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Contents

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the experience of time by three nineteenth-century German travellers in Africa, Heinrich Barth, Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustav Nachtigal; on their use of time to structure their travel narratives; and their use of temporal concepts to distinguish themselves from the 'primitive' Africans. The thesis argues that the role of the temporal mind-set during encounters between Germans and Africans is dialectic and subversive. Far from blindly imposing their conceptions on what they encountered, the Germans found their familiar concepts in varying degrees unsettled and even undermined by their encounter with alterity.

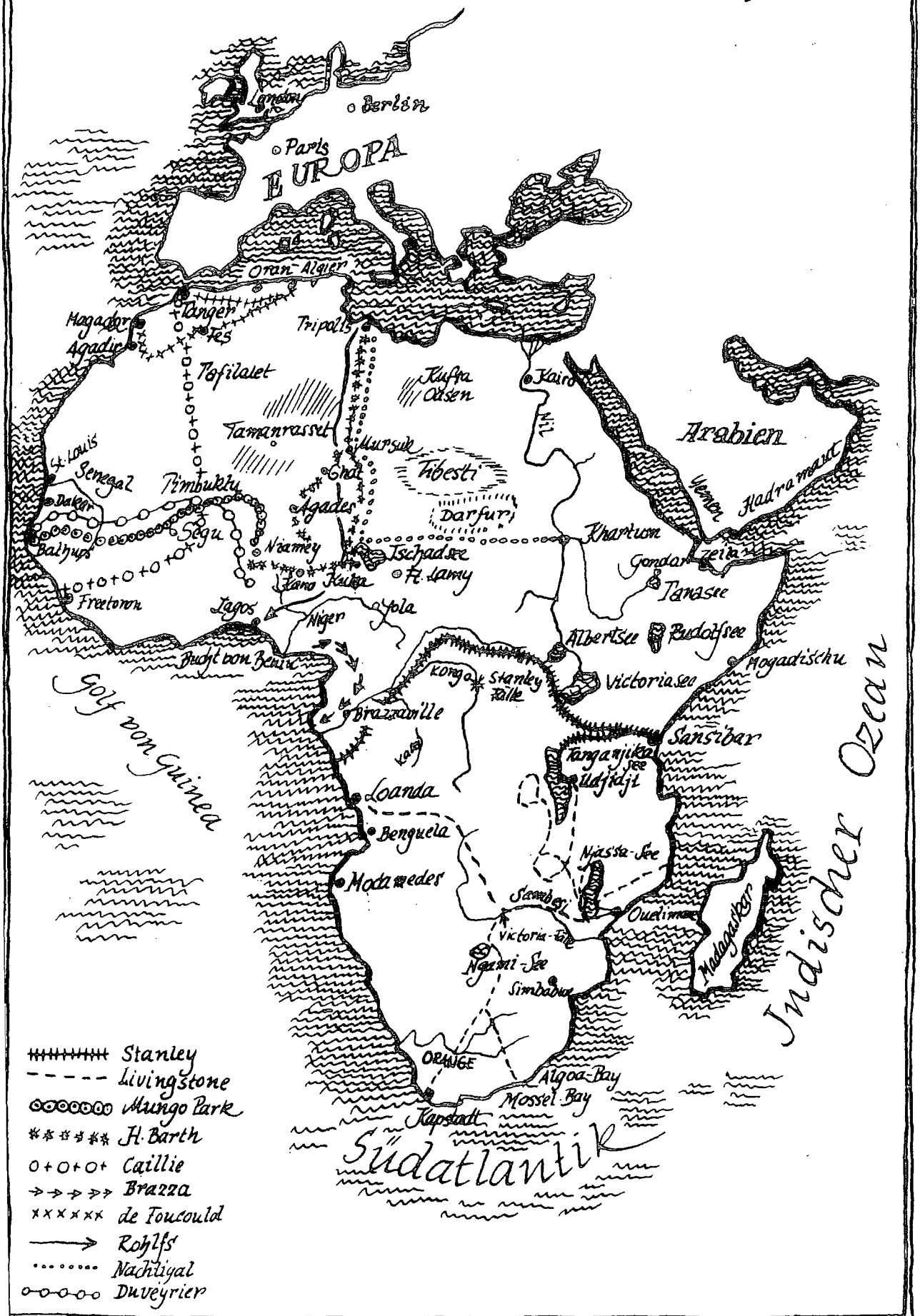
The opening chapter outlines the temporal mind-set with which the explorers pre-supposed: an experience of time as both linear and homogeneous, chiefly constituted by scientific progress, industrialisation and the expansion of the railway; and a conception of linear-progressive historical time influenced by Hegelian historicism.

The second chapter looks at time in its narrating function, investigating macro and micro narrative patterns in the travel narratives. An analysis of the relationship between *Erzählzeit* and *erzählte Zeit* demonstrates the notation of time and date as an expression of control over the experience of alterity.

The discussion then moves from time to space in the third chapter, demonstrating the slow erosion of the explorers' mind-sets by their experience of African climate and terrain. The fourth chapter discusses the role of the occidental temporal mind-set during cultural encounters and how, if at all, it is employed as a means of asserting cultural superiority.

The thesis concludes that the explorers Barth and Rohlfs employ the time-set as a means of understanding new experiences. Nachtigal in contrast, willingly collapses western notions of time and history to create a totality of experience. He alone welcomes the dissolution of the occidental subject as a discovery of primal authenticity. However, all three explorers find that they cannot but inscribe the experience of non-Western time-sets in their narratives. Thus the imposition of historicist, linear time is unsuccessful. It is argued that this is the result of a particularly German interest in alternative regions of human experience other than the aggressively imperialist reduction of otherness. For the explorers remained open, in varying degrees, to dialectical exchange.

DIE ERFORSCHUNG AFRIKAS (18. und 19. Jahrh.)



Chapter One: The Temporal Mind-Set in Nineteenth-Century Europe

Introduction

> Jetzt wäre es reine Zeitverschwendung gewesen, noch länger in Rhadames zu bleiben, denn bis zur Wiederankunft Si-Othmans aus Algier mußten im besten Fall mehrere Monate verstreichen. Derselbe hatte mir gegenüber also nach unseren Begriffen sein Wort gebrochen; er selbst freilich, der wie alle seine Landsleute vom Wert der Zeit sich keine Vorstellung machen kann, mochte die Sache leichter nehmen.[1]

This study will examine one strand of the many possible experiences of cultural otherness: time. My thesis will argue that the role of the temporal mind-set in the experience of alterity is dialectic and subversive. As we shall see in what follows, the nineteenth-century temporal mind-set prevalent in the sphere of western European cultural influence was chiefly constituted by scientific progress and the processes of industrialisation. The following discussion will demonstrate that the registration of the passage of time became increasingly scientific and mathematically defined, i.e. by numerical quantities. Further specific features of this mind-set were a belief in its authority and the necessity of its universal application, which as a result positively encouraged its un-selfcritical imposition into areas of cultural difference. As a characteristic of cultural affiliation, of *Heimat* and self-identification, time so defined, became an exclusionary device in African exploration. As the above quote demonstrates, those adhering to alternate models of temporal consciousness, were portrayed as intellectually inferior. However, we will see that the exploration of Africa by German *Afrikareisende* did not simply reinforce the western European, a priori self-image. Rather, the encounters with otherness reveal surprising, unintended and thus dialectic, reverse influence of the African on the German, by disclosing the cognitive limits of the nineteenth-century, occidental-German mind-set.

[1] Gerhard Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika 1865-1867*, [2 vols, 1874-75] ed. by Herbert Gussenbauer (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1994), p. 81.

The works of three nineteenth-century German explorers, referred to as *Afrikareisende* by their contemporaries, will form the core primary material of analysis. The explorers reflect Germany's position in nineteenth-century Europe. Germany was marginalised in the process of colonial expansion and desperately trying to catch up with its imperial neighbours, hoping to gain a foothold in the scramble for Africa and elsewhere. The first *Afrikareisende* were merely observers of expeditions financed by other European nations as fact-finding missions within and around their colonies. As 'others' themselves on these expeditions, the collective stamp of self-identification became one of 'scientific discovery'. As we shall see, time featured heavily as an instrument of would-be science, ordering and structuring experiences of alterity and providing a fund of temporal imagery for critical analysis.

The relevance of these works to the long tradition of travel writing has been largely neglected due to their misconceived classification as scientific reports devoid of literary substance. The works are in fact a hybrid mélange of scientific data, descriptive geography and adventure novel. The difficulty in confining them to a single category is one of their most interesting features.

I. *Research*

The thematic prevalence of temporal consciousness in contemporary, fictional accounts of exploration such as Christoph Ransmayr's *Die Schrecken des Eises und der Finsternis*[2] and Sten Nadolny's *Die Entdeckung der Langsamkeit*[3] prompted my initial interest into the comparative treatment of similar themes in earlier, non-fictional German travel writing. Ransmayr's novel focuses on the fate of the Austro-Hungarian expedition to the North Pole between 1872 and 1874. The factual material is combined with the fictional story of a young Italian, who, becoming obsessed with the expedition's legacy, sets off to the Arctic a century later to re-trace the expedition's course. The novel highlights a growing consciousness of time as subjective duration, when isolated from one's native culture. Nadolny similarly combines biographical fact with a fictional investigation of temporal consciousness,

[2] Christoph Ransmayr, *Die Schrecken des Eises und der Finsternis* (Frankfurt Main: Fischer, 1987)
[3] Sten Nadolny, *Die Entdeckung der Langsamkeit* (Munich: Piper, 1987)

centred on the experiences of the mariner and North Pole explorer John Franklin,1786-1847. He examines the romantic yearning for slowness as the defining rhythm of human existence, in resistance to the dynamic of speed, introduced by Enlightenment thought – a pioneering critique.

Beginning with such pivotal works as Georg Forster's *Entdeckungsreise nach Tahiti und in die Südsee*[4] and Alexander von Humboldt's *Amerikanische Reise*,[5] my search for a more intense period of German travel writing led to the discovery of a collection of works concerning the German exploration of Africa from the mid-nineteenth to the early-twentieth century. As mentioned above, the lack of scholarly interest in the travel narratives presented a disproportionate amount of primary to secondary literature, a trend which merited further investigation in a field otherwise so well-documented.

Critical works such as James Clifford and George E. Marcus's *Writing Culture*[6] Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*[7] and Urs Bitterli's *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten"*[8] provide insight into the qualitative portrayal of the image of 'the other'. The characteristic cultural asymmetry in the history of travel writing and cross-cultural encounter is emphasised in these criticisms. Susanne Zantop's *Colonial Fantasies*[9] presents an example of undialectical "Orientalism" present in contemporary discourse, which is given a distinctly temporal reference in Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other.*[10] Fabian addresses the aspect of temporal experience in anthropological studies, investigating nineteenth-century portrayals of cross-

[4] Georg Forster, *Entdeckungsreise nach Tahiti und in die Südsee1772-1775*, ed. by Hermann Homann, (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1995). The first edition appeared in English under the title: Georg Forster, *A Voyage to the South Pole and round the World* (London: [n.p.], 1777). The German edition appeared the following year.

[5] Alexander von Humboldt, *Amerikanische Reise 1799-1804* (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1985) The first published version appeared in the *Relation Historique*, 3 vols (Paris: [n.p.] 1814,1815,and 1825). A German-language edition was published at a later date under the title *Alexander von Humboldt's Reise in die Äequinoctial-Gegenden des neuen Continents*, ed. by Hermann Hauff, 4 vols (Stuttgart: J.F.Cotta, 1859 and 1860).

[6] James Clifford and George Marcus, eds, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeleyand Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986)

[7] Mary-Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992)

[8] Urs Bitterli, *"Die Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten": Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (Munich: Beck, 1991)

[9] Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family and Nation in Precolonial Germany 1770-1870* (Durham, N.C : Duke University Press, 1997)

[10] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York:Columbia University Press, 1983), pp.37-69.

cultural encounter as forerunners of a trend he refers to as the 'denial of coevalness'.(Fabian, p.25) This narrowly-"Orientalist" interpretation pertains to a systematic classification of foreign cultures, whereby the level of cultural development is equated with a comparable era of western European history. As this development runs on a linear, historicist scale, the other culture is denied equality of cultural value and thus distanced: temporally. Fabian argues that the possibility of positive cross-cultural communication is thus negated. The Other can thus be treated optimally as a – reified – object of study. Russell Berman's *Enlightenment or Empire*,[11] which has proved to be the most influential to this study, provides a contrasting theory.

Taking up Horkheimer and Adorno's concept of the Enlightenment as a dialectical process,[12] Berman suggests the possibility of isolating an emancipatory component in Enlightenment thought, which is separate from the subsequent European history of expansion which fuels the knowledge-power discourse.[13] As Berman points out, Edward Said's use of the term 'occidental' is as generalising as the projected image of the Orient he is criticising, as Said equates British imperial norms with European opinion.[14] Opposed to this generalisation of Europe as one colonial force, with a shared, homogeneous ideology, Berman investigates a specifically German attitude to otherness. In his discussion of Georg Forster, Berman provides evidence of positive cultural exchange in German travel writing, which negates Fabian's theory of unequal communication. The validity of Berman's heterophilia thesis will be tested in the coming discussion of nineteenth-century *Afrikareisende.*

Finally, the choice of primary literature was narrowed down to three travel narratives, the works of Heinrich Barth, Gerhard Rohlfs and Gustav Nachtigal. The curious feature of these narratives, despite their ostensible purpose – to discover the new – is their paradoxical lack of novelty and dependence on received authority. For

[11] Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998)

[12]Max Horkheimer, and T. W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente*, 12th edn (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2000)

[13] Berman defines The Enlightenment as an extended concept, elevating the position of science and reason in cultural life and initiating such wide-reaching impulses as the critique of religion and traditionalism and the spread of scientific norms. With such consequences being recognised as signs of modernity, Berman does not confine his usage of the term Enlightenment to a few decades of the 18th century.

[14] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient,* 1st edn (London: Routldege, 1987)

each *Afrikareisender* in fact recycled and represented the knowledge gained by his predecessors to create a generation of coherent, authoritative macrotext. The narratives of Barth, Rohlfs and Nachtigal are thus exemplary works as they epitomise the informational strategy characteristic of *Afrikareisende* exploration: all three expeditions covered the same area over different periods. Heinrich Barth, one of the first *Afrikareisende*, undertook his expedition from 1849-1855. Due to his previous experience he was also a close advisor of Gerhard Rohlfs's journey which took place from 1865-1867. On returning from his expedition, Rohlfs was assigned the task of bearing gifts to the Sultan of Bornu, a duty which he however promptly passed on to Gustav Nachtigal, a German physician then residing in Tunis. Nachtigal commenced his journey in 1869 and over a period of five years travelled through the Sahara and Sudan. Not only did the three explorers stand in direct contact with each other, but each was accompanied on his expedition by the same companion, Mohammed Gatroni, a North African. Examination of this corpus of material on a common theme thus offers a good opportunity to uncover the formal, representational strategy in each case, and to draw conclusions from any differences which emerge.

II. *Methodology*

In order to confirm and outline the existence of a nineteenth-century temporal mind-set, this introductory chapter will clarify firstly categories of interpretation, before moving on to examine influences prevalent at that period which modified existing temporal norms. This will involve discussion of the effects of Enlightenment thought coupled with the processes of industrialisation, which revolutionised European society at the time the primary literature was being written. The reception of these trends in German discourse being the most relevant aspect of this analysis, fundamental thinkers such as Hegel will play a key role in the discussion, which will move chronologically throughout the century. This will illustrate the changing attitude to temporal consciousness during the era.

As we shall see, the concept of time the German explorers associate with their occidental culture is distinctly mathematical and quantifiable. This thesis will argue

therefore, that the time-set can be understood geometrically as linear, moving from a primitive beginning to a more sophisticated end. On the basis of this temporal consciousness, the explorers have pre-formed conceptions of alternative ways of structuring time. They think of African-Muslim time as a purely sacred concept. It is therefore characterised by repetitive, sacralised celebration. Thus it can be understood geometrically as cyclical. African-time is similarly referenced to ritual, or natural occurrence such as changing seasons and lunar eclipses. This temporal consciousness is barely acknowledged as such by the explorers, as it is for them rooted in the most primitive of concepts. As both forms of temporal consciousness are cyclical, they intrinsically negate the possibility of linear-cumulative historical progress propagated by the occidental time-set. Consequently, this thesis will argue that the pre-conceived categories of temporal consciousness fuel the sense of superiority with which the German explorer meets Africa. The German mind in this key temporal respect is thus closed to the experience of otherness.

However, these encounters also, as we shall see, expose unprecedented flaws in the occidental temporal mind-set, which thus subvert its apparently universal authority. Without these conceptual constraints, the explorers portray a qualitatively 'new' image of alterity, contrary to their knowledge-power discourse.

This will be argued in the following chapters, which are representative of the way in which the assumed superiority of the occidental-German time-set is slowly eroded. Chapter Two treats the narration of otherness, Chapter Three examines the influence of nature, landscape and climate on the temporal mind-set and Chapter Four focuses on the experience of the human other.

Chapter Two will move from the conceptual foundations of the introductory chapter to literary dimensions analysis. The generic distinctions of the primary texts will be discussed, thus highlighting their mixed style and relevance to the nature of exploration associated with the *Afrikareisende*. The use of time as a controlling device with which to structure and order events in the narratives will be the main focus of discussion.

Chapter Three will link to the previous generic discussion of the travel narratives as a hybrid construction of scientific reporting and personal experience, by investigating the symbolism of scenes of confrontation with foreign terrain as reflections of inner, subjective experience. As we shall see, the linear, empirical measurement of time, which structures the explorers' passage becomes increasingly irrelevant. Thus the intended dynamic traversal of African terrain, aided by scientific instruments, is subverted by the surroundings. This signifies a further loss of control.

After discussing spatial alterity, the study moves from objects to humans, culminating in the depiction of 'the other' through categories of temporal consciousness. The chapter focuses on situations of cultural confrontation through varying levels of mediation; firstly the relationship between the explorers and their indigenous entourage, secondly to local potentates and thirdly to direct, unmediated contact with indigenous Africans. The self-image of the *Afrikareisende* will be most strongly contoured during such situations of personal cross-cultural encounter, which test most severely the validity and strength of their preconceptions.

III. *Concepts*

> What, then, is time? If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks me, I do not know.[15]

The following sections will explain the inventory of analytical tools to be employed in this dissertation. In addition, the major theorists and concepts bearing upon the narratives will be discussed.

The concept of time and the problem of its definition have raised questions for centuries. This dissertation offers no ontological analysis of time as a philosophical problem. The concept of time discussed in this study can, rather be categorised as a form of temporal consciousness, which refers to the mode or texture of ordinary experience, particularly the experience of duration. It is thus restricted to just one form of time in general, which, and in order to facilitate the discussion of a

[15] Saint Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions* trans. by H. Chadwick, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.167.

specifically nineteenth- century temporal mind-set, can be further subdivided into 'public' and 'private' time. Public time refers to collective temporal consciousness, involving the general consensus on time-keeping, i.e. the empirical measurement of passing time and the value of time which varies from culture to culture. Private time by contrast is highly subjective, entailing the individual experience of duration. The notion of public time which prevailed in nineteenth-century Europe as we shall see, can be classed as commodified time. The factors which contributed to its establishment as a social norm will be highlighted in the following sections. These are the factors determining the time-set of which the *Afrikareisende* were representatives.

III.i. *Christianity and Time in Western Culture*

It is impossible to discuss the role of time as defined in western culture without reference to Christianity, Christian teaching being the most significant factor determining man's relationship to time in pre-Enlightenment European society. [16] The processes of modernisation in the post-Enlightenment cultural sphere acted as a catalyst in modifying the traditional Christian understanding of time. Enlightenment secularisation rather than abolishing Christian time, paradoxically strengthened its basic notion of linearity and progress.[17] Thus Christianity, nevertheless, remained influential to European temporal consciousness. As we shall see, the preconceived image of a 'temporal other' coinciding with religious beliefs is evident during encounters between the Christian *Afrikareisende* and indigenous Muslim Africans.

The explorers display in particular a strikingly goal-orientated sense of the passage of time which has its roots in Christian teaching. As we know, the Bible closely links history and time, the provisionality of earthly time being the defining characteristic of Christian history. The relationship between both concepts centres around Christ who, in the history which He fulfils and inaugurates at one and the same time, appears at one particular, predestined moment as the fullness of time *and* at the end. The *Stunde Null* occurs in accordance with a plan that God has laid down

[16] For the purposes of definition, western culture refers to those areas in the sphere of western European cultural influence, including the United States.
[17] Hans Maier, *Die christliche Zeitrechnung*, 5th edn (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1991), pp.42-43.

in advance to be put into effect at the appropriate time. Christ is therefore first and last, both in relation to man and in relation to things. He is the end-point and simultaneously the goal of history. History and time itself have both a beginning and an end, which will be the end of the world and will constitute the culminating point of all past history. In the beginning time was set in motion and has been moving forwards irresistibly ever since as a continuous succession of moments occurring on a linear scale. The full manifestation of time is yet to come, as the past appears as a possibility for the future. The future contains the possibility of redemption from past sins, endowing time with the utmost potential as a liberating and progressive force.[18]

Goal-orientated, linear time gives events their historical significance and structure, hinging the course of human history to the birth of Christ. Time is tightly linked by the reference points of beginning, middle and end, which draw it into line and inscribe the course of history in a restricted plane. There is no possibility for repetition as all time is ultimately and irrevocably controlled by the judgement of God, creating an irreversible historical continuum.

Time in Christianity, although dominated by linearity, is not however freed from cyclical conception. In the context of the creation and the end of the world, man and the world ultimately return back to the Creator and time to eternity. The Christian perception of time thus never fully overcame the cyclical attitude to the passage of time in pagan Europe. Instead, ritual celebrations consciously and unconsciously combining events in the life of Christ with pagan celebrations structured people's lives within the community, reinforcing the presence of Christ at regular natural-cyclical intervals. The *Afrikareisende*, we shall see, structure their lives through just such ritual celebrations and so reinforce the presence of their culturally specific Christian-western norms at regular intervals in Africa. As we shall see, a notion of time adhering to purely natural, cyclical concepts with no understanding of eternity is associated by them with 'primitive', idolatrous religions or cults. Africa thus presents a site of such extreme cultural difference whilst also containing a potential for subversive identification.

[18] See Germano Pàttaro, 'The Christian Conception of Time', in *Cultures and Time* (Paris: Unesco, 1976), pp. 169-197.

