to the world outside the text. As a documentary form describing events, people and impressions of the writer, travel writing is often considered a marginal genre, somewhat between literature and journalism (10).

In his text *Estetika alteriteta: književnost i imagološki pristup* [The Aesthetics of Alterity: Literature and the Imagological Approach], Karl Ulrich Syndram argues that the representation of something that is 'other', 'foreign' and 'not ours' corresponds to the complementary ideas about the familiar and domestic. This interrelation exceeds the boundaries of a single text and enters the discourse of cultural evaluation. What is foreign can be celebrated because of its colourful strangeness, or rejected because it is unfamiliar and savage[2].

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[1] Korda Petrović, 2020: 9. All subsequent page references are to this edition.

[2] Syndram, 2009: 79. All subsequent references are to this edition.

This article deals with the two texts of Czech travellers from the second half of the 19th century, which depict travels to Greece, Greece itself, and most of all, Athens. The texts in question are the 18-page review by František Velišský, titled 'Athény' (Athens), which was published in the Czech magazine *Osvěta*, and the much longer work by Justin Václav Prášek, which was released as a standalone publication. The latter is an impressive 450-page travelogue titled *Athény. Črty cestopisné a vzpomínky z minulosti* [Athens. Travelogue notes and memories from the past]. These two written testimonies truly lie on the margin between the subjective and the objective – the authors' primary ambition was not to write a literary text, but to provide facts about the places they visited; however, they could not escape expressing either joy or disappointment, criticism or exaltation. In both cases, the destination managed to invoke the subjective impressions in both travellers, which were then transformed into firm opinions and attitudes towards the foreign surroundings and its inhabitants.

In the first case, we cannot precisely determine the exact time of the journey to Greece, but we know that the text was published in 1878. In contrast, the second case involves an author who precisely determines the time of his travel in the prologue, specifically the year 1886. These facts lead us to conclude that their visits to Greece occurred within a period of approximately ten to fifteen years, making it particularly interesting to examine how their travels and experiences compare or differ.

Both authors were scientists in the areas of humanities and social sciences – the first one, František Velišský, was a classical philologist and an archaeologist, and the other one, Justin Václav Prášek, a historian and an orientalist, so their interests were fairly the same, which is why in their texts they mainly concentrate on the historical artefacts and monuments from the ancient Greek period. Both texts are filled with drawings or photographs of the Acropolis and other historical sites. However, in this article, we will not concentrate on the description and history of the famous artefacts of the ancient Greek legacy, but on the more interesting impressions of the current situation in the area, which, during the nineteenth century, underwent a remarkable transformation. In the 1820s, Greece experienced the Greek War of Independence, which was a struggle to overthrow the long-lasting Turkish rule. In its endeavours, Greece was supported (but not immediately) by the great world nations, France, Great Britain and Russia, and in the year 1832 it became an independent state. The consequences of these turbulent times were recorded by our travellers as well. Both of them travelled to Greece with a specific personal perception of the area, which was, to a certain extent, idealistic, but from the analysis of their texts, we will see that the impressions from their travels are very different.

The two travelogues

The dominant trait of both works is the prominent contrast between the great classical Greece and the actual, present situation of the time, which also influences the impressions of both travellers. In the text written by Velišský, this contrast can be seen at the very beginning of his journey and his first contact with the long-anticipated landing on the island of Syros. The author claims "that this was an island in Odyssey mentioned as Syros, as we read in the travelogues, is utter nonsense"[3]. The only town on the island, Hermupolis, is not appealing to foreigners, although one can see that it is rich and thriving, because it has established itself as the centre of all sea travel routes in the area of the Levant, but the overall impression of the town for the traveller is "boring". However, loud and busy life at the port triggers a cautious dose of curiosity in the traveller: "lots of Greeks, Albanians, Montenegrins, Arabs hover here", as the author notes, "in a colourful mixture" (211). For a nineteenth-century traveller from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, it is a melting pot of a sort. Velišský also seems very impressed by the specific, unconventional ways of trading goods, which represent a sure testimony of the social relations in the city itself:

> As soon as the steamboat from Constantinople arrived, it was surrounded by the little boats of suppliers, carriers and traders who rushed on the great boat, producing a lot of loud noise and yelling, each of them trying to make some money, as it was a matter of life and death (211).

The next stop on his journey, Piraeus, is another disappointment: "What a difference between the present one and the one we were acquainted with in the descriptions of the old writers" (211). Piraeus and the town of the same name, the writer describes as "dead". It is not worth his special attention; there are no marks of its past greatness. It resembles more a village than a town. In the places where there were once great and amazing buildings (theatres, temples, etc.), now stand only the prosaic everyday objects, like, for instance, windmills. Another surprise for Velišský is also the way in which his fellow traveller escaped the examination of the customs officers – although he mentions that a certain inconspicuously presented "gift" for the officer, in order to speed up the procedure, is a normal thing, his fellow traveller (unsurprisingly, a Greek) openly presented the officer with a silver coin, and the officer took it without hesitation (212).

[3] Velišský, 1878: 210. All subsequent page references are to this edition. Also, my translation. All subsequent quotations from this edition were translated by the author of the article.

But the greatest sorrows of the traveller can be detected in the very description of the state of the once great town of Athens. The town is smaller than it was in ancient times, its population is three times smaller than in the era of Pericles, the town's surroundings, the second most beautiful quarter of the South Acropolis, is partly deserted, partly populated by those in need, and the eastern side under the Acropolis is completely deserted, while once it was full of monuments. The same situation is observed on the historically famous hills Pnyx and Areopagus:

> An empty desert, with a cactus or aloe here and there, partly surrounded by the area of boulevards that, in the Parisian way (however, to a minimal extent), surrounds the whole town and is a testament more of good intentions than of a real success (213).

The political and social situation of the new Greece is clearly depicted in the description of the town itself. At first glance, one can spot the old town, with its remains of Turkish rule, and the new town, which was built in the past fifty years of Greek independence. The latter is crammed onto the Eastern and Northern slopes of the Acropolis and consists of bumpy, dirty streets, populated mainly by people experiencing poverty. Between Ailos Avenue and Athens Avenue, there stands "the most presentable part of the modern Athens, of the western European style, standing right in the middle, between the metropolitan and the provincial area" (214). This part shows the traveller that the locals believe in the bright future of their town and are ambitious to expand it further. However, the state of the streets (with no trees and a lack of paving stones) suggests that the funds required for the rapid growth desired by the Greeks are scarce.

The very placement of Athens is fairly unfriendly for 'modern' needs: the roads of the world's Eastern trading routes bypass Athens and its port Piraeus, and the city is alive only thanks to the foreigners who visit it in order to explore the remains of ancient Greece's fame.

This remark contributes to the sad tone of the entire description of the up-to-date state of affairs – the glorious past has to provide for the bright future of the state with which, according to the writer, it has nothing in common. The city still lacks a parliament building or a theatre, scientific and educational institutions (the academy and the university) were built and financed by wealthy patriots, and not by the state, which until now has not managed to find the money for a museum, so discovered artefacts from ancient times are just left in the places where they had been found and are scattered all over the city, and this results in an improper care for them.

The traveller also criticises the handling of some monuments, and between the lines, there is noticeable criticism of the new Greek government's management of not only the cultural heritage of Greece, but of Western civilisation as

a whole. Velišský's comments on the new government's plans to complete the Acropolis Museum are sceptical and pessimistic:

> Judging by the current state of affairs, many years will pass before it happens, because at present one can only see fragments of the foundations, and it seems that it [museum] will not be grand enough to avoid appearing, standing at the very gate of the Parthenon, as a demolished gem – quite simply put, a shame (215-216).

Here, he also mentions the Greek "plague", which can be detected at the Acropolis, but at other places as well: foreigners are in danger when they venture out of Athens to visit some other historical sites, if not accompanied by the guards or the military.

He further comments that:

> The greater part of the inhabitants, consisting of different nationalities, was not penetrated by culture to the extent for them to leave behind their thievery practices … and dedicate themselves to honest work (216).

Modern Greeks, according to the author, have no will to work, which is also the reason for the current devastation of the agriculture, they only long for easy money and are interested only in sailing and trade (216).

However, Velišský praises one aspect of "modern" Greece – its literary activity and numerous magazines, which he views as the primary beacon of "national consciousness" that can be disseminated as far as the Greek settlements in Little Asia. The Greeks see the main problem and root of their "plague" in their territorial limitations, while Velišský connects it to political animosity and immaturity. Another root of the current miserable social state, according to the author, is the legacy of Turkish rule, during which the people became savages as they constantly had to fight for survival, making them prone to human sins such as lying, deceit and manipulation. This process of degeneration was facilitated under Turkish rule, as various foreign peoples came to Greece – Slavs, Arabs, Vlachs, and Albanians – who did not assimilate, which led to the natural disintegration.

However, Velišský concludes his description of the new Greece on a cautious note of optimism. After half a century, the Greeks had managed to establish a standard language based on their famous ancient literature. This produced, and miraculously still continues to produce, regeneration, finally enabling the assimilation of different nationalities: "And so we can say that the great dead ones, directly or indirectly, resurrected the Hellas and are leading her into the new life" (218). In addition, the growth of the population and the annexation of fertile land give hope for new growth perspectives.

In his far more elaborate travelogue, Justin Václav Prášek describes his journey to Greece, which starts in Constantinople. Given his profession as a historian and the title of the work, it is likely that a significant portion of the publication will focus on Greek history and historical monuments. The author also shows great interest in the topography of the city of Athens, but the most interesting parts are, again, like in the previous text, those in which he brings the notes on the current life of the inhabitants at the end of the nineteenth century.