As we shall see in Chapter Three, the Christian tradition of reading meaning into historical time through the resemblance of one event to another across past empirical data, is transposed onto the image of Africa. Barth, particularly, associates images of rushing waters with The Flood, whilst the discovery of the Niger becomes a reference to the redemptive waters of the Jordan. As we shall witness in the analyses of these scenes, Barth thus projects historical meaning into his exploration of Africa.

In the following section we shall witness a further major factor which contributed to the nineteenth-century temporal mind-set: Industrialisation.

III.ii. *The Commodification of Time: Industrialisation and the Nineteenth-Century Mind-Set*

The mode of temporal consciousness which regulates actions within a specific society, thus influencing cultural norms, can, as we have argued, be defined as public, or collective time. In the throes of the revolutionary processes of capitalistic industrialisation, increasing mechanisation and the use of technology shaped the general perception of time in nineteenth-century Western Europe. This development, here described as the commodification of time, can be traced back to the greatest manifestation of industrial technology: the railway. Wolfgang Schivelbusch describes the consequences of rail travel as "die Vernichtung von Raum und Zeit", separating the traveller from the terrain traversed.[19] The mechanisation of transport altered the qualitative perception of duration whilst travelling. The gradual changes in landscape which differentiated stages of the journey, and which had been previously physically experienced, disappeared, removing all perception of the effort of movement. Previously, nature subjected the mode of transport to exhaustion. With the introduction of the railway, nature became subjected to mechanisation. The shape of the landscape was altered to provide linear tracks, ensuring the quickest routes between two points. Travel was characterised by origin and destination, eliminating the places in between. Schivelbusch illustrates the dialectical process which ensued

[19] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Geschichte der Eisenbahnreise: Zur Industrialisierung von Raum und Zeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2000), p.16.

as space was at once apparently enlarged by enabling greater distances to be covered, yet simultaneously reduced by shortening the time taken to traverse it.[20]

The wider-reaching effects on the socio-cultural perception of time initiated by modern technology were extensive. The initial experience of disorientation resulting from the altered mode of perception, gave way to the acceptance of regular, mechanical movement as the 'new nature'.[21] Pre-industrial modes of transport became synonymous with chaos due to their unreliability and therefore irregularity. Abstract co-ordinates rather than real landscape determined geography.

Mechanisation, demanding frictionless interaction of its individual parts, required the same of its controlling structure. The expansion of the railway necessitated the introduction of standardised time. Railway companies, and not governments, were the first to instate standard time to improve their inefficient time-tabling resulting from localised time-zones. As railways extended over national boundaries, the process repeated itself on a larger scale. The introduction of standard time at the end of the nineteenth century regulated time zones to enable more efficient movement and communication over longer distances. A conference in 1884, with representatives from twenty five countries proposed to establish Greenwich as the zero meridian, determined the exact length of the day, divided the earth into twenty-four time zones each one hour apart and fixed a precise beginning of the universal day. The world however was slow to adopt this system. German lobbyists in 1891 argued the impediment to military co-ordination due to the five existing time zones in Germany alone.

The ensuing loss of locality altered the definition of *Heimat*, so fundamental to Germanic consciousness as idiosyncrasies became fewer and applicable to a larger area.[22] The transportation of products over greater distances removed the immediacy of place associated with them, as the cycle of production and consumption no longer remained in one locality. The wider-reaching socio-cultural consequences of this are outlined in Karl Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1884*:

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[20] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, p.37.
[21] Ibid., p.19.
[22] Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: the German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)

> The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he produces. The *devaluation* of the human world grows in direct proportion to the *increases in value* of the world of things. Labour not only produces commodities, it also produces itself and the workers as a *commodity* and it does so in the same proportion in which it produces commodities in general.[23]

To recapitulate, as a tool of industrialisation, the railway with its linearity, dynamism, reliance on speed and adherence to standardised, measurable time, introduced new values which moulded nineteenth-century Western Europe's conception of 'public time'. The pace of life accelerated as the size of measurable units of time decreased and the importance attached to each one increased.

Progress-orientated attitudes, influenced by Enlightenment theory, towards these forces facilitating what is known as modernity, reduced the importance allocated to the 'time of Christ' in European society. With technology as the intermediary force between mankind and nature, offering greater control over natural surroundings, the need for rational, definable processes prevailed. No longer an abstract entity, time became a measurable commodity which could be gained, lost, or wasted. Adam Smith, criticised by Marx for his de-humanisation of the worker, was the first to assert that time is money and that the time-saving division of labour facilitates mass-production.[24] Ostracised from any spiritual meaning, the collective temporal mind-set developed into a concept of pure, empirical time, prioritising an exclusively scientific image of the world. Travel became a product, the traveller a package, cultural difference a waste of precious time.

III.iii. *The Philosopher of History*: *The Hegelian Influence*

Pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory dominated discourse in the early part of the century, influencing theories of human development and particularly historicism. Hegel shared the belief that man is entirely shaped by history and society. Nations,

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[23] Karl Marx, *The Economical and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1884* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959)
[24] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations*, 3 vols ([n.pub], 1789)

social systems and living forms become what they are due to progressive transformations realised in time; thus any present contains 'aufgehoben' traces of all that has gone before. Parallel to the discussion of man's increasing control over his environment and distancing from religion, such theories gave meaning to life in a world which placed greater importance on man's movement in history than on his awaiting eternity.

In accordance with Kant in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, Hegel believes that the influences which shape man, also shape the way in which he perceives the world, through networks of categories and concepts, though Hegel radically criticises Kant's notion of the concept, since it cannot for Kant, know things in themselves.[25] For Hegel the progression of history aided the understanding of concepts present in more advanced cultures, allowing the truth to become ever more transparent: 'Universal history [...] shows the development of the consciousness of Freedom on the part of the Spirit, and the consequent realisation of that Freedom. This development implies a gradation – a series of increasingly adequate expressions or manifestations'.[26] The categories with which man understands his environment change with the progression of time, yet the laws of the natural world remain the same. As the world man perceives is unchanging, the paradigms by which it is interpreted and thus the *Geist* evolve. Mankind is thus greatly responsible for its development. When a stage of full realisation of mankind's self-knowledge of spirit is finally reached, the endpoint of Hegel's historical development is achieved. The society in which Hegel lived had, in his opinion, reached an age of greatest understanding of the 'truth', a process which had been developing throughout history had reached its culmination. Western, or European culture was, in Hegel's opinion, the most advanced with the most sophisticated, authoritative access to the truth. With such conclusions it seems legitimate to interpret Hegelian historicism as highly Eurocentric.

Thus Hegel does not conceive of mere sequences of events as being historical, but rather the conscious changes brought about by man's increasing self-realisation and the achievement of goals set during the course of these developments. Humans make

[25] Stephen Houlgate, *Freedom, Truth and History: An Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 5-7.
[26] G.F.W. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, trans. by H.B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 150.

history, as they are essentially self-determining i.e. historical. Historical change can only be recognised as such when those it affects are conscious of it. History therefore, is co-defined by the self-conscious process of its narration and transcription:

> The periods – whether we suppose them to be centuries or millennia – that were passed by nations before history was written among them – and which may have been filled with revolutions, nomadic wanderings, and the strangest mutations, – are on that very account destitute of *objective* history, because they present no subjective history, no annals. [...] Only in a State cognisant of laws, can distinct transactions take place, accompanied by such a clear consciousness of them as supplies the ability and suggests the necessity of an enduring record.[27]

This would suggest that cultures with little or no written historical documentation possess no official history of their own. Writing is the only method of recording history in a finite, material form and for the *Afrikareisende*, the only possible method of conveying their exploration of otherness to those in the *Heimat*, making writing at once a main source of cultural affiliation and a marker of that culture's achievement in history.[28] Thus German self-consciousness is reinforced through the structured image of 'the other'.

A further aspect supporting Eurocentric interpretations of Hegelian historicism is the prerequisite of Christianity. Christianity accorded mankind freedom before God, one of Hegel's parameters for historical change. This essential recognition of freedom developed into the institutions of the modern state, thus combining Christian claims to universal human freedom with secular claims such as freedom through universal rights. I.e. cultures lacking such a state have been left behind by history. This is the definition of state which Hegel refers to in the above quote. The combination of Christian and secular beliefs also characterised the altered perception

[27] G.F.W. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, p. 148.
[28] Evidence of Hegelian influence will be particularly relevant to the discussion of cross-cultural encounter in Chapter Three, as the *Afrikareisende* attempt to discover the universal 'truth' represented in 'primitive', symbolic cave markings.

of religion in the Post-Enlightenment era. Cultures which evolved from other religions must therefore, logically, always remain inferior.

Civilisation, according to Hegel, is defined by a specific identity, formed by a common character present in such institutions as religion, judicial systems, customs, ethics and developments in science and technology.[29] As the general nature of civilisations differs, so must the concepts by which societies perceive, as they are the direct products of that civilisation. Hegel does not define the progress of civilisations according to racial criteria, but points out that a civilisation cannot be free unless its people are conscious of themselves as free. Those influenced by Hegelian philosophy may interpret this assertion as a justification to 'free' those other civilisations less self-aware than their own by imposing European cultural norms in the form of expansionism. This would also be reinforced by Hegel's approval of modernity's progressive tendencies and technological innovation as the way forward, apparently legitimising the negation of the relevance of other cultures. Thus Hegel can be linked to the long slow process of cultural colonialism, which defined German imperialist expansionism.

Although Hegel recognised flaws in the European use of freedom at the expense of others, a sense of self-assurance as to the state of European universal superiority resulted from his theories. Hegel defends the cunning of reason, as the major author of progressive, linear-historicist occidental time. These concepts will have formed the preconceived images of 'the other' against which the *Afrikareisende* measured their actual experiences of alterity.

However, great historicist systems such as Hegel's seemed to have made their case too well. By demonstrating how the past affected the future to such an extent, the future seemed smothered and pre-determined by a reified past. As we shall see in what follows, the burden of history in nineteenth-century Germany became too great, triggering reactionary discourse which elevated the status of subjective temporal consciousness and individual influence.

[29] Hegel defines the common identity of civilisations in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, p. 138.

III.iv. *Subjective Temporal Consciousness*

In contrast to the quantifiable, standard nature of 'public time', there also, as we argue, exists a form of temporal consciousness which is individually exclusive. This is subjective, or 'private time' and evolves around the personal apprehension of the passage of time, affecting the ordinary experience of duration. Although exclusive to every individual, subjective temporal consciousness is inherently linked to social-cultural factors. It is however a time as flexible as that of dreams; it is reversible and fluid. Freud's later investigation into the unconscious time of dreams reveals the non-existence of a theoretical framework with which to structure these experiences.[30] Rational laws do not apply to subjective experiences of the passage of time.

Extensive discussion of 'private' time came to the fore at the end of the nineteenth century as a reaction to the introduction of standardised, measurable time and the ensuing temporalisation of daily life discussed above. The concept of public time, widely accepted as a proper marker of duration and succession, was seen by others as a falsification of the truth. Europe had developed a temporal ethnocentrism, equating its temporal norms with civilisatory advancement. Linear, quantifiable time became directly linked to progress as it reflected positive scientific development and therefore an improved standard of living.

The height of belief in technology and progress was also the starting point of conflicting views, expressed by those who were opposed to the idea of a rigid homogeneous time. As we shall see in the subsequent section, Bergson's philosophical exploration of private time challenged such overbearing tendencies inherent in public time, in an attempt to break free from the domination of world time. He continued the tradition of temporal epiphany, which extends from early Novalis to Walter Benjamin. This also challenges the attitude towards historicism and the glorification of the past, by suggesting the need to examine the personal past of the individual and its effect on the present. Parallel to private time, the personal past is private and varies from individual to individual, in contrast to the historical past which is collective and more homogeneous.

[30] Sigmund Freud, *Die Traumdeutung* (1900), 10th edn (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991)

III.v. *Henri Bergson*

The overbearing prioritisation of 'commodified time' which dominated the temporal mind-set in nineteenth-century Europe also sowed the seeds of opposition. This section will illustrate Henri Bergson's radical challenge to this prevalent discourse. His philosophy is interesting to our case, as his first work, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*,[31] introduces a criticism of nineteenth-century society, which Bergson connects to its concept of time. As John Mullarkey points out in his criticism of Bergson, many of the issues raised in this first work are altered and modified to such a degree in Bergson's later publications, that they conflict with earlier opinions. For example, the dualism with which the psychological experience of time is apparently differentiated from external spatiality in *Time and Free Will* becomes one level of an ontology of duration in Bergson's later philosophy.[32] However, the point in time at which this first work appears – shortly after the publication of our last travel narrative, provides concrete theoretical evidence of the fragility of the occidental consensus on time. My thesis argues that the move to Africa exposes the fragility of these norms. Thus the whole edifice on which they are formed begins to crumble in the narratives of the explorers.

Bergson was a proponent of heterogeneous time. He introduces the concept of duration as a non-systematic, heterogeneous, inner, psychological experience, which is however *also* real time. This stands in contrast to the consistent and uniform, external experience of time, which is influenced by the understanding of space outside and surrounding us. According to Bergson, it is this external phenomenon by which we define ourselves and which, due to its unchanging, uncreative nature, enables us to comprehend the interaction of bodies as a tight chain of causality.

Duration, according to Bergson is thus commonly confused with what he refers to as extension. This is the empirical division of space, which Bergson defines as a mere rearrangement of the pre-existing. Nineteenth-century conceptuality, so Bergson claims, classifies the mental states of the consciousness in the same way as

[31] Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness*, trans. by F.L. Pogson (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1910)
[32] John Mullarkey, *Bergson and Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1999), p.5.

the placement of objects in space; in quantifiable, separate states. In short, applying spatial categories to the phenomena of consciousness, which does not exist in space, diminishes its qualitative dimensions. Duration is reduced to mere extension.

Bergson is interesting to our case, as he defies the conception of 'clock time' as an accurate representation of duration. This spatialisation of time stands in direct contradiction to his alternative concept of time as a flux, or stream of consciousness, which negates the existence of a pure, absolute present. The hand of a clock, for example, only represents one moment with one position, at any given time. The human intellect divides the continuous flow of consciousness as into states, which correspond to a position of the hand of the clock. Thus the state of mind appears to be simultaneous with a point in time. Pure duration, however, cannot be seen as a series of discrete states. Instead it is a flow of qualitative transformations, which cannot be mathematically defined. The clock thus reduces the autonomous nature of time as a dimension in itself.[33] Bergson, however, defines the consciousness of duration as the fourth dimension of existence.[34] As we shall see in Chapter Three, this dimension appears as 'dream time', the time of subconscious, instinctual, mental processes, which disregard logic, space and time to become a unified, epiphanic experience.

However, as we have seen, in nineteenth-century society, instinct was synonymous with 'pre-modern' culture, which displayed irrational and unscientific principles. The intellect, which juxtaposes mental states into discrete, separate elements, the basis of Bergson's idea of homogeneous space, is influenced by the pressure of convention. This is due to the following features:

> The intuition of a homogeneous space is already a step towards social life [...] Our tendency to form a clear picture of this externality of things and the homogeneity of their medium is the same as the impulse which leads us to live in common and to speak.[35]

[33] As we shall see in Chapter Four, the clock becomes a paradoxical symbol of the occidental-German time-set. Rather than controlling time, time seems to control the explorers.
[34] A.E. Pilkington, *Bergson and his Influence* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.3.
[35] Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, p. 138.

The drive to form communities, which uphold our understanding of self, is, according to Bergson, also an inherent need for assimilation. Thus the creation of homogeneous space is based on a sociological phenomenon which desires to make everything the same. This desire is a result of, and is specific to, the mechanised nature of nineteenth-century society. The reduction of heterogeneity, as evident in the above quote, also refers to language as a product of society. This shared means of communication, so Bergson, concentrates on expressing the collective mode of experience, so as to be understood by all. Consequently, the importance of purely individual experience is diminished. Thus Bergson suggests that his society's prioritisation of homogeneous space as time seems to result from an inherent aversion to difference, a 'reaction against that heterogeneity which is the very ground of our experience'(Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, p. 97).

Consequently, and most relevant to our investigation, in other societies with alternative social structures 'space is not so homogeneous [...]. Determinations of space, or directions, do not assume [...] a purely geometrical form.' (Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, p. 96). This, according to Bergson is a positive aspect of these societies, as it is conducive to the individual experience of consciousness, which is duration. Thus Bergson presents a critical view of his society which promotes alternative forms of knowledge. He therefore stands in direct contrast to the Hegelian promotion of western European, occidental culture, which we witnessed above.

This desire for homogeneity is a deep-structural process, which similarly suggests a dislike, or even fear of heterogeneity. This could be translated into a fear of difference, which would thus be the driving force behind the wish to assimilate. Therefore, the social part of the subconscious, which according to Bergson, produces the conception of time as modelled on spatial categories, also promotes a fear of otherness. As we shall see, our explorers do perceive Africa as a threat to occidental culture, in spite of its apparent superiority. Thus the narratives reflect situations which support Bergson's criticism of the nineteenth-century occidental time-set. The threat seems to be well-founded, as in the following chapters, we shall witness that it is the time of African culture, which not only facilitates the individual experience of duration in its own subjects, but ultimately has the power to subvert the homogeneity of the occidental time-set.

Introduction

If the image of alterity portrayed by the *Afrikareisende* is affected by a temporal mind-set, then its presentation in narrative form will be structured by a narrative framework conducive to this mind-set. The narrative structure is a vehicle which links form and content, facilitating the communication of ideas between the author and reader. Franz K. Stanzel describes the narrator-figure in his *Theorie des Erzählens* as the major influence for mediating characteristically the presentation of novelistic content.[1] It will be argued that the ultimate communicative purpose of Heinrich Barth's *Im Sattel durch Nord- und Zentral-Afrika 1849-1855*[2] and Gerhard Rohlfs's *Quer durch Afrika* is paradoxically to convey control over the unknown. Barth intends to further his academic status and consequently the scientific achievements of his culture, Rohlfs his personal status and the supremacy of his culture in general. A temporal mind-set promoting the empirical measurability and thus control of time, is both part of their cultural affiliation and indicator of its assumed universal superiority. To aid the communicative purpose, the mediating structure of the narratives should therefore contain elements demonstrating this temporal control. Gustav Nachtigal's *Sahara und Sudan: Ergebnisse sechsjähriger Reisen in Afrika* will function as an element of contrast, its communicative purpose being the recognition of collective, human understanding, rather than the assertion of cultural duality. The account should therefore evince a differing narrative structure.

This chapter will examine the travel narratives as hybrid, historiographical-cum-literary works. The structure of each narrative will be examined formalistically in order to establish the semantic purpose of literary techniques which affect the presentation and thus the reception of related events. As we shall see, this will emphasise the variations in treatment of the same subject-matter.

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[1] Franz K. Stanzel,, *Theorie des Erzählens*, [1979] 7th edn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2001), p. 24. The relative unreliability of the narrator-figure, which we will discuss later in this chapter, stands in contrast to the more immediate presentation of drama.

[2] Heinrich Barth, *Im Sattel durch Nord- und Zentral-Afrika 1849-1855*, [1857], ed. by Heinrich Schiffers (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 2000)

The chapter is composed of two sections, the first of which includes biographical outlines of the three explorers Barth, Rohlfs and Nachtigal, which reveal the interrelation of the three works and the levels of interest involved in each expedition. This will be followed by an illustration of the specific characteristics defining *Afrikareisende* exploration – paying particular attention to the relevance of its written presentation – before placing the narratives in the long-established tradition of travel writing and exploration. These general points will be supported by textual references from each of the three works, which, as we shall see, will demonstrate the specific effect on their production and reception. The balance of interests and influences present in each narrative will correspond to the communicative purpose, which will be summarised at the end of the analysis. The following section moves to an elaborate analysis of the formal techniques employed to aid this communicative intent. By firstly comparing the narrative macro-structure the similarities in material will become evident. Secondly, the comparison of micro-structural elements of the narrative, such as the relationship between *Erzählzeit* and *erzählte Zeit*,[3] will ultimately provide the differentiating criteria between the portrayal of similar material.

It will in short be argued, that the particular narrative role conducive to the subject-matter reveals a subtextual self-image of each explorer, which corresponds directly to their respective communicative purpose. The communicative purpose also conveys a temporal mind-set which is reflected by the structure of the narrative.

[3]This terminology originates from Günther Müller, *Morphologische Poetik: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen: 1968), pp. 269-286. Müller defines *Erzählzeit*, as the time taken to narrate events. This he measures in pages, thus creating a tendentially spatial phenomenon. *Erzählte* Zeit refers to the straightforward chronology of events in the story, which can be measured in years, months, days, hours etc.

I. *The Travel Narrative and its Authors*

I.i. *The Authors*

Heinrich Barth

Barth undertook his expedition shortly after returning from a *Studienreise* through the Mediterranean and North Africa. Berlin University accepted the account of his findings as a *Habilitation*, giving Barth his first experience of the value of his own contributions to written knowledge. A young, ambitious academic, he represented the archetypal scientific traveller against whom future, potential expedition- candidates were measured. Barth undertook the African expedition in order to gain official recognition as a geographer which would qualify him for an academic post in Berlin. His interests lay therefore in the collation and representation of geographical observations and these ranged from detailed descriptions of climate, vegetation and terrain to lists of meteorological measurements and reports on appearance, customs and idiosyncrasies observed amongst the local inhabitants. His narrative titled *Im Sattel durch Nord-und Zentral-Afrika* suggests a pre-modern experience of travel. This completely opposes the age of railway-travel, which we discussed in the previous chapter as indicative of nineteenth-century industrialisation.

Sponsored by the British government and led by a British academic, Dr. Richardson, it was clear from the outset that trade was however the main motive behind the financial support and that Barth's personal, scholarly interests were of low priority to the rest of the expedition. Germany exercised as yet no political influence as an imperial nation, which severely threatened the status of her scientists.[4] The only opportunity to undertake such expeditions was under the mandate of another nation. Echoing the nature of Forster's earlier voyage with Captain James Cook, Barth and Overweg, the two Germans accompanying the expedition, were also designated passive, ancillary roles under British leadership. Prior to the expedition, Barth had already decided to extend his journey into lesser known areas of inner Africa after reaching the original destination agreed upon by the British. The sudden death of Richardson enabled Barth to assert his priorities earlier than expected as the new

[4] Even in pre-imperial Germany, the status of German scientists was highly regarded. Thus due to the level of knowledge collated by the scientists, their presence on British expeditions was seen as highly advantageous from the financial sponsors' point of view.

expedition leader. His achievements were thus ground-breaking in two senses, firstly proving at last the capabilities of German explorers as leaders of successful expeditions rather than as mere observers; and secondly, his success provided the catalyst which initiated German-led and -funded expeditions from which the *Afrikareisende* developed as a collective.