Prášek's first impressions of national sentiment come on the boat, where he is in the company of Greek colleagues and tradesmen who live outside the country:

> What strange people! They strongly cling to their nationality and religion, despite living in the farthest parts of the world, and their thoughts always fly back to the classical ground, washed by Ilissos, hoping that this is the place from which the new glory of their tribe will arise[4].

Unlike Velišský, Prášek sees his Greek fellow travellers as people who achieved such a significant development in such a short time. Comparing the destinies of the Czech and Greek people, Prášek notes a significant difference – in the Greek people, he sees ambition and optimism, individuals who, despite suffering far greater miseries, have become a cultured nation that views itself as the descendant of the political power of the crescent.

Velišský describes Piraeus as a sad and miserable place, but Prášek describes it as "one of the most beautiful European ports" (18). Upon arriving at the harbour, the traveller mentions the long line of white, single-storey buildings, built in an Italian style and with fronts that shine from newly applied white paint. There is also Apollo's Square, which has shady gardens and a modern marble sculpture of the Greek god. The main square contains the city hall and the marketplace, which is the centre of local trade and urban activity. He then continues to describe other beautiful sights of the city, the blooming of which, he mentions, is tightly connected to the development of the capital, and is a testimony of the fact that "a little kingdom quickly became a great one after more than a thousand years of decline" (24).

Prášek mentions that the first impression upon arrival in the capital city is not a pleasant one. However, the traveller's mood soon improves as he gets closer to the modern urban area:

[4] Prášek, 1890: 15-16. All subsequent references are to this edition. Also, my translation. All subsequent quotations from this edition were translated by the author of the article.

> Small houses give way to one-storey buildings, or even two-storey ones in some places. All of them are new […] Amidst the commotion and noise, traditional Albanian and islander clothing emerges alongside modern attire. 'Fes' sit next to black Albanian hats and silk Parisian ones […] Wide, straight streets cross the main avenue […] (29).

The exaltation of the new city of Athens is evident from the beginning of the second paragraph in the chapter "Athens of today and its people" – "What a change in fifty years!" (or ten to fifteen years after Velišský's visit to Athens). Prášek does not avoid the description of the Turkish Athens, where the Orient, in his words, remained intact, and where the people of mostly Albanian origin are making their living by trading and working on the streets. It is a busy district for craftsmen and traders of all kinds of goods, but due to the circumstances, the archaeological work is very slow. But opposite to these remains of the old Athens, there rises a new city with the most beautiful avenues throbbing with a different kind of life. The new part of the city is home to the university, library, academy of science, gardens and parks, as well as the new parliament building. "The overall impression of the city is a very pleasant one!", Prášek exclaims. Differing from Velišský's text, which gave us an overall impression of an unfinished city, Prášek depicts wide, beautiful streets with white marble pavements, cosy gardens with a wide variety of subtropical plants, buildings ornamented with sculptures, and shady promenades.

The traveller also seems to enjoy life on the streets of Athens:

> You can hear a happy song everywhere or at least a friendly murmur, but so alive and loud, that it resembles more a quarrel. But when you take a closer look, instantly you recognise that it is the way in which they earn their everyday bread, combined with the natural curiosity of the people of Attica, which gives an unusual, colourful note to life… and people are both hard working and modest in their daily needs (35).

The traveller also admires the ways in which the locals trade, which contributes to the lively and bright atmosphere of the city. Street vendors offer a wide variety of goods, including water, meat, live poultry, lemonade, tobacco, and unusual sweets. They already know their regular buyers and stop in front of their doors. As well as Velišský, Prášek admires a great number of magazines sold directly on the streets, their diversity, and most importantly, the fact that they are very cheap. A great variety of newspapers and magazines, Prášek explains, is a testimony of the active interest of Greek people in public affairs and a developing sense of the current political issues. He also mentions the fact that national heroes are never mocked in magazines – not even in the satirical ones.

The way in which the people of Athens dress is another testimony of the

fast-developing city – from traditional clothing, only the Albanian and the islanders' are still visible on the streets. He also mentions that at the beginning of the century, the city still had an Albanian touch, but today, traditional Albanian clothing can be seen only in the older parts of town. Although the Albanians preserved a part of their tradition, nowadays they speak in Greek, which is also proof of the assimilation of different nationalities in the modern age, and the building of a new, unique and common Greek national identity.

The important part of leisure in Athens are long stays at local pubs and cafes – but Prášek doesn't see this habit as a reflection of the locals' laziness and lack of direction, but as a habit deriving from the local climate – in the summer, mornings and first hours of the afternoon are so hot that no work can be done. Local cafes and pubs are also places where people discuss trading and public affairs, although they may seem a bit unpleasant for the foreigner:

> In the shade in front of the building, groups of men sit, slowly sipping spirits or lemonade, occasionally sipping black coffee with honey, made in a Turkish style, from small cups, while puffing on narghile and cigars wrapped in paper, and discussing their affairs loudly. You will not find cleanliness or cosiness in the Greek cafes or pubs. European style seems to be an unknown thing, and thus, low prices are not unusual… And the guest can sit there for hours sipping his little glass of spirit (36-37).