Gerhard Rohlfs

Rohlfs was by contrast to Barth, a relatively uneducated young man looking for adventure, fame and fortune, but most of all recognition and respect. One could be forgiven for confusing his biographical details with those of a fictional adventurer along the lines of Poe's Arthur Gordon Pym.[5] Running away from home as a teenager he almost succeeded in stowing away on a Dutch ship bound for the Spice Islands, but was discovered and returned home – only to leave school again a year later and join the army. After two years he began studying medicine – three semesters in total at three different universities – before leaving to rejoin the Austrian army. He deserted in 1855 and joined the French Foreign Legion in North Africa where he worked as a pharmacist and medical officer, eventually becoming head of a field hospital. After leaving the Foreign Legion he remained in Morocco and became head physician to the Sultan. Without ever having completed a medical degree, Rohlfs thus demonstrates the power accorded to western science in African culture.

His first expedition was undertaken on behalf of the British government to increase knowledge of trade routes in North-West Africa. Rohlfs undertook the journey with little financial aid and sparse equipment. He was robbed and wounded, shot in the arm, stabbed nine times and left for dead – yet miraculously he survived and returned to Morocco.[6] Newspaper reports of his sensational experiences, fuelled the crude

[5] Poe's fictional character Arthur Gordon Pym, similarly runs away from home as a teenager, to stow-away on board a ship in search of adventure. Unlike Rohlfs, however, his attempt is successful and he remains undiscovered. Edgar Allan Poe, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*, ed. by J. Gerald Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

[6] Rohlfs the 'Saharaforscher' is mentioned in Christoph Ransmayr's *Schrecken des Eises und der Finsternis* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000), p.269. Rohlfs corresponded with the aged Arctic explorer Payer, one of the main figures in Ransmayr's novel, who was intent on comparing the *Eis-* with the *Sandwüste*. Payer should have accompanied Rohlfs on this expedition, Rohlfs however, left without him. This reference did not spark the initial, personal research into *Afrikareisende* narratives,

popular appetite for adventure stories. This expedition thus gained him much admiration from the general public but not from the academic community.[7] Rohlfs needed to undertake a specifically scientific expedition to achieve the respect he evidently longed for which would elevate him to the status of *Afrikareisender*. His record as an adventurer was obviously enough to grant him leadership of an expedition to discover and map a route from Algeria through the Sahara to Timbuktu, taking careful scientific measurements and making detailed observations throughout the journey. The expedition was first proposed by the French government offering a reward of eight thousand francs to the first explorer to complete the journey. Unfortunately only French explorers were eligible to receive the remuneration. Obviously greatly motivated by financial reward, Rohlfs attempted to gain French citizenship. His claim was rejected. The German government, no doubt recognising the potential advantage of being the first to discover a trade route over land between two French colonies, became very enthusiastic about the expedition. August Petermann, editor of the geographical journal *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt* also sponsored the expedition.

The title *Quer durch Afrika* reflects Rohlfs's dynamic personality. In contrast to Barth, Rohlfs composed two versions of his expedition, the first of which aimed solely at the academic community, appeared in two separate supplements of the previously mentioned periodical *Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt*. They received a different, less sensational title and more sober reports, omitting areas of little interest to the specialist reader. *Quer durch Afrika* appeared two years later in book form – doubtless incited by the previously mentioned motive of financial remuneration. Rohlfs did still include his scientific observations as proof that he was an explorer to be taken seriously, this time however combining them with a coherent narrative constructed around his adventures. Rohlfs's travel narrative did provide the means to his acceptance as an *Afrikareisender* by his German peers. Recognition of his achievements and influence under the title of *Afrikaforscher* is not confined to Rohlfs's contemporaries – the Kulturreferat Bremen-Nord, in conjunction with the Zentrum für Afrika-Studien at the Bremen University, held a

yet it demonstrates the extent of the discoverers' network and the continuing nature of the *Afrikareisende* as intertextual references.

[7] Rohlfs failed to produce a written account of the journey until much later. It appeared after the completion of his first academic expedition. Gerhard Rohlfs, *Reise durch Marokko* (Bremen: [n.pub.], 1868)

'Gerhard-Rohlfs-Symposium', on the one-hundredth anniversary of his death, 1st June 1996.[8]

Gustav Nachtigal

Nachtigal was a German physician who came from a modest, conservative background. His father, a vicar, died at the age of thirty-four from lung-disease. Nachtigal's elder brother died at the age of ten from the same illness. Thus plagued by periods of ill-health, Nachtigal decided to leave the Prussian army in 1862 and head for warmer climes. He settled in North Africa and became physician to the Bey in Tunis. Nachtigal acquired a knowledge of Arabic and Muslim customs in the seven years prior to setting out on this, his first expedition. The meticulous notation of his journey appeared in three volumes, the last of which was edited and published posthumously.

Nachtigal's travel narrative is in contrast to *Quer durch Afrika*, much less spectacular in tone, the title *Sahara und Sudan* object-centred, concise and sober. The subtitle *Ergebnisse sechsjähriger Reisen in Afrika* emphasises the importance of results, endowing the expedition with the character of a scientific experiment. Nachtigal however was neither adventurer nor, strictly speaking scientist. He was an established professional with no financial worries, leaving him free to undertake an expedition prioritising his personal, 'amateur' interests. As we shall see, his cognitive interests centred on African cultural anthropology for its own sake. Although the huge incentives and necessity to compose a narrative would therefore seem less important, Nachtigal devoted as much energy to notation and observation as did the other *Reisende*.

[8] Anne Helfensteller, ed., *Gerhard Rohlfs Symposium* (Bonn: PAS, 1998)

I.ii. *The Role of the Afrikareisende and the Network of Interests Structuring their Narrative*

> Und da ist ein Professor, Kathedersozialist, von dem kein Mensch weiß, ob er die Gesellschaft einrenken oder aus den Fugen bringen will, und führt eine Adlige, mit kurz geschnittenem Haar (die natürlich auch schriftstellert), zur Quadrille. Und dann bewegen sich da noch ein Afrikareisender, ein Architekt und ein Portraitmaler, und wenn sie nach den ersten Tänzen eine Pause machen, dann stellen sie ein lebendes Bild, wo ein Wilddieb von einem Edelmann erschossen wird.[9]

Fontane includes the *Afrikareisender* in his portrayal of nineteenth-century bourgeois salon-society, suggesting general recognition of the term and acknowledgement of this as an elect, academic profession. Such widespread familiarity would also suggest some established idea of the requirements necessary to be classed as such. The *Afrikareisender* was foremost an explorer, yet his task did not end when once more setting foot on European soil. Composing a written account of the expedition on return was not only expected, it was a pre-requisite of the undertaking, a type of initiation-ritual as it were, providing the key to recognition as an *Afrikareisender* and thus acceptance into the ranks of established explorers. The journey could be seen as a test of courage and endurance, akin to traditional rites of passage in 'primitive' non-western cultures, paradoxically, the very cultures which the *Afrikareisende* encountered on their expeditions as objects of analysis.[10] The added requirement of coherent narration adapted this long-standing rite to Enlightenment tradition.

The utmost importance was attached to this written verification over oral accounts, not just by academic circles, but also by the popular public sphere, represented by an increasingly educated lay readership. The travel narratives were therefore not a by-

[9] Theodor Fontane, *Werke*, 10 vols (Frankfurt Main: Fischer, 1975), VII, p. 1166. Cited by C. Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985), p. 45.

[10] Bruce Chatwin refers to such a tradition – the Aboriginal Australian 'walkabout' in *The Songlines* (New York: Penguin, 1987) Of course this is not an example of African culture, yet it would be classified as 'primitive' under the same reductive terms used by the *Afrikareisende* to describe native African culture.

product of the expeditions, but the main objective, officially expressing the establishment of trade possibilities through the establishment of knowledge. Barth notes in his introductory chapter that:

> Aber Herr Richardson war damals in äußerst dürftigem Aufzug aufgetreten, ohne Instrumente, ohne Geschenke, ohne irgendwas, das die Habsucht der Eingeborenen hätte reizen können. Wir aber sollten jetzt den Charakter einer wissenschaftlichen Expedition mit dem einer Gesandtschaft vereinen und neben der Erforschung der unbekannten Gegenden uns auch bemühen, Freundschaft mit den Häuptlingen und Fürsten der verschiedenen Länder zu schließen.[11]

Referring to the progressive nature of information-collation, Barth simultaneously infers the higher standard of knowledge gained as a consequence. This justifies the employment of knowledge to further trade, as it is a reflection of this progress. Barth, however, still attempts to play down any less autonomous, scholarly motives behind the expedition, as any economic gain which might have resulted from his contributions would have been solely for the benefit of the British as financiers of the expedition. This would not have placed him in a favourable position with his German readership, whose support was necessary to guarantee future finance.

The *Afrikareisender* himself could expect certain career consequences to arise from the nature of his account. Whatever personal motives inspired the undertaking of the expedition, the travel narrative was the means required to achieve them. This obviously exerted tremendous influence over the style and content of the works and their status as a valuable product, capable of deciding the explorers' future livelihood.

Aside from personal interest, expectations from the academic community and public sphere, the expedition financiers represented a further interested party. The financiers would hope to gain extensive profits from the discovery of new trade links ahead of imperial rivals. The success of Heinrich Barth's mission under British mandate alerted pre-imperial Germany to the potential of its explorers. The travel

[11] Barth, p.16.

narrative thus became a recognised commodity, its value being directly proportional to the speed with which it verified collated information in written form. The quicker the terrain was explored, the greater were the odds of Germany gaining the tactical advantage it needed to finally assert itself as an expansionist force over other established colonial powers.

This wealth of human interests informing the knowledge constituted in the written product duly affected its composition.[12] The expeditions were thus undertaken nominally for the sake of scientific progress, particularly the science of geography. The transcription of the expedition was both the contribution made by the *Afrikareisender* to geographical knowledge and the knowledge which qualified him as a geographer. The necessity for travelling geographers merely to fill in blank spaces was becoming increasingly redundant. Geography was very broadly defined, including areas of ethnographic, anthropological and meteorological discovery. Hence the need for geography to claim a specific side of the expeditionary process in an attempt to differentiate itself from other fields of study and reinforce Humboldt's earlier, successful contributions to the discipline. This was achieved through the aesthetic- literary aspect of the travel narratives which integrated the heterogeneous, scientifically multi-disciplinary information collated during the expedition with detailed descriptions of terrain, vegetation, wildlife and culture. This narrative synthesis, referred to by Russell Berman as 'descriptive geography',[13] constituted disparate material as unified, useful knowledge.

The *Afrikareisende* belonged of course, to a long tradition of explorers whose works were influential to the production and reception of the travel narratives. As the cognitive interest became scientific, the *Afrikareisende* attempted to distance themselves from tales of wonder and marvel related in such early travel accounts as Christopher Columbus's log book. As Stephen Greenblatt discusses in his examination of the reciprocal sense of marvel during earlier encounters with alterity: 'The continuous experience of marvel continually reminds us that our grasp of the

[12] Johannes Fabian, *Out of our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), p. 4. Fabian similarly outlines the diversity of motives guiding 'scientific' expeditions to Africa.
[13] Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 80.

world is incomplete.'[14] In fact, the empirical, rational nature of observations and constant accumulation of information created a prior knowledge of alterity, leaving expressions of wonder and marvel to the uninformed 'other'. As the following quote demonstrates, Rohlfs suggests that the ability to archive and thus access this information is purely European, thus a European property.

> Sichere Kenntnis des Landes läßt sich nur durch eigene Anschauung europäischer Reisender gewinnen, denn die Eingeborenen begegnen allen Erkundigungen mit zurückhaltendem Mißtrauen [...]. Noch schwieriger ist es, über die früheren Wohnsitze der Tebu-Stämme etwas zu ermitteln, da sie keinerlei historische Überlieferungen, weder schriftliche noch mündliche, besitzen.[15]

The missing historical information means that until Europeans compose a history of the Tebu tribe, it does not possess one.[16] Thus Rohlfs emphasises his lack of openness to alterity vis-à-vis the criteria mentioned by Greenblatt. Rohlfs categorises Africa as pure nature, devoid of history, opposed to European culture, which is rooted in historical foundations and so possesses a story with direction. Paradoxically, Rohlfs acknowledges the presence of an African history in his above comment. His inability to perceive this contradiction is due to his inability to recognise any alternative structuring of time.

Forster's travel account from 1775 will have been influential to the subjective, emotion-centred descriptive elements of the travel narratives, as Forster prioritised distinctly humanist, ethnographic description over empirical data, including accounts of emotions in his narrative. Evidence of such tendencies are found mostly in Nachtigal's narrative, which foregrounds not only the emotional experience of travel, but also three-dimensional portrayals of indigenous Africans. Where Rohlfs concentrates on external factors of appearance, Nachtigal includes mannerisms and character-traits in his descriptions. 'The other' thus plays a more active role in the narrative, rather than functioning as a mere object of observation. This is most

[14] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Posessions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 24.
[15] Rohlfs, p. 165.
[16] This reference echoes the discussion of Hegelian historicism in the introductory chapter which highlighted the Eurocentric interpretation of the narrative process of history, justifying European knowledge as superior to that of other cultures.

obvious in the contrasting portraits of Mohammed Gatroni. Rohlfs emphasises Mohammed's value to the expedition as a commodity, 'wertvoller Zuwachs', (Rohlfs, p.127) whereas Nachtigal includes an excursus on the character and the 'achtungssvolle Scheu' (Nachtigal, I, p. 6) with which he makes Mohammed's acquaintance.

Modelled on the eloquent combinations of narrative and number characterising Alexander von Humboldt's geographical transcriptions, the *Afrikareisende* similarly include a mélange of factual reporting, subjective description and narrative passages in an attempt to address the many levels of interest mentioned above. Alexander von Humboldt's works were, however, unaffected by the underlying urgency of imperial and commercial interests, the pressure of which in the end compromised the narrative eloquence of the *Afrikareisende* travel narratives. This is evident in Barth's modest reference to his predecessor, whom he is unable to emulate:

> Anspruchslos lege ich meinem Bericht dem Publikum vor, mir selbst bewusst, wie weit er hinter dem hehren Vorbilde zurückbleiben muss, welches der gegenwärtige Nestor der Wissenschaft, Herr Baron von Humboldt, jedem Reisenden gesteckt hat [...]. Man darf jedoch nicht vergessen, dass dieser große Mann zuerst die einzelnen Ergebnisse und Erscheinungen seiner Reise bearbeitete und so erst im Verlaufe vieler Jahre zu jenem kosmischen Bilde erhob.[17]

This intertextual criticism became paradigmatic for all travel narratives produced by the *Afrikareisende*, presenting them with a vehicle for pre-emptive, apologetic comments, as future criticism was guaranteed. Heinrich Barth does just this in the above remark. Rohlfs follows the same pattern in his opening chapter. He refers to conversations with Barth in which the preparations for the expeditions were discussed, thus verifying the seriousness of his venture. He then notes Barth's unenthusiastic response to Rohlfs's plans to travel in disguise, for fear of Rohlfs's safety. (Rohlfs, p. 28) Thus Rohlfs similarly acknowledges and diminishes the qualities of his predecessor. Nachtigal's narrative connection is made by reference to

[17] Barth, p. 18.

Rohlfs. Rohlfs proved instrumental as his unwillingness to undertake a gift-giving mandate led him to search for a suitable replacement – Nachtigal.

Until now, we have considered these travel narratives as documents, which centre on an object of impersonal interest. But that is only half the story. As the travel narratives are perforce in part autobiographical, relating personal experiences in the 'Ich' form – Rohlfs for example titles one of his chapters 'Meine Erlebnisse in Rhadames' – individual personalities and motivations also permeate the texts. As stated above, other external, 'objective' factors were fundamental in shaping the compositions. The combination of subjective and objective distinguishes the communicative purpose of these narratives, which, can thus be defined as follows: Firstly, Barth's cognitive interest is academic, yet this is unavoidably connected to trade by the nature of his financial sponsorship. Rohlfs's cognitive interest is less academic, more related to the reinforcement of cultural power, hence the strengthening of pre-existent, Eurocentric categories of interpretation. This he hopes to achieve by asserting the superiority of scientific norms he associates with this cultural supremacy. In the process, he also hopes to gain widespread acceptance from the both the academic community and the wider public sphere. Nachtigal, in contrast, is searching in a hermeneutically self-reflexive, open and sensitive way for new inter-cultural experiences which challenge and enrich his self-understanding. The following section will examine the literary techniques, particularly the representation of narrative time used in these hybrid compositions, deployed to support these communicative interests.

II. *Narrative Techniques*

The three travel narratives treat the same subject matter: journeys of exploration through the same area of Africa. However, their appeal lies in the varying portrayals of this essentially unchanging journey. The forthcoming analysis will examine the contrasting employment of narrative techniques which create these different representations. This analysis will concentrate on the relationship between two main categories, firstly concerning the story, or macrostructure of each narrative and secondly, the type of narration, or microstructure of narrated events.

II.i. *The Narrative Role*

The autobiographical nature of the narratives implies a narrative role such as that elaborated by Franz K. Stanzel's definition of a 'quasi-autobiographischer Ich-Erzähler'.[18] This role is distinguished by the following features. Firstly, the criteria of 'Ich mit Leib', which Stanzel defines as an autobiographical narrator who is presented to the reader as an experiencing 'I'. The bodily existence of this narrator is an integral part of his identity. Secondly, the role of narrator and hero are at one level, one and the same. Contrary to other types of fiction, this means that there is no confusion between the identity of the narrator and the author. These functions differentiate the narrative presence from the 'auktorial' narrator, who, although referred to as 'I', possesses a level of credibility foreign to the 'quasi-autobiographischer' narrator. The pre-emptive ending is a third distinguishing feature. The outcome of the story is usually narrated in the opening chapter, which then frames the remaining narrative. This results in a certain lack of suspense and excitement, characteristic of this type of narrator. A fourth criterion is the relationship between 'erlebendes' and erzählendes Ich'. The narration is characterised by an equal balance of both elements, except during moments of tension, whereby the 'erlebendes Ich' typically becomes increasingly dominant. The immediacy of experience is thus increased as the presence of the narrating self, which structures and controls events, diminishes. This is particularly evident in Rohlfs's portrayal of a desert dust-storm, which will be discussed in-depth in the following chapter. The prominence of the experiencing self is paralleled by the concomitant inability to measure empirical time.

All three narratives seek to employ as their basic narrative situation the role of 'quasi-autobiographischer Ich-Erzähler', partly due to the required presentation of the expedition. The simultaneous function of narrating and experiencing 'self', indicative of this narrative role, tends to reduce objectivity and hence the credibility of narrated events, as they are perforce tinged with subjectivity. Rohlfs attempts to reinforce the impression of objectivity through other techniques, such as reassuring

[18] Franz K. Stanzel, pp. 124-126.

the reader directly that he is a trustworthy authority. Nachtigal however, enhances the subjectivity of his role by including references to his inner emotional state.

The choice of narrative situation thus permits the writer to emphasise, indeed dramatise, his high level of control over the presentation of events. The following discussion will investigate the divergence in the employment of this control.

II.ii *The Narrative Macrostructure*

This category will compare the story and the pattern of events in each narrative, beginning chronologically with Barth's account. As we shall see, the overall similarity in the nature of the topographical data is contrasted by the narrative ordering of events. The prominence of certain stages or events will radiate a symbolic significance over the differences in tone set by the narrator-figure. As we proceed through the analysis, these contrasts will become increasingly explicit.

Heinrich Barth

The story begins with Barth's journey from Paris and his arrival on the African continent in the winter of 1849. From here he begins preparations for his journey to Tripoli, the official starting point of his expedition. Barth's expedition leaves Tripoli on March 30th 1850. He spends one year accompanying Dr. Richardson, before separating from the other Europeans in January 1851, travelling as sole European to the city of Kuka, where he arrives on April 2nd 1851. Based in Kuka, Barth then undertakes four excursions over a period of two years. The fifth and final excursion from Kuka to Timbuktu lasts two years, as Barth, caught up in internal political turmoil, is involuntarily kept a full year in Timbuktu. Free to leave at last, Barth travels back to Kuka before returning to Tripoli, five years and five months after the expedition began.

Barth's transit, linear in its overall chronology, comprises several shorter journeys. The first is marked by the journey from Paris, moving from civilisation in Europe,

through foreign terrain, then back to Tripoli – the European imposition of civilisation on the African continent. During this stage, the most significant strategic narrative move is when Barth and his companion Overweg make their own cultural imposition onto African terrain through the symbolic celebration of Christmas and New Year. (Barth, p.29) This event marks the *Stunde Null* of Barth's African experience and recuperates everything that follows into a Euro- and Christocentric horizon. But it also indicates the regenerative, cyclical nature of Christian tradition. On arriving in Kuka, Barth sets up a permanent residence to which he returns after each excursion, thus also creating a version of European culture from which he constantly moves, encountering areas of apparent cultural inferiority, to return each time to his symbol of cultural affiliation. The increments of cultural alienation are reversed, palindromically, to signify the end of the journey, as Barth returns to Tripoli, his first point of re-entry into civilisation, before arriving at his final destination in London. The journey thus becomes a semantic representation of the occidental time-set. Its overall linear course, with a definable beginning and end, is punctuated by smaller, regenerative occurrences, mirroring the combination of linear and cyclical experiences of time which structure European temporal understanding.

Gerhard Rohlfs

As we shall see in what follows, the introductory chapter functions as a framework for the coming narrative. The images in the introduction parallel those in the concluding stages of the journey. The analysis of key passages will expose Rohlfs's contradictory self-image as he at once asserts his openness to the homeliness of Africa, whilst unwittingly exposing his duplicity. This will then be complemented by topographical data, which will reveal the use of narrative ordering of events to assert a similarly biased cultural dualism.

Rohlfs's expedition begins in Tripoli, from where his expedition leaves on May 20th 1865. Travelling south-west through Rhadames, Rohlfs arrives in Mursuk, a city in the Sultanate of Fesan where he spends four months. Leaving on March 25th 1866, Rohlfs travels a further four months before arriving in Kuka. Following Barth's example, Kuka also becomes a base for Rohlfs. He takes up temporary residence

there for five months, during which time he undertakes an excursion to Uandala where he meets the resident Sultan. From Kuka, Rohlfs continues his journey southwards to the Gulf of Guinea, arriving on May 23rd 1867, almost two years to the day after his departure in Tripoli.

Beginning with details of his previous exploratory experience and the necessary preparations of his expedition undertaken in Europe, Rohlfs leaves Bremen and arrives in Africa on 19th March. This he relates as a paradoxical feeling of returning home:

> Mit wie frohen Gefühlen landet der Afrikareisende, nachdem er die Fluten des Mittelmeeres durchfurcht, auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent, den er während der Dauer seiner Reisen gewissermaßen als seine Heimat betrachtet. Hier hofft er der geographischen Kenntnis neue Länder, neue Gebirge, Flüsse und Seen zu erschließen, hier hofft er neue Völker zu finden mit anderen Sitten, anderer Religion. Afrika ist in der Tat das Dorado des Reisenden.[19]

Rohlfs is seemingly unaware of the contradictory nature of the self-understanding implied by his remarks – Africa being at once homely and welcoming, suggesting familiarity – whilst at the same time typifying the 'unknown' by offering a wealth of factors to discover and bring home. The reference to a 'Dorado' is reminiscent of voyages of discovery to the 'New World', notably implying the greed associated with Spanish imperialism.[20] This duplicity of Rohlfs's narrator-figure as we shall see, is typical throughout the narrative.

This remark however, may suggest a certain level of inter-cultural competence. In the introductory chapter, the changing nature of *Heimat* was discussed in relation to the processes of industrialisation and modernisation, which diminished local differences and propagated assimilation. Rohlfs's reference suggests recognition of some relation between pre-modern Africa and his *Heimat*, Germany. Marked by deep

[19] Gerhard Rohlfs, p.29.
[20] See Stephen Greenblatt's discussion of Columbus's colonial experience. Urs Bitterli also documents the inequality of colonial experience in: *"Die Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten": Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (Munich: Beck, 1991)

divides between the *Länder,* Germany showed low levels of assimilation and was therefore decidedly less consolidated as a nation-state than her European counterparts. Germany's *Sonderweg* to modernisation designated it a role as 'outsider' amongst Western European nations. Rohlfs thus seems to feel akin to Africa as his fragmented Germanic identity enables him to feel at home elsewhere. However, Rohlfs's following statement destroys all notions of inter-cultural sensibility: 'Gefahren drohen ja nur von einer Seite, von den Menschen. [...] wie schwer ist es hier den Freund vom Feind zu unterscheiden, umso schwerer, je höher die Stufe der sogenannten Zivilisation ist, die die Menschen einnehmen' (Rohlfs, p. 30)

This threat, he asserts, can only be overcome by an inner quality possessed solely by the European: 'unparteiische Selbstkenntnis', (Rohlfs, p.29) which is thus the ideal pre-requisite for the successful *Afrikareisender.* Unbiased self-understanding encourages alternative forms of knowledge and enables self-criticism. Rohlfs has an a priori, and hence unchangeable notion of self-knowledge, which renders his consciousness incapable of understanding true otherness. In his discussion of Rohlfs and geographic writing in *Enlightenment or Empire,*[21] Russell Berman alludes to these remarks as indicative of Rohlfs's intention of a voyage of internal as well as external discovery. Yet Rohlfs understands unbiased self-knowledge as something which one possesses 'von Haus aus' (Rohlfs, p.29), i.e. it is present from the beginning and thus not an effect of contact with alterity.

The presence of such a prejudiced narrator seems unhelpful to the standing of the collated information, yet objectivity was expected, even in those disciplines concerning social factors. The act of observation was, according to the anthropology of the day, governed by the same scientific principles, regardless of the subject:

> In Bezug auf naturwissenschaftliche Thatsachen muss er [der Reisende] sich hüten vor Fehlern der sinnlichen Beobachtung, vorgefassten Meinung und Systemgeist. Handelt es sich aber um soziale Facta, so muss er gänzlich vorurtheilsfrei an die selben herantreten; dann ist er vielleicht zu einem Urtheil eher befähigt als die Bewohner des Landes selber; nicht interessiert

[21] Russell Berman, p. 86.

in der Sache wird er sie besser zu berurtheilen vermogen.[22]

Rohlfs, as we have seen, certainly does not qualify as an ideal candidate, yet neither does Nachtigal as he takes an interest in the fate of the people and country he resides in.

Rohlfs moves from the culture of Europe, to culture within the nature of Africa, before traversing through increasingly 'dark', i.e. primitive, areas of wild nature characteristic of Africa. His journey, linear in its course from coast to coast, is interrupted by two periods of extended residence at places from which he undertakes short excursions. Both points of sojourn are marked by symbolic acts of imposition, highlighting Rohlfs's contradictory assertion of Africa as a home from home. The first act, which will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four, is the naming of the 'rescued' slave, Noël. During the second period of extended sojourn, Rohlfs hoists his 'Bremer Flagge' on to the roof of his residence. (Rohlfs, p. 201)

Rohlfs emerges at the end of his journey to unmistakably welcoming images of European culture, an 'aus Eisen gebautem Missionshaus'(Rohlfs, p.368) and 'eine blonde, in Seide gekleidete Dame'(Rohlfs, p.369) who is reading aloud out from the Bible to a group of African children. After travelling through darkness, Rohlfs is rewarded with an idealised version of European culture. The images of cultural superiority thus gain in strength from beginning to end. They are designed to encourage epistemological possession of the possible sites of colonial expansion in his geographical descriptions. As Helke Kammerer-Grothaus identifies in her article *Reisen in Verkleidung*, the romance of the scene, which radiates light over the darkness of Africa, is another of Rohlfs's many uses of disguise – this time to mask his less respectable agenda.[23]

[22] D. Kaltbrunner and E. Kollbrunner , eds, *Der Beobachter. Allgemeine Anleitung zu Beobachtungun über Land und Leute für Touristen, Excursionisten und Forschungsreisende* (Bern:[n.pub.],1888), p. 7.

[23] Helke Kammerer-Grothaus, 'Reisen in Verkleidung' in *Gerhard Rohlfs Symposium*, pp. 69-73.

Nachtigal's expedition leaves from Tripoli on February 16th 1869. Unlike Rohlfs, he heads straight for Mursuk, arriving exactly one month later. After residing in Mursuk for two months, Nachtigal undertakes an excursion to Bardai, returning ten months later along the same route. Travelling southwards, Nachtigal makes for Kuka, by this time a familiar site for *Afrikareisende* – hence Nachtigal's mandate as gift-bearer to the Sultan as a gesture of thanks for his hospitality. After fulfilling the expedition's initial objective, Nachtigal upholds *Afrikareisende* tradition and, once more using the city as a point of reference, leaves to embark on the first of two shorter expeditions. The first lasts eleven months, the second, one year. Each time, Nachtigal returns to Kuka along the same route on which he left, thus passing each point twice per journey. The final stage of the expedition is marked by a change of direction. Travelling eastwards through Darfur to Wadai, Nachtigal twice interrupts the course of his journey in order to undertake further, shorter excursions of one and one and a half months, respectively. Thus departing from Abeshr for the third and final time, Nachtigal travels to Egypt, arriving in Kordofan on August 6th 1874 where his journey officially ends.

Nachtigal, already resident in Tunis before embarking on his expedition, begins his narrative with a summary of disheartening native political turmoil which prompts his urge to leave the city. Nachtigal thus departs from an image of chaos and disorder in search of harmony and order, notably in Africa, not in Europe. He describes his motivations as follows:

> Wenn früher nicht selten der Wunsch lebhaft in mir aufgestiegen war, mehr von dem geheimnisvollen Kontinente, auf dessen Nordküste das Schicksal mich geführt hatte, zu sehen, der obgleich er in der Geschichte eine so hervorragende Rolle gespielt hat und Europa so nahe liegt, doch ein Rätsel geblieben ist, so hatte ich doch in Rücksicht auf meine geringe Befähigung zu wissenschaftlichen Forschungsreisen diesem Gedanken zu entsagen gelernt. Mir fehlte Erfahrung im Reisen und ich beherrschte keines der naturwissenschaftlichen Fächer, ein Mangel, welcher die Ergebnisse meiner

späteren langen und mühevollen Wanderungen in ihrem Werte nur allzusehr beschränkt.[24]

Nachtigal either adheres to a literary topos, portraying himself modestly as the unlikely hero of a novelistic adventure,[25] or he feels a certain respect and genuine fascination for the terrain about to be explored. By emphasising his inexperience, he teases the reader, referring to the foolhardy risk he is undertaking. He thus forecasts a tale of adventure, drama and suspense.

However, Nachtigal merely hopes for an 'erinnerungsreiche Reise' (Nachtigal, I, p. 2) – a modest aspiration in light of the acclaim accorded to Barth and Rohlfs whose expeditions took place prior to his own and with which he was familiar. His admitted inexperience would certainly fill him with a sense of triumph on completion of the expedition. He seems to be more than grateful for the opportunity to fulfil his childhood dreams of exotic adventure, inspired by tales of distant places.[26] This admission also proves more reminiscent of a fictional topos rather than a work of academic esteem. Judging by Nachtigal's other comments however, such as his concern for the state of African politics, he is not narrating an indulgent adventure, but rather a journey of inner contemplation, very untypical of an adventure novel.

The route is the most complicated of all three, as its overall structure is neither cyclical, nor completely linear. Rohlfs adheres to one main direction, travelling from north to south with only two interruptions. Nachtigal doubles-back on himself during the shorter excursions – as does Barth on his journeys from Kuka – before altering his course to arrive in Egypt, yet not at any notable geographic point or cultural landmark. In fact, Nachtigal describes the objective on the last day of travel as the arrival at a country-residence near to an 'unscheinbarer Hügel'. (Nachtigal, III,

[24] Gustav Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan: Ergebnisse sechsjähriger Reisen in Afrika*, 3 vols (Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft M.B.H, 1872) I, p.6.

[25] H.Rider Haggard, for example, introduces Allan Quatermain with the words: 'It is a curious thing that at my age — fifty-five last birthday — I should find myself taking up a pen to write a history' (p.1), which is the 'strangest story I know of' (p.2). *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) (London: Penguin, 1994)

[26] Nachtigal's comment is reminiscent of Marlow's motivation: 'I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look like that) I would put my finger on it and say, When I grow up I will go there.' Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 21-22.

p.393) There is no sense of monumental symbolism here. Before reaching the house, Nachtigal, is met by an envoy of the Egyptian Governor-General Ismâ'il Pâschâ, who, residing at the house and aware of Nachtigal's arrival, sends an official welcome. A Greek scientist, Dr. Giorgi, accompanying the Governor-General's expedition arrives soon after to greet Nachtigal.[27]

In contrast to Rohlfs's home-coming, Nachtigal's reaction to this re-introduction to European civilisation is one of disorientation and bewilderment. In contrast to the other two narratives, Nachtigal does not move comfortably through the stages of re-culturation. Feeling immediately at ease with the Governor, they converse automatically in Arabic. When addressed by Dr. Giorgi in French, Nachtigal is unable to reply. Italian also proves unsuccessful. Only when Giorgi switches to Arabic is Nachtigal finally able to communicate. Nachtigal is quickly informed of the political developments in Europe since his departure, to which he pays great attention, yet remarks: 'das [...] was mir augenblicklich am nächsten lag, daß Ismâ'il Pâschâ den Befehl habe, auf dem direkten Weg [...]in Dar-Fur einzumarschieren.' (Nachtigal III, p. 394) The journey is thus in one sense cyclical, as it returns to the opening topic referred to above concerning Nachtigal's awareness of the current *African* political situation. Nachtigal has moved from one area of turmoil to another, yet in keeping with the humanistic nature of his narrative, the presiding situation in Africa is presented as a reflection of similar political strife in Europe. Nachtigal's 'Wiedereintritt in die zivilisierte Welt' is thus characterised by recognition of universal human behaviour. (Nachtigal, III, p. 394) The symbols which attract Nachtigal's attention as signifying Western culture as different from African are external – namely coloured lanterns, cutlery and waiters in uniform. The introductory images of romance and adventure, thus also diverge from the true nature of narrated events. Nachtigal combines the universal nature of human understanding, of which he was constantly reminded throughout his journey, with varying levels of cultural sophistication.

[27] Dr. Giorgi, a sanitary inspector, does not seem out of place on Ismâ'il Pâschâ's military expedition, as the borders between politics and science, or knowledge and power, become increasingly indefinable.

II.iii. *The Narrative Microstructure*

After examining the differences evident in the narrative macrostructure, this section will progress to smaller sub-divisions. We will concentrate on the temporal alterations which the narratives may have undergone, thus the relationship between the time of the narration *Erzählzeit* and the time of the story *erzählte Zeit.* [28] This will intensify the contrasts between our narratives by highlighting the diverse implementation of our cognitive interest – time – in its narrative function. Firstly, the overall chronology of the expedition will be compared to the structure of the chapters. We will then analyse both concepts in relation to the composition of individual chapters and finally to individual events. As we shall see, the explorers as implicit authors, play to the western conception of time they share with the reader, as a means of emanating connotative significance.

Heinrich Barth

Barth's narrative is framed by a foreword and an epilogue, the former describes the academic value of the expedition and its financial sponsorship and the latter notes the reception of the scholarly community on his return. The remaining narration of the journey is divided into twenty-eight chapters of differing lengths, the heading of each chapter signifies a particular event or stage of the expedition. The linear chronology of chapters is mapped onto the passage of time from Barth's arrival in Africa to his return to Tripoli. The chronology of chapters thus follows a singular narrative path devoid of flashbacks and flash-forwards. The foreword provides the only exception as it pre-empts the end of the expedition, i.e. the reader is aware of the expedition's outcome before it is narrated. This technique is characteristic and therefore of course inevitable in anthropological narrative. The reader is thus free to focus on the events and observations made throughout the journey.

The chapter headings denote main events, or specific stages of the journey. Barth does not actually leave on his main expedition till the fourth chapter, thus devoting extensive *Erzählzeit* to the preparation of his journey. The following twelve chapters

[28] Eberhard Lämmert gives an in depth analysis of the relationship between both criteria in *Bauformen des Erzählens*,[1955] 6th edn (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975)

detail his traversal southwards to Agades, representing one-fifth of the expedition's *erzählte Zeit*, in one-third of the narrative's *Erzählzeit*. The disproportionate relationship suggests a prioritisation of events during this first year, yet also highlights the increased dynamic of the remaining chapters which trace events over the following four and a half years. They cover greater amounts of *erzählte Zeit* in less written space. As we shall see, a specific occurrence at the end of the first year radiates significance over the structure of the narrative.

During the first year of the expedition, Barth is an ancillary to Dr. Richardson. At the end of this year Barth undertakes his first lone expedition to Agades. The mission is a crucial test of his capabilities as on his return, the European explorers plan to part ways and carry out individual objectives. Barth's endeavour is a resounding success. On January 11th he continues his journey alone, from which point the pace of the narrative increases. It can be concluded, that Barth's increased power and personal control are reflected through these structural characteristics. The first year of the expedition presented Barth with more opportunities to record information, due to his lesser organisational responsibilities. For example, during this period of *erzählte Zeit* Barth devotes two chapters of *Erzählzeit* to the discussion of cave-markings and to traces of the Roman era. The *Erzählzeit* devoted to the remaining expedition – two thirds of the total narrative and four and a half years of *erzählte Zeit* – only includes one such excursus, namely an insight into the political situation in Timbuktu. This can also be directly linked to the narrative *Erzählzeit* as it follows a year of captivity in the city, (retold in one chapter) during which time Barth was able to derive more extensive information on such factors than during his transit through African terrain. Otherwise his cognitive interest prioritised physical geography.

The macro-structure of chapters demonstrates a pattern between narrative- and narrated time, yet the individual chapter-length does not correspond to a set period of time. Nor is there a particular pattern between chapters designated to either transit or sojourn. In fact, most chapters contain a combination of both. The following discussion will contrast the structure of Rohlfs's narrative, highlighting the different interpretation conveyed through alternative employment of the same techniques: narrative- and narrated time.

The chapters follow the main, linear passage through Africa, each, as in Barth, devoted to a stage of the journey, beginning in Tripoli. Again, fulfilling the same function as discussed above, the successful completion of the expedition is narrated in the opening chapter. There are twenty chapters in Rohlfs's narrative, each year of the two-year long *erzählte Zeit* corresponds to fifty percent of the total *Erzählzeit.* The chapters vary little in length and follow a fixed pattern. Those chapters designated to transit, cover approximately one month of *erzählte Zeit.* The *Erzählzeit* is extended if Rohlfs includes an excursus on a particular feature or event. For example, Chapter VIII is devoted to transit between two points, as signified in the chapter heading 'Zwischen Fesan and Kauar'.(Rohlfs, pp. 133-153) The time taken to cover this stretch is exactly one month. The following chapter 'Kauar und die Tebu' (Rohlfs, pp. 154-170) describes both transit and includes an excursus on the Tebu people. The *erzählte Zeit* covered in this chapter is two months. The following chapter, again devoted to transit only, relates an *erzählte Zeit* of exactly one month. (Rohlfs, pp. 171-191) Chapters VIII and X notably have equal *Erzählzeit.* 'Kauar und die Tebu', in contrast, covers more *erzählte Zeit* and is devoted less narrative space. The following conclusions can be drawn from these observations: firstly, Rohlfs narrates his transit with rigorous control. This could be interpreted as a wanted implication of his control over the situation. Secondly, transit is granted more narrative space than residence and therefore prioritised. Thus Rohlfs presents extensive, rather than intensive information.

Rohlfs devotes three further chapters to topics other than transit. The sojourn in Uandala is narrated as a flashback, the only such episode in the narrative. The reader is disorientated by this unexpected change of chronology. Its position towards the end of the narrative increases this effect, as the otherwise regular narrative structure has been firmly established. This sudden change in narrative ordering is an intentional ploy to accentuate the detrimental nature of the episode of sojourn to the dynamic, linear traversal of alien terrain.

Further evidence in support of this argument is provided by the remaining two chapters devoted to topics other than transit. The first of these 'Die Stadt Rhadames und ihre Bewohner' (Rohlfs, pp. 61-71) is purely informative, corresponding directly to its title. The following chapter 'Meine Erlebnisse in Rhadames' (Rohlfs, pp. 71-81) relates the actual period of sojourn. Less narrative space has been assigned to a longer period of *erzählte Zeit*, which again characterises different temporal relations for episodes accorded to other subjects than transit. Rather than increasing the dynamic of events, as was noted in Barth's narrative, the same relationship between both factors is employed to accentuate secondary status.

On leaving the city at the end of the chapter, Rohlfs notes the exact date – two and a half months have passed since his arrival. The last reference to date occurs two chapters previously. This relatively short period of sojourn surprises the reader, as the narration of the episode suggests a much longer time-span.

The internal structure of the chapters distinguishes between motion and motionlessness, yet devotes equal narrative space to each:

> Solche Unterbrechungen meines einförmigen Lebens in Mursuk kamen jedoch selten vor. Ich pflegte gegen sieben Uhr morgens aufzustehen. Nach dem Kaffee studierte ich mit Hilfe von Barths Vokabularien die Kanurisprache. [...] Hierauf wurden Besuche abgestattet oder empfangen und nachmittags ein Spaziergang vors Tor gemacht.[29]

A strict routine compensates for the seeming lack of progress or variety which would make each day distinguishable from the next. The internal structure of Rohlfs' descriptions of the places he resided in also follow a pattern similar to this routine. Rohlfs describes the same factors in every place, beginning with architectural lay-out, type of housing and rough estimate of the population. He then describes the vegetation, wildlife and physical geography of the surrounding area before moving on to discuss appearance, dress and customs of the inhabitants. These he uses as indicators of cultural value, with which the Africans are judged on a scale of more, or less, physically-appealing by reference to European standards. Rohlfs then finishes

[29] Rohlfs, p. 128.

with reference to the incessant protocol characteristic of gift-giving exchanges with local potentates.

The passages devoted to the traversal of foreign terrain also follow a fixed, coherent pattern, alternating between notation of distance covered and details of setting up camp. This information is then interspersed with brief descriptions of the surrounding terrain and any anecdotes depicting incidents with indigenous peoples, including members of Rohlfs's entourage. Camp itself is referred to only very briefly, mostly as an opportunity to write the expedition journal. All attention is directed toward movement, adding to the increased tempo of the narration and the importance designated to traversal.

A closer examination of Rohlfs's employment of dates to structure the contents of each chapter will strengthen and clarify the connotative undertones relating to the temporal mind-set derived from the above examples. For example, whilst moving through foreign terrain, Rohlfs uses the occidental understanding of empirical time as a means of orientation. The meticulous notation of date and time, included in the description of transit, enables Rohlfs to measure both the speed and distance of his passage and translate these into indications of progress. Periods of sojourn, however, as mentioned above, contain significantly few specific references to date.

The following conclusions can be drawn from this obviously intentional differentiation. Firstly, the tempo of the narration is decelerated, thus reflecting Rohlfs's monotony, synonymous with being stationary. Secondly, this suggests that there is no pre-existing, indigenous temporal structure with which to measure the cumulative passage of time. As Rohlfs's periods of sojourn are all undertaken in populated areas, not the empty desert, these examples of pre-structured African space are thus represented as timeless voids. Therefore, as time does not seem to pass in these places, they become sites of darkness, disorientation and therefore danger – Rohlfs becomes lost in time and space:

> Beide Stadtteile haben eine breite und ziemlich gerade Straße [...]. Links und rechts von ihr ist ein Labyrinth enger und krummer Gassen. Steine zum

pflastern gibt es nicht, die Straßen bilden daher in der trockenen Jahreszeit ein Staubmeer und in der nassen Lachen, Sümpfe und Seen.[30]

In contrast, the apparent control implied by the mathematical measurement of time is symbolised by such traversals of alien terrain: 'Anderen Tags wurde früh um sechs aufgebrochen. [...] Nach Übersteigung einer Hügelkette kamen wir um zwei Uhr in das Tal Dendal-Galaima, um vier Uhr in das Tal Meschru und um sechs Uhr zu dem Brunnen Meschru.'(Rohlfs, p.143). From the quotes we can see the stylistic differentiation Rohlfs makes between movement and stillness. He diminishes the descriptive element by omitting adjectives. There is no evidence of personal sentiment, rather the use of verbs combined with proper nouns relates the experience in the style of a factual report. The description of the town, however includes adjectives which compliment the eerie sense of foreboding implied by the labyrinth image – who knows what dangers lurking in the unquantifiable darkness. The movement through space in comparison, seems as regulated as that of the railway timetable, thus insinuating the mechanical consumption of terrain. Rohlfs's implied superior control of time, which is asserted through the narrative techniques discussed above, becomes a reflection of the epitome of the occidental time-set – the railway.