Prášek also mentions the European cafes, which are scarce, but can also be found in Athens, however, mostly in the prestigious parts of town, near the king's palace. In the afternoon, every square transforms into an improvised garden cafe, where locals unwind from the afternoon heat and enjoy a concert by the brass band.

The difference between the East and the West is also evident in the gastronomical offer – large European hotels have their own kitchens, serving Italian and French dishes, while Greek pubs specialise in fish fried in oil, pilaf, and various goat meat dishes. Here you can taste a glass of Greek wine or spiced alcoholic drinks, which most foreigners find disgusting. Prášek explains the gastronomical offer of Greek pubs as a form of patriotism, which can also be spotted in the signs of taverns; he mentions, for example, taverns named *The Wise Man Socrates*, or *At Pericles'*, and so on. For foreigners, it serves as a reminder that they are among people "who have only recently gained the right to decide their own future, and who can be proud of their ancestors' achievements" (37).

In the eyes of the traveller, Athens gives an impression, as Prášek himself mentions, of a smaller German town, and not of a big centre of commerce. Trade is limited to acquiring everyday necessities; there are no stores or store windows in newer parts of town. The locals are accustomed to purchasing their necessities at the Grand Bazaar, where craftsmen work on the street and sell

their goods on the spot. There you can also find fruits and vegetables, as well as meat and different kinds of fish. Those who are richer buy the goods in a few European stores in the prestigious neighbourhoods, where you can also find bookstores and photo shops. Although it is not a trading centre, the spirit of Athens is lively and busy. Prášek explains this fact by a natural Greek ability to change, which "enabled them to adapt to modern ways and their possibilities" (39). The liveliness is enhanced by the different types of public transport – numerous carriages, horse-drawn and steam trams.

Conclusions

Two travellers – two worlds. It seems almost impossible that the situation could have changed so much in the period of ten to fifteen years, and that the things Velišský doubted to be possible, became a reality so quickly. That a broken-down and suffering city could undergo such a significant transformation and become a place of contact between the East and the West, a place in which different peoples, cultures, old and new values are melting into a new, unique national identity. When describing the situation in Athens, Velišský constantly mentions that fifty years had passed already, and there is no development on the horizon, while Prášek exultantly reminds the reader that only fifty years had passed, and admires the development and growth of Athens. As František Velišský died in 1883, he could not have read Prášek's notes on his journey to Athens. Perhaps these notes would have eased his concerns and lifted his spirits. Nevertheless, the two texts are clearly inspired by different emotions: one was written by a disappointed traveller, while the other was written by someone brimming with excitement. Together, they provide valuable insights into how quickly and inevitably the landscape of a significant and challenging area can change and be transformed.

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Two Types of Travellers to the Holy Land at the Turn of the 20th Century

David Jirsa*

A considerable number of papers and monographs have already been published on Czech travelogues to Egypt and the Holy Land from the Middle Ages and the early modern period[1]. Substantial attention has also been given to travelogues from the period of the Czech National Revival[2]. However, travelogues and orientalist materials from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries remain somewhat neglected by both scholars and the general public. An exception, of course, is the work of Sarah Lemmen (2018) and Jan M. Heller (2020).

For religious reasons, most reports from the Middle Ages and the early modern period focused on journeys or pilgrimages to the Holy Land, as well as to Egypt, Italy, and, less frequently, Spain. During the Czech National Revival, travelogues were of great interest to both readers and cultural organisers of the movement. However, in the first half of the 19th century, there was a shortage of new travelogues, forcing revivalists to rely on works from older Czech literature or translations.

By the late 19th century, however, the situation had become rather peculiar: On the one hand, the subject had been somewhat exhausted, making it difficult for travel writers to present new perspectives. On the other hand, technological advancements made tourism more accessible, and those interested in the Orient could study rich photographic materials. This is not to say, of course, that travelogues ceased to be a relevant genre – Czech travelogues to Egypt and Palestine were still being written at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The institution of the 'professional traveller' was established, and some even referred to this period as the 'golden age of travelogues'[3]. All the more surprising, then, is that Czech historians and literary critics have largely overlooked this

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1 Cf. Petrů, 1984 and 1996; Storchová, 2005 and 2009.

2 Cf. Faktorová 2012; Hrbata, 1986 and 2005.

3 Heller, 2020: 7.

period. Figures such as Josef Jan Svátek, Karel Drož, Emanuel Fait, and František Klement have now almost entirely been forgotten, known only to a small circle of specialists – unlike Jan Hasištejnský of Lobkovice, Oldřich Prefát of Vlkanov, Martin Kabátník, and other travellers of the late medieval and early modern periods.

In this paper, I focus on the works of two authors, Josef Jan Svátek and František Klement. Both were active as travellers at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and both visited roughly the same countries – Egypt, Palestine and the Maghreb. In other words, they explored the region commonly referred to at the time as 'the Orient'. However, their approaches to travel and their depictions of the countries they visited were starkly different. As a result, their works provide a valuable basis for typifying travel texts from this period, specifically from the end of the long 19th century.