Mathematical, linear time is employed as an artificial construct through which events are both experienced and portrayed, creating an occidental sense of order which can be maintained by meticulous notation of hours and minutes. This creates an analogy to the ship's log and the earlier nature of navigational exploration. The possibility of upholding a temporal structure becomes the key to survival – providing orientation and stability – both physically and mentally, thus symbolising the continuity and familiarity of *Heimat.* As we know, Rohlfs presents a contradictory image of home in his introductory remarks. By transposing the continuity of German temporal consciousness onto Africa, he can, however consider it his home.

As we have seen, the passage of time is therefore not only an incessant feature of the narrative, but also the narrative process. Rohlfs subjects unknown space to strict European norms by temporalising it — making the great expanses empirically measureable in time-units. However, the above quote describing Rohlfs's residence

[30] Gerhard Rohlfs, p. 211.

in Mursuk demonstrates the extent to which his purely mathematical understanding of time has alienated him from other possible means of structuring it. Rohlfs implies that structuring his day around events enhances the subjective experience of its duration. His need for empirically-measurable time-units to avoid disorientation in the towns and oases, thus also subjects him to their control.

Gustav Nachtigal

The relationship between *Erzähl-* and *erzählte Zeit* in Nachtigal's narrative provides an interesting contrast to the above discussion. Nachtigal's narrative is divided into three volumes, each one narrating a thematic stage of the journey. For example, the first volume covers one and a half years and is devoted to the original objective of the expedition, the presentation of gifts to the Sultan of Bornu. The second volume concentrates on the experiences in Kuka and the excursions undertaken during this period, an *Erzählzeit* of two and a half years. The third, edited and published posthumously, narrates the last period of residence in Kuka before undertaking the final stages of the journey, a time-span of two years.

The chapters in the first two volumes vary considerably in length. For example, of the three chapters comprising the first volume, the introductory chapter consumes fifty percent of the total narrative space. The following two chapters twenty, and thirty-percent respectively. This unequal division of space corresponds to an equal division of *erzählte Zeit* – six months per chapter. The second volume follows a similar pattern – equal *erzählte Zeit* – approximately six months per chapter yet unequal *Erzählzeit*. The large temporal divisions seem to form a loose structure by which the mass of diverse observations can be ordered. This is matched by the very general chapter-headings, which refer to the main geographical point reached during the journey. This suggests that each important stage of the expedition was attained every six months, which reflects the regular punctuation of a linear course with meaningful events. Thus, Nachtigal's journey and its narration parallel the occidental interpretation of history, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is unexpected considering the explorer's negative reference to this process in the introductory chapter of his narrative.

The third volume, however presents a completely different structure. There are sixteen chapters in total, divided thematically. This is more suggestive of editorial preferences, rather than a sudden change in mentality. As the work in this volume was published posthumously, it is impossible to ascertain semantic meaning from the discussion of the chapter divisions and their chronology, as it is uncertain whether they conform to Nachtigal's original intentions. However the structure of the final volume does accentuate a different aspect of *Erzähl-* and *erzählte Zeit* which is present in all three volumes: the provision of narrative time accorded to different themes. These themes are differentiated under the same categories as those evident in the narratives of Barth and Rohlfs: transit, sojourn and informative excursus. The excursus in the final volume comprise fifty percent of *Erzählzeit*, transit thirty-five percent and sojourn fifteen percent. The excursus relate to information collated during periods of sojourn, which demonstrates a prioritisation of motionlessness over transit – a direct opposition to Rohlfs's narrative. Another interesting difference which strengthens this prioritisation is the general lack of reference to dates in Nachtigal's narrative. Certain stages of the expedition, for example the arrival in the area of Kotoko in Volume II, contain no such reference at all, which means that it is impossible to trace the speed of Nachtigal's traversal. The empirical measurement of time thus becomes a secondary feature of the narrative.

The discussion of the elastic relation of *Erzähl-* and *erzählte Zeit* reflects a scale of narratorial control, which ranges from Rohlfs's mathematical meticulousness to Nachtigal's comparative discursiveness. Barth, as we saw, pays increasing attention to the reduction of *Erzählzeit* in relation to *erzählte Zeit* as his narrative progresses. This narrative control is, it can be argued, a consequence of the extent to which the occidental time-set influences the explorer's perception of events and thus the image of alterity he intends to present. The greater the level of control evident in the narrative structure, the more detrimental to the unbiased judgement of alterity.

This chapter has attempted to set the *Afrikareisende* narrative in the context of the long history of exploration narratives. Whilst noting historical influences of the works by their predecessors, characteristics particular to our group were also highlighted. The changing cognitive interest, which elevated the status of the written account, is a reflection of social developments at the time of the narratives' composition. The role of science was becoming increasingly politicised and accessible in written form to an increasingly educated, interested public. The written account thus needed to be academically-grounded, yet generally engaging, in order to fulfil its potential as a valuable commodity. National governments, commercial industry and the explorer all had stakes in the end-product. The purpose of the narrative thus reflects the authorial prioritisation of either one, or all of these interests.

The narrative role presents the explorer with an opportunity to create a narrative self-image as implicit author, conducive to the effect he wishes to attain. Barth emphasises the scholarly nature of his expedition and thus also his position as an academic authority. He also acknowledges the unavoidable function of knowledge as an expression of power – his expedition was financed by government. Rohlfs portrays himself – despite an attempt to prove the opposite – as an exemplary representative of occidental culture. His dualistic categories of classification encourage the imposition and expansion of this culture. Nachtigal, after toying with the image of risk-taking adventurer, becomes a voice of cultural integration. Barth and Rohlfs reflect images associated with the current level of scientific development in their society. This includes the adherence to an occidental time-set, characterised by the mathematical, rational division of time, which structures their passage through- and narration of the unknown. Nachtigal remains unconstrained by temporal control, as he foregrounds the subjective, emotion-centred experience of travel. He therefore structures his journey around the internal experience of time.

The analysis of literary techniques to convey these self-images and therefore also images of 'the other' came to the following conclusions. Firstly, Rohlfs presents the most extreme example of narrative, structural control. His employment of *Erzählzeit*

and *erzählte Zeit* is a direct reflection of the cultural dualism he propagates. Points of contact with 'the other' are largely devoid of references to numerical, quantifiable clock-time. Thus, rather than adhering to an alternative time-set, he seems to have no experience of time at all. When not in motion travelling, Rohlfs lives in a labyrinth, devoid of measurable units of time and space, which completely opposes the empirical world he creates through his rigorous notation of date and duration. Rohlfs implies his superiority by constantly controlling time. He is however lost without it, therefore it controls him.

Barth begins his narrative under less pressure to perform, more akin to the Humboldtian nature of exploration he aspires to. He is free to explore in depth, which is mirrored by the extensive *Erzählzeit* devoted to this stage of the journey. Barth's increased personal dynamic is mirrored by the narrative structure, which gains in tempo by decreasing the narrative space accorded to extended periods of narrated time. Thus he also insinuates greater authority by alluding to the controlled traversal of space, depicted in temporal units.

Nachtigal pays little narrative attention to transit, devoting his narrative space to excursus on the indigenous inhabitants. Nachtigal actually suspends the incessant, linear passage of time in order to relate certain experiences in a frantic, dream-like state of excitement. Stanzel's 'erlebendes Ich' dominates the narration during these episodes of heightened awareness and revelation, which suggests the detrimental nature of the occidental time-set to explorations of Africa's inner dimensions.

Introduction

> It is in vain to dream of a wildness distant from ourselves. There is none such. It is the bog in our brain and bowels, the primitive vigour of Nature in us, that inspires that dream.[1]

Post-Newtonian explorers succeeded in mapping the world's outlines with mathematical and geometrical accuracy, but left a blank space within. The *Afrikareisende* reflected an urge to fill the spaces within these outlines with as much detailed information as possible. The previous chapter highlighted the quantitative effect, which the controlling aspect of time had on the presentation of movement through space. Seemingly 'measureless' expanses of traversed wilderness are thus transformed into empirically measurable time-units. This chapter will focus on the portrayal of 'otherness' in the form of spatiality: foreign landscapes, terrain and climates, using key passages to demonstrate their effect on these projected constructs of cultural affiliation.

These encounters will test the thesis that the confrontation with African alterity, far from reinforcing the universal superiority of a priori, European, cultural norms, epitomised by the linear, historicist time-set, inadvertently exposes their limitations. As we shall see, this unexpected reversal paradoxically enables a momentary, qualitatively 'new' experience of African otherness; it subverts the "Orientalist" discourse of knowledge-power by revealing its epistemological intransitivity.

[1] Robert L. Rothwell, ed., *Henry David Thoreau: An American Landscape* (New York, 1991), p. 126-127, cited by Simon Schama in *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), p. 578.

I. *Outer Space: African Geographical Alterity and European Inner Landscapes*

After establishing the occidental, empirical time-set as a means of reinforcing existing self-consciousness and managing confrontation with the unknown in the last analysis, this chapter will look at essentially two occasions of symbolic representation of otherness – the desert and the river, and, later, the man-made and natural monument. The representations radiate connotative rather than denotative significance at critical junctures of the plot, when symbolic power is challenged by the landscape. The analysis will argue that Barth and Rohlfs, to differing extents, employ western technology of hand and mind during their encounter with alterity to manage contact with the new or strange, lest it undermine the foundations of western knowledge after all. Nachtigal, in contrast, uses western norms and knowledge as hermeneutic aids. The discussion will compare and contrast the images presented by all three explorers, beginning with Barth, before discussing Rohlfs and finally Nachtigal, thus retaining the chronological sequence of the narratives.

Heinrich Barth

The combination of cyclical religious time and numerically quantifiable, mathematical time characterise the occidental, temporal structures which Barth transposes onto alien terrain. They serve as measurable parameters, both controlling and enabling him to control his traversal. Thus, Barth's desert is not empty, it is filled with unrecorded information demanding to be registered and categorised in rational, coherent, archivable form. Before entering it, the desert arouses in him an anticipatory sense of moderated challenge – not fear nor excitement – as his logical approach is a priori confident of de-mystifying even the unknown. However, when actually confronted with the desert, Barth's scholarly rationalism gradually evaporates. Instead, as we shall see, his experiences are conveyed in subjective, fragmented, emotional terms.

For example, shortly after leaving Mursuk and the discovery of the rock carvings on which Barth includes a long excursus, the European explorers, still in the first stages of the journey, are presented with a welcome opportunity for adventure. The expedition is heading in the direction of 'das verzauberte Schloss Idnien', which, from the 'wunderbare Berichte' of the entourage, awakens the explorers' 'Einbildungskraft aufs Höchste'. (Barth, p.84) Overweg and Barth decide to make the detour through the sandy desert terrain early next day, with which thought, Barth falls asleep 'von den Entdeckungen des folgenden Tages träumend'. (Barth, p. 84)

The first complication occurs before leaving camp – the indigenous guides refuse to accompany Barth and Overweg. The refusal is not only evoked by religious principles, but also by the extensive, unnecessary distance which would need to be covered in order to reach the said objective. Barth's influence over the entourage obviously does not extend very far as he consequently departs without a guide – and for some unmentioned reason, without Overweg. This, however merely serves to strengthen Barth's resolve and curiosity.

Confident that the knowledge of the local guides who boycotted the excursion is rooted in superstition – 'böse Geister' (Barth, p.84) inhabit the 'Geisterberg' (Barth, p. 85) – and therefore intellectually inferior to his own, Barth meets with unprecedented challenges. The 'von Sonnenglut erhitzten Täler und Flächen' disorientate him with 'täuschende Bilder'. (Barth, p. 88) Barth is distracted by an 'eigentümlich wild zerrissene Berghöhe', which puts him off-course. Barth either has no navigational instruments with him, or their function is nullified when unaccompanied by local knowledge of the area. The desert, a site of scientific research, becomes a dangerous, unpredictable enemy. The light-hearted attitude with which the excursion began, is soon replaced by 'Furcht und Schrecken'. (Barth, p. 90), as Barth, alone for no more than one night, is already suffering from thirst and exhaustion and is close to death. The romantic dreaminess of the opening episode is paralleled by a nightmarish experience as Barth moves from consciousness to unconsciousness: 'Endlich ward ich besinnungslos und verfiel in eine Art von wahnsinniger Träumerei'. (Barth, p. 90) The frightening loss of control which begins with physical deterioration is accompanied by mental deterioration, indicated by the unstructured, timeless confusion and chaos of dreams.

Barth's loss of control renders him incapable of collating epistemologically viable data. The cognitive interest thus moves from factual, scientific information, to subjective, emotion and experience-centred description. Barth is unable to negate the level of knowledge held by the entourage, as shortly after re-awakening, he is rescued by an indigenous African member of the entourage.

Although the experience is framed with narrative inferences implying exciting adventure, as we shall see in the discussion of Barth's next desert experience, it seems to have left a lasting impression of insecurity and powerlessness, which is subsequently transposed onto the landscape. We know from the last analysis that the narrating Barth has ultimate control over the narrated self. It seems strange that the former should openly admit the folly of the latter. It seems unlikely that Barth is unaware of the self-image he is creating, although we saw evidence of such a tendency in Rohlfs's narrative. Barth however is decidedly more eloquent and educated. This could, therefore, be evidence of a subliminal change in attitude between the events as they occurred and their narration on completion of his expedition. As we shall see in the next chapter, Barth experiences positive alternatives to European culture, which may have left residual doubts as to its universal superiority.

The next episode occurs in terrain which, contrary to the conventional image of the 'Sandmeer' (Barth, p.57) immediately evoked by deserts in European consciousness, is a rocky valley, which even shows signs of vegetation. Barth's spirits, which are notably subdued whilst crossing sandy expanses, (Barth, p. 101) are uplifted by this change of scenery. However, Barth's caravan soon becomes the target of 'Wüstenräuber', whose tactics are as different from those of conventional attackers as is the terrain from conventional conception:

> Offener Angriff indes ist nicht die Taktik einer Freibeuterschar in der Wüste; sie nistet sich bei einer Karawane ein und zeigt sich anfänglich ruhig und friedfertig, bis sie die geringste Einigkeit, welche in einer solchen aus den heterogensten Elementen gebildeten Truppe zu finden ist, untergraben und sich

aller günstigen Verhältnisse bemächtigt hat – erst dann zeigt sie sich allmählich in ihrem wahren Charakter und erreicht auch gewöhnlich ihren Zweck.[2]

All present are aware of the imminent danger, yet no-one is willing to take action without definite proof. Thus the villains are invited to join the caravan and initiate their parasitic subversion. Barth is anticipating the violent attack from within his own ranks and is powerless to prevent it. None of his scientific instruments, manifestations of apparent cultural superiority, offer any tactical advantage over this situation. The desert landscape seems to conspire with the indigenous attackers in a collective attempt to prevent further intrusion. The darkness and unpredictability of the surrounding landscape stands in dualistic contrast to the enlightening properties of scientific exploration: 'Als aber die Dunkelheit sich über das Tal ausbreitete und mit ihrem Schleier die Nachstellungen des Verwegenen deckte, erschienen drei wohl bewaffnete, raublustige Gestalten'. (Barth, p. 104) The mystification has returned to Barth's description, symbolised by the mask denoting the long tradition of African impenetrability to European scrutiny.

Instead of becoming an area on which to project the confident face of European development, the desert becomes a reflection of Barth's unease and discomfort: 'Diese ganze Landschaft hatte eine sehr unregelmäßige Bildung und machte bei der unreinen Luft und der eigentümlichen Gemütsstimmung in der wir uns befanden, einen unbehaglichen Eindruck.' (Barth, p. 107) Again, irregularity becomes threatening when it cannot be controlled.

The surroundings have a surprisingly powerful, suggestive influence over Barth's state of mind, which affects the qualitative portrayal of events in a manner less conducive to his academic objective. Just as the desert conspires against him, so the fruitfulness of a valley enhances 'das frohe Gefühl, vorwärts zu kommen'. (Barth, p.128) Shortly after the desert experience, Barth witnesses the regeneration of a barren valley as the rains finally come, providing an external, life-giving source and symbolically denoting an internal re-invigoration of Barth's enthusiasm and sense of purpose: 'Es war daher eine außerordentliche, fast kindische Freude, mit der wir uns am Nachmittag [...] in gegenseitiger Aufmunterung aufmachten, den Strom zu

[2] Barth, p. 103.

betrachten, der eben anfing seine Fluten im Tale entlang zu wälzen. Es war dies ein höchst anmutiger und erfrischender Anblick.' (Barth, p. 133) The flow of water – mirroring Barth's slowly returning self-confidence and control – does not only transform the external landscape. On returning the following day the trickling stream has become a huge surge of water: 'Am folgenden Tage entwickelte derselbe Strom ein großartiges Bild der Zerstörung, das uns einen Begriff von der Sintflut zu geben vermochte.' (Barth, p. 133) Barth's empowerment has returned, reborn after passing the test the desert posed to him.

The biblical imagery of the Flood conveys the enormity of the phenomena, re-creating the experience in terms familiar to the reader whilst simultaneously confining Africa to this temporal era of pre-modern development. Africa as this metaphor suggests presents the roots to which the *Reisender* returns to uncover the secrets of humanity, protected for so long by the extremes of climate and terrain. Only now has humanity reached a level of knowledge sufficient to carry out the task. Apocalyptic imagery predicts events to come with a sense of foreboding. Africa is on the threshold of discovery – about to be transformed from its Old Testament age of innocence by the regenerative force – scientific progress, presumably – which will simultaneously destroy all pre-existing norms. The rushing waters symbolise this epoch-making watershed. The flow of time which, after being held back for so long, suddenly surges over the terrain, stripping Africa of its timeless stagnation.

Barth's sense of quasi-divine empowerment – projected onto the African void – appears to compensate for the weakness his ego has experienced. This reaches its culmination as he becomes the first-ever sole German leader of an African expedition. The British head of the expedition, Richardson, dies shortly after the three explorers separate in January 1851. Barth and Overweg thus become the figureheads of the expedition. Overweg succumbs to a tropical disease and dies one year after, leaving Barth as sole European survivor of the expedition:

> Anstatt mich durch den Tod meines Reisegefährten niedergebeugt zu fühlen, fühle ich meine ganze Kraft verdoppelt. Im Bewusstsein, dass nun ferner hier nichts geschieht, was ich nicht tue, fühle ich eine Riesenkraft in mir, allen Ansprüchen zu genügen. Mein Schlachtfeld wird der Westen und, so Gott will,

der Südwesten sein. Mein erstes Ziel wird hierbei die Erreichung Timbuktus sein, mein zweites Yakoba und die nach Süden angrenzenden Lande mit dem unteren Laufe des Benuë.[3]

In no way tragic, Overweg's death is a further sign affirming Barth's personal – and thus German – authority and that of his scientific mission. Barth's tribulations are rewarded by this invigorating personal triumph – God is on his side. The new lease of energy is channelled into militaristic images of control. The unstructured, fluid mass of African otherness is crystallised by fixed points of reference which serve to emphasise the dream of occidental knowledge-power in the explorer's imagination. Barth lists the terrain he intends to cross as if, now that he is in charge, it poses no challenge whatsoever.

However, Barth's comments are, of course, extremely narcissistic. They betray an underlying insecurity, which is insufficiently disguised behind the exploitative intentions towards African terrain. Not only has Barth's personal power increased, so has the potential of the terrain to diminish his new self-esteem. If unable to conquer African space, his loss will be even greater as his role has changed from ancillary to leader.

Here, at the climax of his journey, Barth, as sole European survivor, undertakes his final excursion and is given the opportunity to affirm European superiority by uncovering and de-mystifying one of the fluvial myths constraining the horizon of European knowledge:

So war endlich der berühmte Strom erreicht, der den Europäern seit der Eröffnung der afrikanischen Geographie mystisch vor Augen und Sinnen schwebende Niger. Ruhig glitt er von NNO nach SSW dahin, mit einer mäßigen Bewegung von ungefähr drei Meilen in der Stunde, seine Breite betrug hier nur etwa 1000 Schritt. Er ist vom felsigen Ufer eingeschlossen, das im Allgemeinen eine Höhe von 20 bis 30 Fuß hat.[4]

[3] Barth, p.247.
[4] Ibid., p. 281.

The European mind is fixated on the mastery of water due to the historical nature of navigational exploration. Thus taking the first step towards possession, of this imaginary and real border, Barth records the river's properties, converting knowledge into the language of power. He exercises control by reducing it to numbers, which de-mystify the river's presence. Although a great mystery, there is no sense of wonder or marvel evident in this description. In fact, it is a complete reversal of his earlier portrayal conveying the exhilaration induced by the sight of flowing waters.

The rationalising portrayal of the river overcomes a tradition of fluvial myth which, according to Simon Schama in *Landscape and Memory*, influenced European consciousness long before Barth's reference to African geography.[5] The mystery, not of the Niger, but the elusive Nile source, remained one of Africa's best-kept secrets. Those wishing to protect it did so with conspiratorial cunning, seemingly siding with nature's own means of concealment to prevent alien penetration. It promised the ultimate prize to the nation which uncovered the enigma – imperial power comparable to that of ancient Egyptian civilisation. The Western fluvial image, was dominated by an understanding of rivers flowing from source to mouth, mirroring the passage of time from beginning to end, from birth to death. They also, so Schama argues, symbolise lines of power over the course of history, epitomised by the Romans who turned waterways into transport routes, straightening their course and maximising their potential by constructing aqueducts. Rivers combine the linearity of time with the regenerating cycles of life – an ancient analogy which Schama links to the circulation of the bloodstream and the flow of rivers. Western, goal-orientated determination enhanced the will to possess and master the Nile head-waters, as if mapping it from beginning to end would simultaneously incorporate this point of Africa into the narrative of European history. However, Barth's pre-occupation with de-mystification only affirms the status of myth as an inescapable part of his culture too.

Control over waters appears to be a compulsion for the consciousness of imperialist civilisations. After mastering oceans, the challenge to African expansion remains the desert, which is to be traversed using ships of the desert (i.e. camels). The missing

[5] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), pp. 245-255.

link between external and internal mapping is represented by internal stretches of water. The expedition transported parts of a boat thousands of miles across the desert in order to enable Overweg's research of Lake Chad. Schama expands on the connection made by Marx between 'hydraulic societies' and absolutism, concluding that the resulting control over water thus legitimised the omnipotence of tyrannies.[6] Rewarded by ultimate power over the expedition's course, Barth has regained control and is ready to assert his nation's irreversible claim in history as *the* justified power over this river and thus the surrounding terrain

However, the Niger becomes a mythical river Jordan as the redemptive property of water inherent to Christian tradition, connects Barth's journey to images of the very beginnings of cultural wisdom from which it is impossible to distance himself. Aware that his knowledge will sow the seeds of destruction of this biblical innocence, it is also the pre-requisite to his individual success. Thus at one level, he applies the technique of Enlightenment to strip the river of its mystic aura; but at another he too finds a pre-Enlightened need for myth in his own psyche He thus admits the need of supra-rational myth without realising what he has done.

Gerhard Rohlfs

Rohlfs asserts his fearlessness of African terrain at the outset of his narrative by maintaining that the only threat to the success of his expedition manifests itself in human form. This threat is a result of the unpredictability of indigenous behaviour, which – unlike the inorganic world of space – cannot be subjected to scientific control. As we shall see in the next chapter, Rohlfs does suggest the use of firepower – an alternative means of western power – in order to control this unscriptable dimension of African exploration. However, Rohlfs, thus feeling less threatened by African nature may, as a consequence reduce the controlling structures with which he manages alterity. This would thus make him increasingly receptive to qualitatively new experiences.

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[6] Schama, p. 260.

Rohlfs's depiction of African landscape does not suggest a promising start, however. As he leaves Tripoli – thus before actually experiencing his surroundings fully – Rohlfs's first impression is expressed with the same dualistic categories of comparison reserved for the local residents:

> Man hat hier [...] ein echtes afrikanisches Bild vor sich: schlanke immergrüne Palmen, Orangen- und Olivenbäume mit saftigem Blätterschmuck, unmittelbar daneben aber die öde Sanddüne, und alles überwölbt von einem trübblauen Himmel. In Nordafrika ist der Himmel beständig in graue Schleier gehüllt; der klare und tiefblaue Himmel des europäischen Südens zeigt sich erst wieder in der Region der Haufenwolken, d.h. in Zentralafrika während der Regenzeit.[7]

The sensual image of the slim and ever young palms with their juicy fruit and decorative foliage suggests that Africa is a paradise or an idyll. Yet in this emblematic description we find it placed directly beside a picture of the sterile void. And the sky, to which Europeans traditionally look for enlightenment, we find in Africa veiled by a constant grey, so that the European observer is none the wiser as to what this place means. The only hope of finding a clarity to match that of the European south – the home of philosophy, after all – seems to lie the other side of the desert.

Rohlfs's African landscape signifies deception, at first presenting an amicable image, only to be destroyed by the disappointing results of closer scrutiny. The tension between appearance and substance emanating from the description relates directly to a fixation of Rohlfs's with – and reliance on disguise. Rohlfs traverses North Africa disguised as an Arab Moslem. The 'Schleier' symbolises indigenous unpredictability, yet is simultaneously Rohlfs's means of survival. Although willing to deceive by resorting to disguise, deception on behalf of others is a base, culturally inherent characteristic. Rohlfs's deception is paradoxically intended to uncover the secrets hidden by both human and natural treachery. His European consciousness possesses a kind of absolute Protean power thanks to its sophistication. He can pass as one of the natives, but they cannot pass as a European. He is observing those masked from behind a mask – clear vision cannot occur until the mask is removed,

[7] Rohlfs, p. 39.

i.e. on leaving the religiously fanatic areas of the North for the symbolically clear and unattainable skies of central Africa or Europe. Disguise may facilitate the penetration of foreign territory, yet it simultaneously signifies Rohlfs's lack of control and ensuing subordination. If he wielded more power he would be able to appear as himself. Instead the symbolic 'Schleier' of "oriental" mystique remains impenetrable.

Although keen to present an outwardly confident self-image by asserting the trepidation of his predecessor Barth, Rohlfs does not seem at ease in his disguise. For those uncertain of their identity, appearance forms the basis of qualitative judgement. We know that Rohlfs adheres to rigid, pre-formed, culturally-exclusive external factors. As we also saw in the previous chapter, this denotes Rohlfs's superficial understanding of self-knowledge. Without the familiar external symbols of culture, however, the raw, inner self is more exposed. It would present Rohlfs with an ideal opportunity for self-reflection and analysis, yet he never sees, let alone seizes this opportunity. Disguising imperialist legitimisation behind authorial narration, Rohlfs merely wishes to affirm the duality of his pre-existing conceptions, not overturn them.

Nonetheless, when Rohlfs is on one occasion overcome by an unavoidable experience of alterity from which he cannot hide, the results are dramatic. Rohlfs, departing from the city of Misda in the North, is at last able to remove his disguise. The Sahara thus presents a site of relief, freedom and familiarity, as Rohlfs metamorphoses back to his European self. However, the symbolic reinstating of European culture and thus control onto Africa, is quickly marred by an ensuing sand-storm, against which Rohlfs is utterly powerless. Clouds of whirling dust and sand subject him to temporary blindness.

The episode stands in stark contrast to the remaining chapter, which is devoted to transit and scholarly excursuses. As we saw in the previous chapter, these themes are conveyed concisely, using object-centred adjectives – if at all and notably, extensive references to time and date. Here, the large number of compounds increase the complexity, originality and evocative power of the extract. The intensity and immediacy of the moment appeals to all sensory organs:

> Die Sonne erschien als ein glutroter Feuerball; eine unheimliche Schwüle durchzitterte die wellenschlagende Luft, dennoch herrschte vollkommene Windstille, aber eine pechschwarze, majestätisch sich heranwälzende Wolke ließ keinen Zweifel, daß in kurzer Zeit der Orkan über uns losbrechen wurde. Immer röter wurde die Sonne, immer drückender die Hitze, das Atmen war fast unmöglich in der heißen, trockenen Luft. Jetzt kam das Gespenst herangebraust [...]. Völlige Dunkelheit umhüllte uns; der mehrere Hundert Fuß hoch aufgewirbelte Staub verdunkelte die Sonne wie bei einer Sonnenfinsternis.[8]

The desert's alienating silence seems to increase, enhancing the feeling of dread and foreboding as the party await the approaching hurricane. Silence is indicative of lack of movement, disorientation and ultimately death. Loss of direction is the most fearsome of threats as it would, with great certainty, prove fatal. The images of fire and darkness which follow are on an apocalyptic scale. The anticipatory silence is broken by the rush of wind, carrying with it whirling clouds of sand and dust.

Instead of relating Rohlfs's triumph over nature, the desert experience depicts the combined forces of terrain and climate, seizing all power and control from human influence. Rohlfs can neither prevent nor flee from the disorientating, nightmarish occurrence, the main feature of which being its unprecedented strength. He can merely adapt to the situation by following the lead of his entourage who try to protect themselves by crouching behind the camels. Scientific instruments are namely stripped of all function and power.

After the storm has passed, Rohlfs notes that the whole episode – his brush with death and return to normality – lasted barely more than twenty minutes. During the storm, he was, however, unable to read his watch and keep time, therefore he had no semblance of control over it. The storm, then, is threshold experience, induced when the familiar rhythm of western time and space are neither definable nor recognisable and instead are replaced by another temporality. In this case the natural rhythm of the storm – its circular movement again equates alternative temporal consciousness with

[8] Rohlfs, pp. 94-95.

non-linearity. The security of observation from a distance no longer exists, as Rohlfs is unable to enclose alterity in western temporal structures. [9]

A break in narration – marked by the reappearance of the narrating self – signals a contrived return to factual, object-centred description. Rohlfs is at least able to assert narrative supremacy as a signal of regained control. He analyses and rationalises the most sensible course of action to be taken in such instances, thus signifying the re-introduction of western thought-processes to compensate for the momentary intrusion of otherness into his otherwise controlled encounter. This episode, as we saw in the above discussion of Barth's narrative, also demonstrates the unprecedented inability of western standards of technology – which both explorers represent – to overcome the tribulations of desert experience. The episodes are marked by disorientation, synonymous with the inability to keep track of western, empirical time. Rohlfs does, however get back on track eventually. The phenomenological experience of time synonymous with the intrusion of nature is, in Barth's account, the chaotic time of dreams. Rohlfs's statement, which qualifies the desert experience in familiar temporal categories after the event, seems to imply its insignificance and emphasise the nature of its transience. As we shall see in the following discussion, the dualistic images of darkness and light seem to strengthen throughout the narrative, as if to compensate for this rupture in his control of alterity.

The similar terrain covered by Rohlfs's expedition to that of Barth means that he too encounters the redemptive waters of the Niger in the latter stages of his journey. Emerging from a dark, dense and disorientating forest, the clear waters present a navigable, arterial water-course to carry Rohlfs away from the 'Herzen Afrikas' (Rohlfs, p. 335) towards the freedom of the ocean. In a symbolic reversal of Raleigh's American journey upstream in search of El Dorado,[10] Rohlfs hoists his 'Bremer Flagge' (Rohlfs, p.339) to the prow of his 'ausgehöhlter Baumstamm'(Rohlfs, p. 338) – a confused imposition of *Heimat* onto his supposedly African home, yet also simultaneous Dorado – and is carried along the waters back to familiar levels of civilisation where he is greeted by the following emblematic

[9] Fabian highlights methods of maintaining distance from 'the other' in *Time and the Other*, p. 25.
[10] Raleigh's journey is discussed by Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, pp. 307-320.

image: 'Eine blonde, in Seide gekleidete Dame [...] umgeben von einem Kreis junger Negermädchen, denen sie aus der Bibel vorlas.'(Rohlfs, p. 369) The unmistakably angelic image is the divine reward for his endured hardship, marking his return 'home' in a moment of epiphanic enlightenment. The blonde, Bible-reading woman has a mythical quality which coincides with the imposition of Christian, rather than African myth onto the African mind. The woman, the wife of the resident missionary resides, significantly, in a metal house. It is the only one of its kind in the area and certainly the first that Rohlfs has seen whilst in Africa. This durable symbol of European technology thus poses a striking contrast to all that has gone before. Instead of returning from paradise, Rohlfs returns to it. His paradise is a pure, idealised form of his existent culture, radiating European light over the darkness of nature.

This final, resounding denunciation of cultural equality, is hardly indicative of any inner change induced by external influences. The image not only parallels the spatial beginning of the journey, but also the pre-existent mind-set. This time, the endeavour enjoys divine legitimisation.

Gustav Nachtigal

Nachtigal, argued here to be the most open of our three explorers to alterity, begins his narrative using decidedly Eurocentric remarks reminiscent of Rohlfs, to distinguish Africa from Europe using the familiar dualistic terms of darkness and light. Africa is 'geheimnisvoll', 'verhängnisvoll' and a 'rätselvolle Sphinx', (Nachtigal, p. 6) thus setting the scene for a paradigmatic encounter with pre-formed images of alterity.

His first actual encounter with desert terrain is marked by an emphatic night-time silence. But rather than inducing fear, the stillness heightens Nachtigal's beloved sense of solitude by giving him the chance to contemplate the nature of his journey, his past and his future. Nachtigal does not require a monumental external event such as the sand storm to prompt inner exploration. In his dreamlike state,

> Bilder der Vergangenheit verschmolzen mit denen der Gegenwart, die norddeutsche Heimat mit der afrikanischen Küste des Mittelmeeres. Das mächtige Karthago, das römische Afrika, die Reiche Cyrenaica, Türken und Christen, Neger und Vandalen, Araber und Garamanten, Berber und alte Ägypter tummelten sich in meinem träumenden Gehirne. Ich entrollte die wechselvollen Geschicke dieser Länder und gedachte der Zeit, wo ich auf den pedantischen Schulbänken so oft gewünscht hätte, lieber dieselbe mit allen ihren schreckensreichen Ereignissen zu durchleben, als ihre zahllosen Daten meinem rebellischen Gedächtnisse aufzuzwingen. Die Bilder wurden allmählich unklar und verwirrten sich mehr und mehr, bis endlich gegen Morgen ein tiefer Schlaf sie auflöste.[11]

Here, before beginning his journey, Nachtigal prepares himself by symbolically collapsing the cultural laws of time and space which govern the pre-formed interpretation of information, rejecting them as inappropriate, distorted categories. His dream creates a synthesis of common experience, blurring the border between himself and 'the other', thus reminiscent of the temporal epiphany we discussed in Chapter One. Separated geographically and culturally, both his German home and Africa can share the chaotic, illogical patterns of his imagination and subconscious. African landscape induces the irrational, yet it is internal and inherent to all humans. Nachtigal's longing for Africa is a longing for the freedom denied by the obscurity of artificial structures of thought, imposed on him since childhood. His image of child-like innocence, a return to nature, is not associated with inferior knowledge, but unconstrained thought.

As we have seen, the individual, subjective experience of time was generally underprivileged in nineteenth-century western epistemology. As part of his rejection of western thought Nachtigal, however, seems to revalidate the dream as an alternative form of consciousness. The Romantics – epitomised by Novalis's dream of the blue flower in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* – see the dream as a privileged site of self-knowledge beyond everyday time.[12] Nachtigal's dream-like state unifies apparent tensions to create a synthesis of awareness which marks a new beginning.

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[11] Nachtigal, I, p. 12.

[12] Novalis, 'Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Ein Roman' in *Deutsche Literatur: Weltanschauung der Frühromantik*, ed. by Paul Kluckhohn, 23 vols (Leipzig: Reclam, 1932) V, pp. 165-303.

Nachtigal's reassertion of romantic tradition is similar in style to later explorations of romantic dream-time, namely Hans Castorp's 'Schnee' episode in Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg*.[13]

The situation also begins with a short dream-sequence, initiated by the surroundings, as Castorp, watching the silent, snow-covered 'wattiges Nichts' before him, slowly moves from reality to dream as 'alles verschwamm mehr und mehr', marking the stage between waking and sleeping. (Mann, p. 645) This short day-dream introduces Castorp's wish for 'einer inniger-freieren Berührung mit dem schneeverwüsteten Gebirge' (Mann, p. 647) with which he otherwise barely comes in contact. Like Nachtigal, he is an unlikely candidate for such adventure, yet the surroundings offer an ideal 'Schauplatz für das Austragen seiner Gedankenkomplexe', for which Castorp requires solitude. (Mann, p. 653) The eventual encounter is marked by a longer dream-episode, induced by a snow-storm and Castorp's ensuing disorientation. The series of images, combining real memories with nightmarish visions, diffuses the notion of past and future. The dream thus totalises time and brings enlightenment, as Castorp, aware that the images are part of a dream, analyses and interprets them whilst still in a dream-state. The phenomenological process required to reach inner clarity, only lasted a few minutes of empirical time. The heightened awareness, however becomes lost as soon as Castorp returns to the normal structures of his existence. Nachtigal ends his initial, dream-like state with sleep, similarly, to be repeated a short time later.

Paralleling Castorp's experience above, Nachtigal becomes disorientated in the desert. Only four months after beginning the expedition – signified by the first, dream-like state – the party loses its way whilst travelling through desert terrain in Tibesti. The native guide Kolokomi mistakes the route, causing a long detour, which leaves the water-rations dangerously low. On finally reaching a well, it is found to be dried-up. Thus Nachtigal loses the last shimmer of hope and resigns himself to his death:

> Allmählich wurden diese Gedanken zu unbestimmten Empfindungen, verwischten sich in Träumereien, in denen ich meine Umgebung sah, ohne in

[13] Thomas Mann, *Der Zauberberg*, [1924] 16th edn (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2004), pp. 641-682.

ihr zu leben; in denen Bilder aus meiner Vergangenheit, mit den Erlebnissen der Gegenwart verschmolzen, und ich mir nicht mehr klar bewußt war, ob ich in der fernen Heimat, ob am Fuße eines Felsens in der Sahara weilte. Zuweilen ward ich noch aufgerüttelt aus meinem Traumleben, wenn stechende Sonnenstrahlen mein Gesicht trafen [...]. Doch bald schwand alles Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, die drohende Todesgefahr und die nie ganz ersterbende Hoffnung, und ein Zustand umfing mich, von dem ich nicht weiß, ob er ein vollkommener Schlummer oder die beginnende Bewußtlosigkeit eines nahen Unterganges war. Ich weiß nicht, wie lange dieser, ich kann nicht sagen, qualvolle Zustand dauerte, in dem meine Sinnesorgane Eindrücke von außen aufnahmen, ohne daß diese zu richtigen Bewußtsein gelangten.[14]

The imminent threat of death increases the intensity of this dream sequence. Nachtigal, however, relates the state induced by the images in his mind, rather than the images themselves. It seems unlikely, that these images will end in a deep, peaceful sleep, as Nachtigal is unable to distinguish whether he is asleep, awake, or unconscious. He seems to register waking, yet again, this state is unlike any other form of awareness. Castorp's dreams are also momentarily interrupted, which is described as follows : 'Es war jedoch kein rechtes und eigentliches Erwachen; er blinzelte nur [...] und er träumte gewissermaßen fort, – nicht mehr in Bildern, sondern gedankenweise' (Mann, p. 677)

Nachtigal is brought back to reality as members of his entourage arrive with life-saving water. However, unlike Castorp, he does not seem fully to emerge from this dream-like state, as the same evening he willingly allows the landscape to draw him back into it: 'Eine lebhafte Einbildungskraft, besonders bei der zauberischen Abendbeleuchtung, konnte sich beim Anblick dieser gigantischen Bauten der Natur in den wundersamsten Träumen ergehen und die seltsamsten Bilder schaffen.' (Nachtigal, I, p. 64) Less than one week later, Nachtigal again finds himself without water, this time to be saved by sudden rainfall. In comparison to Barth and Rohlfs, Nachtigal does not seem to perceive the dream as a fearful, disorientating experience, instead welcoming it as a feature of his journey. If he remains in this dream-like state of self-awareness, he will become less confused by the intransitivity of western,

[14] Nachtigal, I, p. 60.

external means of structuring time and space in 'zahllosen Daten'. (Nachtigal, I, p. 12) Thus Nachtigal, in the alternative western tradition of temporal consciousness, becomes the explorer most open to experiencing Africa.

Nachtigal's preference for dreams over reality is mirrored by his arrival at Lake Chad. As we have seen, water presents a sight of welcome relief for both Barth and Rohlfs. Nachtigal begins his description in a similar style to his introductory dream-sequence, alluding to boyish ideas of adventure. However, Lake Chad, rather than initiating pleasant feelings of familiarity, brings Nachigal back to unwanted reality:

> Vor Jahren hatte ich in langweiligen Schulstunden oft träumerisch seine Konturen betrachtet, welche damals mit dem fabelhaften Mondgebirge, allein das weite, weiße Inner-Afrika auf den geographischen Karten zierte. Jetzt hatte ich diese Ziel meiner kindlichen Träume und meines späteren Strebens erreicht; doch die Wirklichkeit vermochte meine Erwartungen nur in geringem Maße zu befriedigen. [15]

Nachtigal is disappointed, when pre-formed fantasies are destroyed. Although he is able to experience otherness in qualitatively new dream-like states, he is unable to renounce the presence of pre-structured dreams which influence his perception of alterity.

II. *Testaments to History: Natural and Manmade Monuments*

During their passage through foreign terrain, the *Reisende* are confronted with ancient monuments, cultural expressions testifying to the lost presence and power of past civilisations. All three explorers traverse the same territory – all three encounter the same monuments – yet the emotional effect of these structures on the explorers varies greatly. Barth and Rohlfs, fascinated by these attestations to a past they consider part of their own western cultural development, were never more aware of their place in history as when confronted with these symbols of common cultural heritage.

[15] Nachtigal, II, p. 72.

> Ich selbst, als ich einsam und allein in diesem breiten, verödeten Tale, das gegen Ost von der großartigen Wand des Plateaus überragt wird, diesem wunderbaren, reich geschmückten und in seiner Schlankheit wie von Genien getragenen Denkmale gegenüberstand, fühlte ich mich von einem gewissen unheimlichen Gefühle ergriffen. [...] Und für wen baute der Römer hier sein kunstreiches Denkmal? Konnte er ahnen, dass es nach so vielen Jahrhunderten von einem Nachkommen jener Germanen, die er verachtete wie die Garamanten, der gebildeten Welt zur Bewunderung wieder vorgeführt werden möchte?[16]

The structures are the only evidence of the presence of previous civilisations, the only lasting marker of their total, yet transitory power. Since that era there has been no cultural development, time seems to have regressed. The only visible sign of time's passage is the weathering of the monuments – eroded and disordered by the elements, they have stood the test of time – but not in their original form, only through modification by the forces of their environment. They hold meaning to those privileged to know their cultural significance, a priori, but in fact the monuments have become something else. The writing on their surfaces has been worn away by persistent sandstorms. They may, originally, have symbolised the subjection of nature to mankind's will, but they are no longer symbols of territorial conquest; instead they signify the victory of Africa over their original form.

The Roman monuments are man-made signposts, orientating landmarks intended for generations of settlers who never came. Barth's culture must present considerably superior control over the terrain in order to survive for future generations – his reference to 'Germanen' suggests a vision of once and future German empire. Barth becomes a nineteenth-century Herodotus, yet his main cultural advantage over the genius of classical Greek and Roman civilisations lies in the mass medium of print. Thus, possession through the transfer of knowledge can occur before more Europeans set foot on foreign terrain. History becomes important when a stage of temporal awareness is reached which triggers the need to preserve a culture's history

[16] Barth, p. 50.

in writing. Just as erecting monuments presented instant historical awareness, Barth's narrative is testimony to the historical awareness of his culture and justification of its presence on the African continent.

The treatment of indigenous appropriation of stone for similar purposes offers an interesting comparison. Barth devotes an entire chapter titled 'Das Geheimnis der Felsbilder' (Barth, p. 74-84) to the puzzle behind the pictorial representations found drawn on the walls of a cave. Although the markings are also acknowledged as testimony to 'eine interessante oder bedeutsame Tatsache', (Barth, p.76) they serve as differentiating criteria between African and European culture, as Barth attempts to classify them on an evolutionary scale of civilised development. Barth employs distinctly Hegelian typological categories of art, reflecting a tendency to systematise processes of development, discovering an inherent logic to each stage which is the necessary component for transcendence to the next, thus creating a sequence of temporally definable development.[17] The highest levels, exclusive to European cultural history, become absolute standards of comparison. Symbols, according to Hegel in *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, are the origin of art, preconditions of a later stage of artistic development which carries greater human and spiritual meaning and unity of concept and form. Those cultures which have reached these stages of artistic development (i.e. Hegel's own contemporary European culture), will be able to interpret these previous levels of art and give greater meaning to such enigmatic representations in terms of the grand récit of Hegelian world history. Defining African culture by its art, still in the stages of primitive symbols, sets the culture itself in the time of origins. Africa is not only distanced geographically from the self-imposed European centre,[18] it is also temporally marginalised in a state of pre-modern development.[19] Europeans have the ability to transcend these borders, moving freely between centre and periphery yet, parallel to the one-way, linear passage of time, movement only occurs from one party. Africa is thus represented as a static, unchanging place.