While Svátek fits the mould of a typical tourist – who, upon reaching the Holy Land, transforms into a pilgrim lamenting the decline of Jerusalem – Klement, by contrast, presents himself as an adventurer in the style of Kara ben Nemsí, i.e., a European traveller encountering dangerous situations in the exotic Orient[4]. However, unlike Kara ben Nemsí and other famous adventurers, real danger consistently eludes him. He rides through the desert on a camel with a rifle slung across his back, yet the Bedouins leave him undisturbed. He climbs rocks and pyramids, sleeps in caves, but never truly faces peril. Svátek, on the other hand, stays in luxury hotels, preferring trains and automobiles as his primary means of transportation. His travels take him to well-established tourist destinations, including the Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Karnak, the biblical sites of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and the renowned mosques of Cairo and the Maghreb.

Since neither Svátek nor Klement are widely known, even within Czech literature, I will briefly introduce them. František Klement was born in 1851 into a poor Prague family – his father was a bricklayer. After completing his education, Klement entered the service of the Italian-Austrian nobleman and traveller, Ludwig of Tuscany (Archduke Ludwig Salvatore), whom he accompanied on many journeys, particularly in the Orient. However, in 1876, he became independent and began travelling on his own. He first published a magazine article about his expedition to Palestine, and at the turn of the century, he released several books chronicling his travels in Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Palestine, and the Sahara Desert. In the early 20th century, he moved to Innsbruck and devoted himself to writing novels set in ancient Rome, which, while indeed interesting, are not relevant to this anthology.

[4] Faktorová (2020) also uses the comparison of the text of a Czech travel writer, Josef Wünsch, with the novels of Karl May.

Josef Jan Svátek was younger, born in 1871, and came from the upper middle class. He studied law and became a relatively successful lawyer, later entering politics after 1918. Travelling was not his primary profession. He took relatively shorter trips, which likely contributed to his touristic approach to travelling. At the same time, he was a highly prolific writer, documenting much of his life in numerous books. Illustrating this tendency, he even wrote about his time in prison, having been incarcerated for several months in the 1920s due to a bribery scandal. Shortly after his release, he published a book called *V kriminálu* [In Jail, In Prison], turning his own experience into literature. It was also his last original book, and he devoted himself to translating French literature until his death.

In this paper, I will focus primarily on their works on the Holy Land, referring to their other books only occasionally.

The first major point of comparison is how both authors approach the inhabitants of Palestine – or more precisely, the pre-existing conceptions and prejudices Svátek and Klement held regarding Muslims and Jews. Svátek, in particular, repeatedly emphasises his Christian faith and, from the outset, considers the Muslim presence in Christian holy places blasphemous. In this respect, he follows a long tradition of Christian pilgrims and travel writers, although this already seems anachronistic in his book, published around 1910. What makes this even more striking is that in his other works on the Orient, Svátek depicts Arabs, Fellahs, and other Muslims in a relatively benevolent manner. He occasionally mocks certain cultural peculiarities – such as circumcision or the bargaining culture of bazaars – or highlights some contradictions in the text of the Qur'an. However, he ultimately judges people more on their individual characteristics than on their religious beliefs. In Palestine, however, this benevolence vanishes entirely. Svátek's account of his first encounter with Palestinian Muslims, upon landing in the port of Jaffa, reads as follows:

> Here we were met with such hideous faces of Turks and Arabs as I had not seen more wretched in all the lands of Islam. As though in mockery of the Christian pilgrims, all the outcasts of the Mohammedans had gathered here. And with what insolence and derision they gazed upon the newly arrived pilgrims. Here, for the first time, we felt the enduring insult that this land, so dear to all Christendom, should be in the hands of men so unscrupulous, so eager to display their dominion. And how, in contrast, we loathed the slavish servility with which the envoy of a great European state was received in our midst[5].

[5] Svátek, 1911: 20-21. Translation DJ. "Uvítaly nás zde tak odporné obličeje Turků a Arabů, jaké jsem ohavnější nikde neviděl v celé oblasti islamu. Jakoby křesťanským poutníkům na výsměch se sem byli seběhli všichni vyvrhelové musulmanští. A jak drze a výsměšně se na

While it is not the role of a literary historian to moralise or pass judgment on the characters of writers, I believe that, based on reading his other works, Svátek cannot simply be labelled as an Islamophobe. His views on Muslims and Orientals were relatively progressive for his time – he praised their sincere religious devotion, admired their architecture, and openly lauded the Egyptian rulers of the Muhammad Ali dynasty.

However, upon his first encounter with Palestine, Svátek's perspective shifts significantly. Let me quote another passage in which he describes the Turkish guard of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem:

> The wretched old Turk regarded us with cold indifference – an expression of that contemptuous Oriental apathy that makes one's fists clench unbidden. Around him loitered a few of his fellows, their eyes wandering over the Christian women and humbled pilgrims with a gaze at once bland and mocking. In their looks and their smiles, there was an air of imperious insolence – of loathsome magnanimity, mingled with scorn for the enthusiasm and piety of the Christian throngs that pressed toward the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre. Overcome with anger and revulsion, we turned away instinctively[6].

This passage is a textbook example of the projecting one's own prejudices onto the object of the 'stranger' – or, as Edward Said famously termed it in his book *Orientalism*, the 'other'. In reality, the travel writer sees nothing more than an old Turkish man smiling at Christian pilgrims. Yet from this single smile, the 'amateur psychologist' Svátek discerns imperious insolence, lustful desire for Christian women, indifference, superiority, and contempt for religious fervour.

Svátek's attitude toward the Muslim rulers of Palestine mirrors that of older medieval travelogues and, to be frank, has not changed significantly even today – at least in the Czech media portrayal of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict or in the broader representation of the Oriental or Muslim 'other' in media and political discourse. When we compare Svátek's depiction of Palestinian Muslims with his portrayal of Muslims in his other works, two possibilities emerge. Ei-

přibylé poutníky dívali! Zde poprvé jsme pocítili onu trvalou urážku, že země, všem křesťanům drahá, jest v rukou lidí tak bezohledných a tak ochotně svou nadvládu na jevo dávajících. A jak na druhé straně nám byla odpornou ona otrocká servilnost, s jakou byl vítán nedaleko nás vyslanec jednoho velkého evropského státu".

[6] Svátek, 1911: 82. Translation DJ. "Odporný starý Turek se na nás lhostejně zadíval. Je v tom ona pohrdlivá orientální lhostejnost, při které se nám bezděky sevřou pěsti. Má kolem sebe několik svých souvěrců a ti si mlsnýma a posměšnýma očima prohlížejí křesťanské ženy i skroušené poutníky. Je v jejich očích a jejich úsměvu tolik panovačné drzosti a tolik odporného velkopanství i pohrdání nadšením a zbožností davů křesťanských, které se do chrámu sv. Hrobu hrnou, že se bezděčně odvracíme, naplněni zlostí a hnusem".

ther he was genuinely and spontaneously outraged by their presence at Christian holy sites, or he deliberately styled his Palestinian journey after his many medieval and early modern predecessors, seeking to present himself as an eager, zealous pilgrim in the tradition of lamenting European travel writers. After all, the depiction of Jaffa's port as "the worst the Muslim world has to offer" is an almost obligatory trope in Palestinian travel writing.

There is, perhaps, a third possibility – one that I consider the most likely. Although Svátek himself belonged to an oppressed nation at the time, his perspective on the Orient was shaped by the prevailing colonial and orientalist attitudes of his era. When describing the inhabitants of Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, or Libya, he was largely benevolent, as they lived under European colonial rule. Egypt was officially a protectorate rather than a colony, but this distinction does not alter the substance of the matter. Palestine, however, was under Ottoman rule. Within colonialist discourse, it was common to depict Arabs and Turks in a negative light while attributing their perceived shortcomings to inadequate governance. In Svátek's case, this mindset influenced not only his portrayal of people – otherwise, one might argue that his negative attitude toward Palestinians stemmed purely from religious zeal – but also his descriptions of technology. For instance, he characterises the Jaffa train station and the railway service from Jaffa to Jerusalem as ridiculous, inefficient and chaotic. By contrast, while the trains in Egypt strike him as somewhat comical, he nevertheless considers them highly efficient. In the Maghreb, he admires local automobiles and trams, and he describes cities with phrases such as "the Paris of North Africa".

While earlier travel writers saw the salvation of the Holy Land in its return to Christian rule, Svátek displayed a surprising degree of sympathy for Zionist ideology, repeatedly highlighting the successes of the first Jewish schools and kibbutzim, which were funded by wealthy Jewish families. However, his approval was reserved for assimilated European Jews, while he regarded 'native' Palestinian Jews with pity, portraying them as impoverished and incompetent. Yet, given the pervasive antisemitism in Europe at the turn of the century, Svátek's attitude toward Jews can, at the very least, be considered relatively liberal.

When it comes to František Klement, his views on members of other Abrahamic religions were, at least on the surface, the exact opposite. He expresses a clear preference for the Oriental lifestyle over the European one, though he attributes this to his admiration for the 'patriarchal lifestyle'. He has many friends among Muslims and speaks of them with relative respect. Yet even in his writing, traces of European – if not explicitly white – supremacism are evident. I will set aside his derisive remarks on the veiling of Muslim women, as no travelogue on the Arab world would be complete without them. More revealing is

the episode in which Klement recounts what is arguably his most dramatic experience – a perilous mountaineering ascent of Mount Temptation near Jericho. A local guide assists him in the climb, and the two face mortal danger several times, at one point literally hanging with one hand over a precipice. Throughout this passage, Klement takes great care to highlight his guide's bravery, loyalty, humour, and physical prowess. Yet what is even more striking is that he never once refers to the man by name, identifying him only as his guide or helper throughout the several-page-long account. At this point, one can hardly fail to recall Gayatri Spivak's famous essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?*[7]