[17] Fabian discusses the Hegelian categories of art in relation to definitions of cultural development in non-western cultures, *Time and the Other*, pp. 125-131.
[18] M.L. Pratt, p.16. The effect of interior exploration created a new 'planetary consciousness'.
[19] Fabian, p. 18.

Unsurprisingly, the presence of Roman ruins presents an opportunity for Rohlfs to assert his Eurocentric attitude towards African culture: 'Sollte es nicht die Aufgabe unserer Zeit sein, solche künstlerisch wertvollen Denkmäler des Altertums, die Zeugen vergangener Größe, vor dem gänzlichen Untergang zu retten?'(Rohlfs, p. 93) He suggests transporting the monuments to Europe where they can be properly appreciated, as the indigenous people have no connection to, nor understanding of them – thus excluding Africa from any semblance of shared cultural heritage.[20] In Europe the monuments signify the passage of time, in Africa they have no such significance except when viewed by Europeans. Rohlfs's solution – reminiscent of that of the Elgin marbles – is simply to transport these monuments to a more suitable setting, asserts the ability of European culture to alter events, add new interpretation and ultimately control history.

Rohlfs feels reassured by the recognisable meaning of Roman monuments, a conversion of raw material. In their natural form, rock-formations deceptively seem to alter in size and shape. Indigenous attempts adapt to existing materials by drawing on the stone, rather than altering its entirety. This is seen as inferior use of material, yet adaptation to nature is the key to survival in Africa. The landscape itself is otherwise untouched by human hand – even the dwellings are of a transitory construction.

Gustav Nachtigal

Nachtigal only briefly acknowledges the presence of Roman ruins as he passes by, directing his attention instead, towards natural monuments:

> Nichts kennzeichnet den Weg, bis einige Stunden weiter ein Kelaja genannter Hügel sich aus der allmählich ansteigenden Ebene emporhebt und weiterhin ein riesiger Wegweiser in Gestalt eines mächtigen rundlichen Kalkblockes, der auf

[20] See Glenn H. Penny on German the tradition of collecting African artefacts in *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2002)

der Spitze eines Hügels diese gleichsam erdrücken zu wollen scheint und el-Bazina heißt, den Reisenden orientiert.'[21]

Nature provides its own symbol in the form of a 'signpost', the only indicator of direction and distance. Like the Africans, Nachtigal learns to use the signs of nature itself in order to find his way. Thus he learns to read African nature as a language, instead of imposing European norms. This sign is used by all travellers – a shared symbol of humanity's futile struggle to overcome the elements. Even when using western technology, the overriding means of orientation is nature. Nachtigal is in awe of these symbols of strength and power, which he sees reflected in the appearance of those who constantly confront the extreme powers of nature. Their features are a symbol of African culture and testimony to its monumental strength.

> Nichts, woran sich das Auge haften konnte, auch nicht die leiseste Spur von Leben, ein vollständiges Bild der Leere und Unendlichkeit. Nirgends fühlt der Mensch sich so klein und verloren, und doch wieder nirgends so stark und gehoben, als im Kampfe mit dieser hilflosen Verlassenheit, im leblosen, scheinbar unbegrenzten Raume. Wüstenreisen machen den Menschen ernst und nachdenklich, und die echtesten der Wüstensöhne, die Tuarik und die Tubu, welche ihr ganzes Leben in diesem einsamen Kampfe gegen den weiten, wüsten Raum verbringen, haben ein fast finsteres Aussehen, zu dem keine harmlose Heiterkeit mehr zu passen scheint.[22]

The terrain appropriates man, its external extremities influencing the individual's character from which no-one is exempt. The weathered features of desert inhabitants testify to erosion and adaptation of both an internal and external nature. The excerpt suggests that the experience of travel through the ontological void teaches Nachtigal a higher, universal and sublime truth about the nullity of things human.

[21] Nachtigal, I, p. 15.
[22] Ibid., I, p. 19.

These passages, taken together, suggest that there is more to Africa than Barth, Rohlfs and Nachtigal presumed, for their records document nothing if not the unwitting subversion of their confident Europeanism at narrated and narrating levels. Both Barth and Rohlfs experience momentary loss of control in the face of desert terrain, which they otherwise relegate through contrasting symbolic images of light and darkness to pre-modern development. Their powerlessness is symbolised by episodes of nightmarish dream-time, which presents fearsome loss of self-control. The explorers are thus de-colonised by incommensurable African 'nature'. Nachtigal, however, collapses the differentiating entities of time and space to create a totality of experience. His dream-like states are initiated by the silence and solitude of the desert. They increase in intensity as he is subjected to the superiority of the African climate to decide his fate. Nachtigal alone seems to welcome this dissolution of the occidental subject as a discovery of primal authenticity.

The familiar sight of water, as we have seen, re-awakens images of power associated with the imperial consciousness. It presents the opportunity to regain control and re-assert western cultural ideology. The images at the end of Barth and Rohlfs's narratives in fact strain all too obviously to compensate for the inability to control alien desert-terrain. The theme of disguise, as we have seen, accompanies Rohlfs's narrative in numerous forms. The image of water leading to purification camouflages both the expansionist justifications implicit in the text, as well as the underlying fear that western knowledge may be undermined after all. Nachtigal, however seems disappointed that the lake-scene, which takes him back to reality, bares no resemblance to the pre-formed, romantic image of otherness he had hoped for. Both the romantic and the rational, western a priori confidence proves unfitting to a qualitative experience of alterity. On this measure, even Nachtigal's approach is unmasked as inadequate to embrace the reality of Africa.

The objects of cultural heritage, which are intended to convey cultural superiority through historical legitimisation, function paradoxically, as symbols of impotence. Overcome by the power of nature, the monuments testify to the constant, higher power and ever-presence of natural time. Rohlfs unwittingly affirms the presence of

this alternative temporal process, which challenges the strength of European consciousness. He infers that the landscape seems unchanged, yet the effects are obviously present due to the altered structures which are the ruins of an ancient empire.

The material value of information necessitates the inclusion of as much detail as possible. The hybrid nature of the works, combining scholarly report with novelistic fable, justifies the inclusion of these non-scientific images. Rather than continuing the imposition of cultural norms onto 'the other', these symbolic representations project evidence of unexpected inner experiences onto the surrounding terrain. The colonial travel narrative, intended to control, is thus paradoxically controlled. Its imposition of temporal structures is eroded by African dream time. The closure of the narratives symbolised by the Niger and the evangelisation imagery, finally fails to enclose its object, which escapes beyond the explorers' discursive margin.

Introduction

> Er [der Häuptling, T.D.] ließ sich dann mit seinen Gefährten ruhig nieder und fand großes Vergnügen an der Spieldose, welche ich wirklich nebst der Uhr auf meiner ganzen Reise für das geeigneteste Instrument fand, um die Eingeborenen von der großen Überlegenheit des europäischen Geistes und der Kunstfertigkeit der Europäer zu überzeugen. (Barth, p. 218)

> Bei einer Audienz legte mir Sultan Omar seine zerbrochenen Uhren vor und bat mich, sie wieder ganz zu machen, in der Meinung, jeder Christ verstehe sich selbst auf die Anfertigung aller Erzeugnisse, die aus den Christenländern nach Afrika kommen. (Rohlfs, p. 208)

> Ich selbst wisse wohl, daß der Islam nur diejenige Nachbildung menschlicher Form verurteile, welche einen Schatten zu werfen imstande, also als Statuen oder Reliefbildungen dargestellt seien, daß aber das auf flachem Papier oder ebener Leinwand erzeugte Gemälde, nicht in den Bereich der Sünde gehöre. Damit war freilich der allegorischen Figur der Stutzuhr das Urteil gesprochen. (Nachtigal, I, p. 144)

The European temporal mind-set, it has been argued, served German explorers as a means of control, both over the scientific measurement of geographical traversal and the narrative frame for the representation of events. It creates a parameter through which the complexity of the unknown can be reduced. The European mind-set, according to these writers, represents the highest level of development and thus unquestionably superior epistemology. As argued in the previous chapter, the technology associated with the European mind-set, however, in fact provided insufficient means to control the anticipated threat of alterity in the dimension of spatial exteriority. This chapter by contrast will focus inwards, on the element of human, cultural otherness, namely the extent to which the temporal mind-set pre-structured the qualitative judgement of 'self' and 'other' during cross-cultural

encounters. For the explorers encountered not only immeasurable stretches of outer space in their experience of incommensurable otherness, but also unquantifiable expanses of inner space – the unknown culture in person.

These encounters, as we shall see, were not intended as opportunities to establish symmetrical, communicative exchange.[1] Instead, attempts were made to reinforce cultural supremacy by confining alien cultures to lower levels of cultural development. Hence the use of clocks as gifts – intended as symbolic representations denoting progress and superiority. Recent critics have proposed contrasting views on this problem. On the one hand, Johannes Fabian defines the temporal mind-set as a divisive criterion in such encounters, which is indicative of a trend in later, anthropological discourse which he describes as the 'denial of coevalness'.[2] This effective infantilisation defines 'the other' in stages of temporal, cultural progress, comparable to an era of European history. The observer can thus maintain objective distance between himself and the object of observation, verifying the validity of his claims in what is effectively of course a logical vicious circle. Fabian defines successful communication as that which is undertaken on a basis of shared temporal i.e. cultural equality. In "Orientalist" discourse, this, of course, cannot occur.

However, in contrast, Russell A. Berman disputes this. Berman's concept identifies an alternative interest in regions of human experience, evident in German experiences of 'the other'. This opposes the reductive, knowledge-power assertion, which we have seen, is generally accorded to these encounters. This he attributes to Germany's 'outsider' status within Europe. Thus in spite of differing levels of cultural sophistication, he asserts that the humanistic interest enables reciprocal comprehension and communication between both groups. Therefore he maintains that German heterophilia identifies a universal connection which transcends the cultural dualism propagated by Fabian.[3] In what follows, we shall examine whether Fabian's or Berman's descriptions apply to our authors.

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[1] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 6. Pratt's 'contact zones' are synonymous with 'coercion, racial inequality, and intractable conflict'. Urs Bitterli describes the asymmetry of these encounters in *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten"*, p. 84.
[2] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other*, pp. 25-37.
[3] Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire*, pp. 21-64.

To facilitate discussion, representative accounts of interaction with 'the other' will be analysed on three main levels, which describe the level of intercultural mediation given on the part of the indigenous culture. Discussion of the first level treats the relationship between the *Reisende* and their respective, indigenous entourages, which perform a mediating function between cultures albeit one which sits within the limits prescribed by the explorers. The second level of communication occurs between the *Reisende* and indigenous figures of local power – appointed, or self-appointed cultural mediators, sometimes Arabs or Turks, but always Muslims. The final level of encounter is that between the *Reisende* and local African residents. These latter scenes are structured, in reality and in narration, by the explorers only. They represent the culmination of progressive relations in the knowledge-power discourse. For the *Reisende* are at last able to affirm themselves in their chosen role. These encounters similarly reflect different intellectual superstructures, which move from Moslem attitudes to time, to a hybrid concept, then finally to African methods of structuring time. The supremacy of European culture should be the expected result of the interaction. As we shall see, this was in fact, not always so.

I. *The Entourage*

I.i. *Sacred Time*

Heinrich Barth

> Als Mitternacht eintrat und der feierliche Augenblick des Beginns des neuen Jahres da war, machten Overweg und ich Halt, begrüßten das neue Jahr mit Begeisterung und wünschten uns, uns gegenseitig die Hände schüttelnd, glücklichen Erfolg auf unserer gefährlichen Laufbahn. [...] Unsere mohammedanischen Begleiter [...] nahmen innigen Anteil an dieser Szene, als sie den Grund davon erfuhren, und wünschten uns auch ihrerseits allen möglichen Erfolg.[4]

The image of two Europeans acknowledging the beginning of a new year with celebratory gestures could be taken from anywhere in the sphere of European

[4] Barth,, p. 29.

cultural influence. However, its symbolic nature is magnified, when we take into account that both are surrounded by the imposing, threatening alterity of the night-time desert. Nonetheless, the expedition is halted in order to honour the occasion. The symbolic gesture of shared belief, quoted above, consequently bonds the two *Reisende*, Barth and his companion Overweg as 'us' against 'them' – both in natural- and in human form. The native observers of this ritual are bewildered by the scene.

The indigenous members of the expedition are the representatives of cultural alterity with whom the *Reisende* have the greatest amount of contact. In spite of the emphasis evident in the self-portrayals of Barth and Rohlfs as lone travellers, the expeditions in truth consisted of large entourages, to whose expertise and local knowledge a great proportion of the expedition's success could be attributed. As stated above, the entourage is designated a quasi hybrid role as cultural mediator, yet only within the limits defined by the *Reisende*. The disjunctive relationship between both parties signifies the attempt by the explorers to prevent a reciprocal flow of communication. They employ the entourage as a means to extract information, on which – due to their believed superiority – they are grudgingly dependent. Information about themselves, they censor.

The institutionalised cross-cultural contact between explorer and entourage manifests itself in the celebration of religious festivals, ceremonies and rites. Unable to maintain spatial distance between himself and the intrusion of cultural 'otherness', Barth emphasises his adherence to the Christian calendar. This creates a cultural divide of Christian narrative which structures his experience of time at one level. It is thus also a temporal divide – they stop their journey at midnight. Both transpose cultural norms of belonging onto foreign space and thus transform the indigenous entourage into aliens in their own territory. The entourage partakes in the celebration from an uninformed perspective, i.e. externally. Yet they conform momentarily to European hegemony, thus accepting the disjunctive relationship desired and upheld by both *Reisende*. However, the watching Moslems may simply be tolerating the infidels and censoring any feelings of aggression, as they believe their religion, historically the later of the two, to be the least primitive. There may be a silence of the text here which glosses over the opinions of 'the other'. As we shall see in the coming discussion, the privileged position of the entourage as cultural mediators

proves threatening to both Barth and Rohlfs, hence the tendency to narrate their actions disadvantageously.

Barth and his companion Overweg partake in this symbolic moment at the outset of their expedition. Barth thus creates his own historical *Stunde Null*, which re-presents the birth of Christ and the installation of Christian time as a scale from where he can measure all further temporal progression. This will thus be constantly punctuated and reinforced by the underlying cyclical structure of Christian celebration. His imposition of cultural norms onto Africa mirrors the combination of religious and secular beliefs which structure the accepted time-set of the European calendar. Historical events are plotted by calendars, Barth thus asserts his place in history, which although linear, is constantly regenerated at the beginning of each year. The scene presents a stark contrast to Nachtigal's paradoxically *Afro*centric 'epiphanic' *Stunde Null*, which we discussed in the previous chapter, and which we saw, signified a conscious rejection of the European temporal mind-set.

Gerhard Rohlfs

Christian celebrations arouse little interest in Rohlfs. They do, however, confirm the inaccuracy of his claim to feel at home in Africa, from which he immediately distances himself: 'Ich gedachte der verschiedenen Weihnachten, die ich wie diesmal fern von den Meinigen, allein unter andersgearteten, andersdenkenden und empfindenden Menschen verlebt und war über dem Sinnen allmählich eingeschlummert.'(Rohlfs, p. 282) That said, his reaction to a Bedouin ritual provides an insightful comparison with Nachtigal, particularly as Nachtigal also relates a similar experience. The contrast emphasises the positive resonance of Nachtigal's portrayal. Let us take Rohlfs first:

> Um halb acht Uhr berührten wir den Rand der Hammada. [...] Ehe wir sie überschritten, veranlaßten mich meine Kameltreiber, weil ich zum ersten Mal des Weges ziehe, einen kleinen Steinhügel, Bu-sfor oder Bu-saffar (Reisevater), zu errichten. Der Ursprung und die Bedeutung dieser Sitte konnten sie mir nicht erklären, oder ich verstand die Erklärung nicht. Erst

später erfuhr ich, daß die Bu-sfor Fetische sind, welche den Reisenden, der das erste Mal solche hervorragenden Punkte berührt, vor Ungemach schützen sollen, und das mit der Aufrichtung eines Bu-sfor zugleich der Verpflichtung verbunden ist, den Reisegefährten ein Mahl zu geben.[5]

At first, Rohlfs presents us with a clear account of the ritual. He includes an authoritative translation of its name, including orthographic variations. He then refers to the object at hand – a small pile of stones by the wayside – giving us a visual image of the scene. However, we soon realise that this is as far as Rohlfs's real understanding of the ritual goes. In spite of the references to its external nature, he is none the wiser as to its significance. The 'Bu-saffar' presents Rohlfs with an example of impregnable duality. The ritualistic tradition is less motivated by religious beliefs than the collective adversity faced by all travellers. Rohlfs however attributes it to fetishism, a characteristic of primitive cultural status, which lacks rational explanation and is rooted in superstition. Yet, as we saw in the previous chapter, when confronted with the Roman monuments, erected for much the same purpose, Rohlfs appears to acknowledge the common cultural significance of such symbolic gestures. This earlier rejection of collective experience with the Bedouin, however, seems to be motivated by a hermeneutic of suspicion, fuelling the fear which protects his sense of identity from infiltration by the unknown. Rohlfs suggests that the event has no greater substance other than as a mere trick from which his entourage will benefit. As we witnessed above, Rohlfs, mirroring Barth's portrayal of the entourage, emphasises the negative in his narration.

Rohlfs's disjunctive relationships to both his entourage and his alleged African *Heimat* are epitomised by the young African whom Rohlfs rescues from slavery. Rohlfs emphasises his disgust at the de-humanising violence with which the slave trade operates.[6] His solution to the problem is as follows:

Es gibt nach meiner Überzeugung nur ein Mittel, das dem Unwesen in wirklich erfolgreicher Weise steuern kann: Eine europäische Macht, sei es England,

[5] Rohlfs, p. 53.

[6] Bitterli notes the general disgust with which the slave trade was perceived by Europeans, yet notes recurring situations of friendship between the African slave - trader and the European colonial as individuals. The native African in this role is treated as more of an equal to his European counterpart. Urs Bitterli, *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten"* p.100.

> Frankreich, oder Deutschland, muß in Fesan ständige Vertreter halten und dieselben ausreichend besolden, damit sie den Lokalbehörden durch ihr Auftreten den nötigen Respekt einflößen.[7]

Rohlfs's critique is notably directed at the execution of the operation, not the idea in general, which he implies simply lacks guidance. Shortly afterwards, Rohlfs is granted the opportunity to test his theory as he is given the gift of a slave, which he accepts on purely humanitarian grounds. Conveniently, the boy has forgotten his name – thus presenting an excellent opportunity on which to transpose new norms.[8] Rohlfs promptly initiates the transformation into a subject of European cultural hegemony, by naming him Noël. Noël is reborn, receiving not a German name, but one signifying the meta-language of judeo-Christian power. Paradoxically, Noël trades one form of slavery for another, more civilised version of servitude: 'Jetzt befindet er sich in Berlin, wo ihn der Deutsche Kaiser auf seine Kosten erziehen läßt.'(Rohlfs, p. 127) The Kaiser – the highest instance of power – is explicitly linked to the ongoing nature of the knowledge gained from the expedition. Noël is subjected to the same intellectual impositions as those which we saw Nachtigal intentionally rejecting in the previous chapter. The symbolic name, prompted by the festive season in which Rohlfs receives Noël, strengthens the nature of duality induced by Christian celebrations, which we saw at the beginning of this discussion. Rohlfs's perception of his African *Heimat* is that of a place on which to impose, rather than discover, symbols of familiarity.

The figure of Noël is a further symbol of Rohlfs's preoccupation with culture versus nature, who becomes a continuation of the standard topos 'edler Wilder'.[9] Rohlfs begins his civilising project by training his dog, Mursuk, to be a useful member of the entourage: 'Mursuk war der Held des Tages und fortan eine allgemein geschätzte Persönlichkeit.[...] Mursuk wurde seinerseits nicht nur gegen mich und meine Leute immer höflicher [...] Mursuk nahm alle Eigenschaften eines

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[7] Rohlfs, p. 125.

[8] Greenblatt, similarly points to the naming of *places* as christenings which denote the beginnings of material possession in *Marvelous Possessions*, p. 83.

[9] See Urs Bitterli, *"Die Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten": Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (Munich: Beck, 1991), p. 180. Also Elizabeth Frenzel's, *Motive der Weltliteratur* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1992), pp. 830-844.

zivilisierten Hundes an.' (Rohlfs, p. 92) Noël is the next subject on which to test the powers of cultural colonialism. 'Seine Erinnerung schien infolge der namenlosen Leiden völlig geschwunden; er wußte nichts von seiner Herkunft und Vergangenheit zu sagen' (Rohlfs, p. 127) – Noël is a timeless being, his absent personal history both facilitates and advocates the imposition of a new cultural structure. Rohlfs assumes, that in his natural state, Noël has no history. A sense of history and thus time, comes with the ensuing cultural imposition. As his attitude to Noël suggests, Rohlfs genuinely believes that he is acting favourably in making his superior culture accessible. Applied on a wider scale, the negation of historical existence would present the same opportunity to instate cultural norms over a larger area.

Gustav Nachtigal

Nachtigal, as expected of the *Reisender* most open to alterity, propagates culturally-hybrid unity amongst the members of his expedition. He integrates himself in the celebrations of his entourage, whilst demonstrating unquestioning acceptance of customs associated with certain festivals: 'Wir hätten gern Murzuq zum großen Beiramfeste, dem `Id el-Kebir,' das auf den 24. März fiel, erreicht. Da dies unmöglich war, so beschlossen wir, den üblichen Hammel in Rhodwa zu schlachten und in der uns zugänglichen bescheidenen Weise den Tag festlich zu begehen.'(Nachtigal, p.22) Nachtigal's experience is thus structured around a hybrid combination of the Christian and Islamic calendars. He eliminates temporal distance between himself and his entourage by emphasising the integrative function of dual sacred times. Shortly afterwards reference is made to the day being 'der erste Ostertag', which merits mentioning, yet is notably not marked by any celebration. (Nachtigal, p.26) Nachtigal has notably not rejected his cultural affiliation, yet he does demonstrate its inappropriateness to this endeavour.