At times, Klement ridicules certain aspects of Oriental culture or exhibits an unconscious sense of supremacism, yet his harshest satire is reserved for the people produced by European culture and Christian faith. However, his antisemitism is overt and unapologetic. Among other things, he dismisses the Zionist idea as absurd, basing his argument on the alleged inability of Jews to practice agriculture. He further justifies this claim by citing similar remarks made by a Jewish friend. At one point, he also refers to Jews as *Židáčci* – a Czech antisemitic slur roughly equivalent to the English pejorative term 'Kike'. Nevertheless, due to space constraints, I will not delve into the topic of Zionism and its representation in travelogues in this paper.

How, then, do the two authors' accounts of the Holy Land differ? First and foremost, Klement's Palestinian texts lack Svátek's religious fervour. Although he professes his Christian faith and visits sites traditionally associated with the Bible – such as Golgotha, the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem, and Bethesda – his primary interest lies in the present state of these monuments rather than their biblical significance. By contrast, Josef Jan Svátek was entirely guided by biblical topography, even visiting sites that held great significance in New Testament events but, in his time, offered nothing but gravel and stones. This is true, among others, of the field of Hakeldama, where Judas is said to have taken his own life, or the hill of Abu Tor, the site of the so-called Evil Council of Caiaphas, Annas, and the Jerusalem Pharisees. Klement, on the other hand, devotes equal attention to Muslim monuments and the architectural remnants of the Roman Empire in the cities of the East Bank.

Klement frequently presents Muslims as a model for how Christians should care for their holy sites, contrasting their diligence with the neglect of Christian sacred places. This is not to say, however, that he avoids Orientalist clichés. The staples of colonialist and Orientalist discourse – such as the alleged laziness and greed of Turks and Arabs – are present in his text, as is his mockery of their religious zeal and the traditional veiling of Muslim women. Yet, rather than

[7] Spivak 1988: 271-313.

stemming from deep-seated prejudice, these remarks appear primarily as an attempt to amuse his readers. As I have already noted, Klement is far more critical of Western society, which he judges against the contrasting framework of Palestinian, or more broadly, Oriental social organisation. And while he occasionally mocks Muslims – such as the ubiquitous giant footprints of the Prophet Muhammad – he directs even sharper satire at the idea that Jerusalem represents the centre of the world. Elsewhere, he can barely conceal his amusement at some of the miracles that the evangelists claim Jesus of Nazareth was supposed to have performed.

When it comes to religious matters, Klement remains relatively indifferent to both sides, whereas his opposition to European industrialised society is far more pronounced. Above all, his disdain for tourists – a relatively new "social class" – is evident throughout his texts. He contrasts himself with them as a so-called romantic traveller:

> Now that Palestine has become a desirable tourist destination for people of all nationalities, rather than being the promised land of only the Jews, the demand for travel services such as hotels, guesthouses and guides is ever growing. Palestine is now in vogue; travel there is no longer perilous, and yet a faint but unmistakable aura immediately adorns the cheeks of anyone who can declare, 'I have been to the Holy Land, I have been to Jerusalem'. The very nature of the traveller has also changed considerably in the last twenty years. Once, they were all pilgrims bound for sacred sites, with only the occasional tourist among them, and the rarest of all – a true explorer or travel writer[8].

Klement then categorises the different types of travellers to the Holy Land. Among others, he lists the 'collectors of orders' – those who journey to Palestine for the sole purpose of purchasing the so-called 'Knight of the Holy Sepulchre', an honour supposedly granted to anyone willing to donate a substantial sum to a monastery or religious organisation. Another category of tourists bears the rather amusing neologism *trojživelníci*, a wordplay derived from the term *obojživelníci* meaning 'amphibians'. A direct English equivalent is difficult to construct, but a possible rendering might be 'triphibians' or 'trivivians'. With this term,

[8] Klement, 1895: 48-50. Translation DJ. "Nyní, kdy přestala býti Palestýna zaslíbenou zemí Židů a stala se hledanou a stále rostoucí oblibě se těšící zaslíbenou zemí touristů všech možných národností, rostou arci touristické potřeby, jako jsou hotely, stany, pensiony, dragomani atd. vždy houšť a houšť. Palestýna jest tedy v módě, cestování sem pozbylo valně nebezpečí a přece vyrůstá každému, kdo může říci: 'Byl jsem v Zemi svaté, byl jsem v Jeruzalémě', ihned slabounká, ale mnoho platící gloriola kolem skrání. Také tvářnost cestovatelů se za těch posledních 20 let značně změnila. Dříve to byli samí poutníci na místa posvátná, málo kdy touristé a člověkem vzácným býval badatel nebo cestopisec".

Klement seeks to emphasise that such travellers combine three defining characteristics: they are at once pilgrims, tourists, and amateur writers whose primary aim is to publish and profit from their travelogues. Incidentally, Josef Jan Svátek fits this category rather well. Although his Palestinian travelogue presents him as a devout pilgrim motivated by sincere Christian faith, the near-total absence of religious themes in many of his other travelogues gives us good reason to doubt the true religious motivations behind his journey to Palestine.

From this and many other references in his text, it is clear that Klement aspires to be seen as a travel writer of the 'old days'. As noted earlier, Svátek compared European and Oriental technologies, mocked Palestinian railway transport, and so forth. Klement, however, takes a different stance: in his view, trains, automobiles, and similar advances are actively eroding the distinctive character of the Orient. Tourists, too, are complicit in this destruction. In Klement's eyes, they fail to respect the uniqueness of the Orient, imposing European standards upon it and condemning anything that does not conform to those European criteria as barbaric, obscurantist, or backward.

At the same time, it is evident that Klement, too, instrumentalises the Orient – albeit in a distinct and relatively unique manner. In true Romantic fashion, he seeks in the Orient a pristine landscape, a silent witness to a glorious past – whether biblical or, in other contexts, ancient Egyptian, Carthaginian, or Roman. Many travellers before and after him have pursued the same vision, though more often in the Americas than in the Orient[9]. Like other travellers and pilgrims, he ultimately faces disappointment, as the paradise he expects fails to materialise. Yet, for his time, he was exceptional in at least one respect: unlike most of his contemporaries, he did not attribute Jerusalem's decline to its Muslim rulers or inhabitants but instead blamed European interventions.

At first glance, Svátek appears to embody everything Klement detests – a quintessential tourist who rushes from monument to monument, guidebook in hand, theatrically admiring the genius of his ancestors or, with equal theatricality, lamenting the demise of the 'good old days'. According to Klement, the means of transport he uses erode the distinctive character of the Orient. A striking example of this contrast is reflected in their descriptions of Egypt. In his travelogue, Svátek marvels at the mummies in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, while Klement, by comparison, recounts his personal experience of the discovery and subsequent identification of Pharaoh Ramses' mummy with palpable bitterness:

> My hope of one day meeting King Ramses was fulfilled during the examination that sought to prove the identity of his mummy, and I assure you, the event left upon me the deepest – and at the same time, the most unsettling – impression. […]

[9] Cf. Hall, 1992.

> The museum director unwrapped the once most illustrious king of the Egyptian Empire […] down to his bare remains, in the hope that the scrolls and documents placed within his wrappings would provide irrefutable proof that this was indeed the mighty Pharaoh Ramses. Tell me – do you not find such an act dreadful? […]
> There goes the glory, there goes the godlike majesty of a monarch, stripped naked before a throng of inquisitive onlookers, who see in him nothing more than a museum specimen of exceptional rarity and value[10].

Klement clearly respected and, to some extent, understood the character and mentality of the Orient. Yet he was born in the wrong era – or rather, he was not fortunate enough to encounter true adventure, as I previously noted. Danger eluded him, and so he never became the fictional Kara ben Nemsí, nor the real Alois Musil or Lawrence of Arabia.

Despite the stark differences in language, tone, and strategies of representing the Orient, an intriguing paradox emerges: Klement's and Svátek's books are, in essence, identical. Ultimately, they resemble little more than Baedekers. Both travellers lead us from one monument to the next, meticulously describing their architecture and history. As a true tourist, Svátek is eager to explore – but only under safe conditions. He pays for expensive accommodation, hires armed guides, and relies on secure train journeys. Klement, in contrast, styles himself as a true adventurer, scorning all such trappings of civilisation. Yet the outcome for him is no different. He finds no true adventure, and his texts, in the end, amount to little more than a travel guide, punctuated by occasional remarks on the appearance and dress of the locals, along with a handful of amusing anecdotes or sarcastic asides.

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[10] Klement, 1909: 148-149. Translation DJ. "Naděje má, že se jednou – tak nebo onak – s králem Ramsesem II. setkám, splnila se při provádění důkazu totožnosti jeho mumie a ubezpečuji, že na mne výkon tohoto důkazu učinil dojem nejhlubší a zároveň nejtrapnější. […] Rozbalován (byl) někdejší nejslavnější král egyptské říše […] až do naha, aby z popsaných závitků a přiložených papírů nezvratný důkaz osobnosti tohoto mocnáře byl proveden. Nezdá se vám takovéto počínání hrozné? […] Ta tam jest sláva, ten tam jest bohorovný majestát mocnáře do naha svlečeného před zástupem zvědavců, kteří v něm spatřují pouze museální předmět nevšední zajímavosti a drahocennosti".

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Beyond serving as a crucial crossroads between Western and Eastern cultures, the Mediterranean simultaneously connects and divides the trajectories and histories of the three continents that border it. Over the centuries, innumerable narratives and events have intersected within this geographical and symbolic space, where literary accounts have preserved, reimagined, and transmitted these experiences. This volume focuses on travel writings produced between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries by authors from Central Europe.

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