Paralleling Barth's symbolic beginning, Nachtigal's expedition also coincides with a festival synonymous with the beginning of journeys – which appears to be received as a good omen.

> Dies war der Tag des Milad, des Geburtstages des Propheten, und da ohnehin der Beginn einer größeren Reise durch das Extrafleischgericht gefeiert zu werden pflegt, das den Namen Bu Safar, das heißt Vater oder Anfang der Reise, führt, so hatten wir abends zuvor einen fetten Ziegenbock geschlachtet und verzehrten ihn morgens vor dem Aufbruche zu Ehren des Propheten und zur Inaugurierung einer glücklichen Reise.[10]

This excerpt demonstrates the overriding, integrative, symbolic significance of journeys to the human consciousness, funded by a wealth of religious imagery. It is the same instance which prompted Rohlfs's negativity and rejection of shared experience. This religious ritual thus proves to be both a divisive and an inclusive temporal device according to the agenda supported by each explorer. Nachtigal negates Fabian's theory of temporal separation by creating common ritual ground to facilitate symmetrical communication, even if the reactions of the entourage are not given.

I.ii. *Commodified Time*

The enforced cultural distance between the *Reisender* and entourage is constantly – and most effectively – widened by the apparent inability of non-Europeans to understand the concept of commodified time. As we saw in the introductory chapter, this effect of mechanisation and capitalist industrial processes was thus a defining feature of European time-set and on which both the entire operation and the personal identity of Barth and Rohlfs depend. The *Reisende* are, in spite of Barth's purely scholarly motivation, partaking in the scramble for Africa of which speed is the essence. European nations were competing for control over limited available resources and Germany had started the imperial race from behind. In a desperate attempt to gain a foothold by discovering the quickest trade routes, thus increasing profit and market control, time itself, just as the available amount of terrain, became a limited resource. For this viewpoint, once used, a moment becomes cast in unchangeable, historical form, thus enhancing its potential value – and making investment decisions crucial. Time-wasting was an activity frowned upon by the

[10] Nachtigal, I, p. 52.

explorers. The entourage is often depicted as doing just this – time-wasting. As we shall see, this motif is directly connected with the mediating function of the entourage, which is governed by the explorers' trust or mistrust, and serves good or ill.

Barth's *Kameltreiber*, the cause of frequent delays, become an ideal subject on which to project the increasing frustration induced by unprecedented losses of time along the route. The first minor incident occurs at the beginning of the expedition: 'Wir verloren den besten Teil des Morgens dadurch, dass unsere Leute die Kamele [...]nicht so schnell, als wünschenswert war, finden konnten.' (Barth, p. 48) The incident is intended to imply the detrimental effects of alternative, non-western time-sets. The *Kameltreiber*, apparently aware of the problems they caused, attempt to rectify their mishap: 'Schon um zwei Uhr morgens wurden wir aus unserem erquickenden Schlafe aufgestört. Es geschah dies durch die Kameltreiber, welche vorgaben, den gestrigen Zeitverlust ersetzen zu wollen. Wir kamen jedoch keineswegs zu so zeitiger Stunde fort.'(Barth, p. 51) Barth makes clear that even when the importance of time is grasped by the indigenous people, they still remain incapable of managing it. Superior knowledge and practice remains within the elect group of cultural representatives, whose position cannot be usurped by members of the entourage. Their status is relegated to a means of traversal, equated with that of a scientific instrument, yet decidedly more unpredictable: 'Hier besaßen unsere Kameltreiber selbst einige Bäume und waren daher mehr auf die Fürsorge für ihr Eigentum als auf einen zeitigen Aufbruch am nächsten Morgen bedacht'(Barth, p. 57). In the previous chapter, landscapes became personifications of resistance to the 'imperial other' by appearing to sabotage attempts to expose them to scientific scrutiny. Thus the *Kameltreiber* join the conspiratorial aura attributed to 'the other' through the connotative motif of time-wasting.

As we saw in the discussion of Barth's excursion to 'Schloss Idnien' in the previous chapter, the scientific instruments with which the explorers measure and map their traversal prove insufficient to guarantee their unhindered passage through unknown territory. Hence the explorers' reliance on the knowledge of native guides, which, although essential, is never equated with that of the scientific *Reisender*. Rohlfs seems adamant to prove the superiority of his navigational aids by comparing

the route taken to that marked on his map. (Rohlfs, p. 177-182) His symbol of European technology reveals that the party is lost, as he suspected. This would seem to prove the superiority of Rohlfs's means, yet if so, then he should not require native guides to lead the way at all. It also highlights his lack of authority, as the entourage choose to ignore Rohlfs's assertions. It seems that Rohlfs is attempting to attribute the ensuing loss of time which the expedition consequently suffered, solely to the native guides, rather than assuming any of the responsibility himself. As we shall see from the following quote, maintaining one's orientation in the desert is synonymous with 'Verstand'. Rohlfs certainly does not want to lose this image. He thus implies that native knowledge cannot be trusted due to technological incompetence, which inevitably results in the wasting of precious time. The concept of this he attributes to privileged European knowledge.

Nachtigal, as we saw in the previous chapter, loses his way several times, prompting this reaction from the servant Mohammed Gatroni:

> Gerade vor einer Woche hatten wir uns in derselben gefahrvollen Lage befunden, Dank der Unzuverlässigkeit unserer Führer und eigener Sorglosigkeit, und selbst der schweigsame und stets resignierte Bui Mohammed meinte, es sei eine Schande für Männer vom Verstand, zweimal in einer Woche, Wasserplätzen so nahe, Durst leiden zu müssen.[11]

It can be assumed that Gatroni includes himself in the collective reference to 'Männer vom Verstand'. He is, after all, the most authoritative figure present, accompanying all three expeditions. Losing one's way thus proves to be a recurring problem, witnessed each time by Gatroni. This is hardly indicative of European exploratory progress or superior methods of traversal. Gatroni not only mediates between the explorers and the entourage, he is also very outspoken for someone of servant-status, which suggests that he wields more power and control than openly admitted. Gatroni's reliability and skill is acknowledged by all three explorers, yet he remains the silent, trustworthy native, subordinated only through lack of narrative space and variety accorded to his person. After the mutinous behaviour of Rohlfs's entourage, Gatroni is namely no longer portrayed as the 'besonders wertvollen

[11] Nachtigal, I, p. 65.

Zuwachs' (Rohlfs, p.127) but becomes a moody 'mürrisch' figure. Gatroni's privileged status – at home in both cultures, as it were – is marginalised by Rohlfs, who perceives him as a threat.

Nachtigal's open admiration and awe of Gatroni at their first meeting, as we saw in the previous chapter, does, in contrast, suggest the knowledge of his importance to the operation. Gatroni represents continuity and regularity, opposing the general characteristics associated with 'the other'. Despite his adherence to alternative cultural norms, he is the ever-present figure of collective reason, the 'Verstand' which overrides duality. He thus finally epitomises a kind of intercultural idea of the humanistic cosmopolitan.

Thus the intended portrayal of inferior temporal consciousness is extremely contradictory as the entourage in fact, seems to use time more advantageously than the *Reisende*. Although the non-Europeans have apparently no concept of the value of time, their time-wasting is portrayed as intentional. This suggests a definite understanding of the use of time to gain a desired effect. This contradiction will, as we shall see, become increasingly relevant during encounters with figures of local power. The intentional negation of the entourage's capabilities thus, paradoxically, serves to enhance their status. This means that instead of diminishing the threatening nature of alternative forms of knowledge, their status as challengers to western superiority is increased.

II. *Local Potentates*

The explorers' passage through each new territory is punctuated by obligatory meetings with local potentates, all of whom are Moslems. The official objective of these meetings is to establish trade relations, yet they are, in truth, the only means by which a *Reisender* can obtain both the protection and the permission on which he is reliant to enable safe passage through the area. These encounters thus reflect an unequal balance of power to the explorers' disadvantage – which they attempt to rectify by asserting cultural supremacy.

The quotes at the head of the chapter are all taken from such encounters. Interestingly, the clock is chosen as an emblematic gift. This takes us back to our introductory discussion of clock-time, particularly Bergson's negation of it. The gift is firstly intended to imply the superiority of western European culture, which can conceive of and measure time in this way. Secondly, it is intended to instate the material advantages of commodified time. For the clocks, although emblematic of the occidental time-set, require little time to mass-produce. Thus in the end they have little material value as commodities themselves in western culture. As we saw above, Nachtigal's clock – the only exception in its decorative elaboration – in the end, is excluded from the gift-giving ceremony. Thus clocks epitomise the modes of capitalist production – (i.e. Adam Smith's division of labour as a time-saving and thus profit-accumulating device) – we saw were consequences of industrialisation. The relative material worthlessness of these objects is then intended to trick the natives into trade, which of course will bring hugely disproportionate benefits. This of course is a continuation of a long tradition of exchange,[12] firmly established by Christopher Columbus who relates a similar episode in his log book:

> And the reason that I behaved in this way toward him, [the Indian] ordering him set free and giving him the things mentioned, was in order that they would hold us in esteem, so that, when Your Highnesses some other time again send people here, the natives will receive them well. And everything that I gave him was not worth four *maravedís*.[13]

However, the paradoxical nature of western European scientific, mathematical time as both controlled and yet controlling – is also symbolised by the clock. As we discussed in the introductory chapter, Bergson views the clock as a symbol of the spatialisation of time in western culture. It is our fixation with this external phenomenon which alienates us from the inner consciousness of duration. Our

[12] This is discussed by Urs Bitterli for example in. *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten"* pp. 85-86. The process of deception initiated by the Europeans becomes a vicious circle The indigenous inhabitants quickly realise the intent of the exchange and react accordingly, thus confirming the stereotypical deceit accorded to them.

[13] *Diary of Christopher Columbus*, cited in: Stephen Greenblatt *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1991), p. 106.

understanding of time, so Bergson argues, rather than denoting superiority, is effectively built around misconceptions.

As we shall see, whilst apparently subject to the cultural superiority of the *Reisende*, the local potentates in fact, however, subject the explorers to established structures of protocol, thus wresting control over their time. For local rulers can extend the length of the gift-giving rituals – thus delaying the expedition's passage – for as long as they like. The clock thus becomes a fitting characterisation of these encounters, yet not as a culmination of all that is superior in western culture, as it was originally intended.

Heinrich Barth

The gift-giving ritual which establishes communication between the two parties, also indicates of the value of the partnership. Those leaders who have had greater contact with Europeans, prove more difficult to satisfy, as they have an understanding, albeit superficial, of the European system of value:

> Bello empfing mich in seinem Privatzimmer und hielt mich volle zwei Stunden auf [...] Außerdem wünschte er aber noch zwei Dinge [...] Das eine war ein Mittel zur Erhöhung männlicher Kraft und Stärke [...] das andere eine Arznei des Krieges, um seinen Feinden Schrecken einzujagen. Unter den letzteren verstand er Raketen, ein Produkt europäischer Zivilisation, von dessen ungeheurer Wirkung die Bewohner des Sudans durch eine frühere Expedition in Kenntnis gesetzt waren.[14]

Barth conveys the rift between the level of cultural development evident in the host culture in comparison to that of his own, yet not in a particularly derogatory manner. The Sultan understands the effect of the foreign objects, yet not the technology. This he attributes to witchcraft and superstition. The superiority of firearms is the only

[14] Barth, p. 168.

sense in which the local potentates fear the European presence.[15] Barth acknowledges the distinctive power of the weapons, suggesting the detrimental effect European civilisation will have on the 'uncivilised' culture.

The essence of the encounter, as we have seen is deception. The pre-formed expectations on the part of the *Reisende*, emanate from such encounters indicative of violent conquest as quoted above from which their scientific objective is supposed to differentiate. However, deception occurs only from the European point of view. The novelty of the gifts will obviously increase their value within Africa. Thus the intransitivity of the system of values with which the explorers becomes evident.

Gerhard Rohlfs

Rohlfs suggests that suspicion on the part of 'the other' is fuelled by an inability to comprehend concepts beyond the existent cultural horizon – an accurate projection of his own status. 'Sichere Kenntnis des Landes läßt sich nur durch eigene Anschauung europäischer Reisender gewinnen, denn die Eingeborenen begegnen allen Erkundigungen mit zurückhaltendem Mißtrauen.' (Rohlfs, p. 165) He neglects to mention that this suspicion is well-founded. The Muslim potentates will be aware of the violent history of the crusades and therefore justified in their attempt to prevent the intrusion of any from of Christianity into their ranks.

Rohlfs demands the return of his predecessor Vogel's books, papers and personal effects from the Sultan of Uadai (Rohlfs, p.206) who need not possess cultural artefacts which he, according to Rohlfs, cannot comprehend. Rohlfs experiences the gift-giving ceremonies as annoying delays to his journey rather than places of meaningful cross-cultural exchange. After returning from his expedition he refused to head the mission as official gift-bearer, promptly passing the task on to Nachtigal.

[15] As Barth is the first German to initiate contact with the Sultan, the demonstration of European weaponry must have originated from another nation. As we have seen, this would support the violence and intimidation associated with the colonising practices of existing European empires.

Nachtigal's entire expedition was based on this gift-giving exchange as an attempt to cultivate unequal relations, yet after the trials endured in order to reach the destination, the gifts prove to be highly inappropriate, sacrilegious artefacts. The introductory motto refers to Nachtigal's apprehension as to the appropriateness of his offerings. His unease is directed at two life-sized portraits of King Wilhelm and Queen Augusta. Symbolically, it is the inclusion of a decorative clock, mentioned above, which again has an adverse effect. Although it is not actually the clock itself, which is offensive, but its iconography, Nachtigal is nevertheless forced to discard the symbol of control before his host glimpses it. The objective thus becomes farcical as the gifts are entirely unsuitable to their purpose.

Nachtigal also finds himself subject to delaying tactics, as indigenous leaders draw out discussions over days at a time, hoping to employ the *Reisender* for personal gain. Whilst annoyed at his powerless position, the meeting is defined by Nachtigal's surprise at the rhetorical skills of the native negotiators. Nachtigal is unable to convince the local leader of the importance of his mission. Rather than venting his contempt, Nachtigal resigns himself to losing the argument and having to compromise his interests, yet cannot mask his 'Bewunderung' for the 'Gewandtheit in der Diskussion' and 'solche Redfertigkeit' presented by his adversary. (Nachtigal, pp.72-73) 'The other' again becomes a partner in communication, rather than a subject onto whom discourse is projected, which negate Fabian's theory. The typical, symbolic relation of unequal distribution of cultural power is left behind.

The *Reisende* view the characteristic time-wasting of the gift-giving protocol as a further demonstration of conspiratorial sabotage, employed to intentionally delay their traversal of the land. Delays are attributed to the rulers' incessant greed, ever hoping to obtain more gifts the longer the *Reisende* are forced to stay, or to pure enjoyment at wasting the *Reisender's* time unnecessarily: 'Während er sich gegen mich auf recht freundliche Weise benahm, äußerte er sich gegen diejenigen, die ihm zunächst saßen, dass er ein Tor sein würde, wenn er mich aus seinen Händen entließe' (Barth, p. 168). The lack of control wielded by the *Reisende* is finally perceived as quite degrading, since their presence is designated a material value –

they become the objects with which to exchange and bargain as the potentates use them as pawns in local power struggles.

As we saw in our introductory chapter, Bergson states that alternative social structures produce less geometric constructions of space and thus enjoy a more heterogeneous concept of time. The material, geometric form of western, linear time which hinders this experience is expressed – paradoxically – by the cyclical shape of the clock-face. This paradox is continued in our encounters as in the end, the clock becomes a symbol of impotence rather than of the universal authority and power of western knowledge. For rather than appearing as intellectually inferior, the potentates in fact isolate a contradictory component of western thought and employ it intentionally to their benefit.

After experiencing this extent of subversion, the last level of encounter between our explorers and native Africans presents the final opportunity to reassert the authority of western temporal norms.

III. *Native Africans*

As the explorers move further into less-documented territory, they encounter indigenous Africans with little or no experience of white cultures. The *Reisende* are not reliant on the subjects of these confrontations in any way, other than as objects of cognitive interest with which to assess levels of civilisatory development. The meetings are unmediated and unstructured by the locals, signifying a considerable communicative disadvantage on their part. These subjects thus present ideal criteria of comparison with which to evince cultural supremacy, which is by and large, judged by the nature of religious practices. The *Reisende* classify Islamic cultures as ranking beneath Christianity on a scale of cultural superiority, yet nevertheless – since they are monotheistic – above the fetishism of the African tribes. These cultures are marginalised both geographically, residing in remote areas, and temporally, so that the primitive forms of worship signify a stage of development as remote from the explorers' Enlightened Christianity as possible. Levels of cultural advancement, as we have seen, are measured temporally on a linear, historicist scale.

These encounters provide the greatest opportunity for the *Reisende* to impose the European time-set as a disjunctive device with which to maintain objective distance between themselves and 'the other' as an object of study (Fabian's 'denial of coevalness'). However, using Forster's experience at Dusky Bay as an example of successful cross-cultural contact, this section will reveal further evidence of positive German encounter. For these encounters, as we shall see, tend in fact to refute the imposition of a temporal scale as the sole means of capturing 'the other' in writing.

Forster's encounter with the indigenous residents of Dusky Bay occurred during his voyage to Tahiti and the South-Sea with Captain James Cook, which was undertaken from 1772-1775. It is employed by Berman as an example of Enlightenment optimism and heterophilic experience of alterity.[16] In a negation of "Orientalist" discourse, Forster's humanistic approach to otherness prompts recognition of universal human sensibility. This is not only evident in the shared desire to communicate, but also through a collective understanding of body-language as a communicative tool:

> Der Mann sah uns bei der Abfahrt ernsthaft und aufmerksam nach, die jüngere Frau jedoch, die während unserer Anwesenheit in einem fort geplaudert hatte, fing jetzt an zu tanzen und fuhr fort, ebenso laut zu sein wie vorher. Unsere Seeleute erlaubten sich deshalb einige grobe Einfälle auf Kosten des weiblichen Geschlechts, wir aber fanden durch ihr Betragen die Bemerkung bestätigt, daß die Natur dem Manne nicht nur eine Gespielin gegeben, seine Sorgen und Mühseligkeiten zu erleichtern, sondern daß sie dieser auch die Begierde eingepflanzt habe, vermittelst eines höheren Grades von Lebhaftigkeit und Gesprächigkeit zu gefallen.[17]

The scene is a culmination of communicative attempts between both parties which proved less than successful due to an impregnable language barrier – both parties were able to converse, yet only at a minimal level. The initial oral contact was

[16] V. Agnew presents a more modest, relativised perception of the widespread reflexivity attributed to Forster's narrative in contemporary discourse in 'Ethnographic Transgressions and Confessions in Georg Forster's *Voyage Round the World*' in *Schwellen: germanistische Erkundungen einer Metapher* ed. by N.D.B. Saul and Others (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1999), pp. 305-315.
[17] Georg Forster, *Reise nach Tahiti und in die Südsee 1772-1775* (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1995), p. 67.

established by the indigenous inhabitants, not the explorers. It signifies a native belief in the overriding universal nature of human communication and a fundamental openness to otherness. Cook's reply provides evidence of these shared practices of understanding.

However, the encounter can also be interpreted differently, notably in Cook's alternative account, which accentuates the irrationality of the native woman's behaviour as she continues to talk despite the language barrier.[18] The sailors, the third party at the scene, provide another indirect interpretation of events, which is simultaneously degraded by their raucous behaviour. Needless to say, the event signifies many divergent levels of experience, and interpretation which cannot all be attributed to a knowledge-power discourse. As we have seen, there are experiences of alterity, not motivated by imperial agendas, which similarly reveal an integrative attitude to cultural otherness. We have also witnessed the contrary assertion of cultural duality, stimulated by similar experiences. The following section, as we shall see, will demonstrate unprecedented subversion of supposed cultural duality, initiated by cross-cultural encounter. Thus the divergent interpretations of subject-matter, which we will witness in what follows, provide evidence of a heterophilic discourse.

Heinrich Barth

Barth, the crusader of science and history, categorises cultural development through its written history. He attempts to uncover the mystery of the systematic development, or 'den historischen Zusammenhang des Menschen mit der reichen Gliederung der Erdoberfläche.' (Barth p.19) The Hegelian concept which he is influenced by requires temporal evidence – dates according to European universal history as imposed by the European calendar. This will then enable 'Einsicht in das historische Verhältnis jener westlichen Länder zu der Geschichte Mittelsudans'. (Barth, p. 271) He discovers written documentation of historical processes, which should testify to advanced cultural development. Yet Barth rewrites and alters these histories as he does not have time to copy out the entire document. Thus he removes

[18] Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire*, p. 38.

the historical significance from the document and transfers it instead to the archives of European knowledge.[19]

However, the apparent superiority of European culture which Barth's categorisation evinces is undermined by the actual experience of alternative social norms. The stages of cultural development which he believes culminate in the advanced status of western culture are subverted by the encounter:

> Berücksichtigen wir nun, dass diese Gewerbetätigkeit nicht, wie in Europa, in ungeheuren Fabriken betrieben wird, und den Menschen zur niedrigsten Stellung hinabdrückt, sondern, dass jede Familie zu der wirtschaftlichen Blüte beiträgt, ohne ihr Privatleben aufzuopfern, so dürfen wir schließen, dass Kanō eines der glücklichsten Länder der Welt sein müsse.[20]

Barth's appreciation of pre-industrial levels of production suggests an implicit critique of the culture of industrialisation. The romantic idealisation of the artisan suggests his longing for a past era, an idyll at the beginning of history, before the commodification of time induced the de-humanising production-line and destroyed the locality of small-scale production. The current state of Barth's society equates material success with personal satisfaction. The decadence of industrialisation thus alienates the worker from his labour and therefore the concept of time and its value which comes from within. It may be possible that Germany's relatively late industrialisation in comparison to its European neighbours, meant that the believed superiority of European culture was not yet irretrievably fixed. This moment of concession is induced by the enthusiasm with which Barth asserts the superiority of his social norms, the difference between which stands in such stark contrast to the society Barth is observing. Duality here thus has a positive effect. The outsider in Europe attempts to assimilate by creating another outsider. Intent on meeting an

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[19] James Clifford comments on the use of writing to create boundaries of temporal and spatial distance from behind which 'the other' can be observed without the observer being seen, enabling him to exert control through description. James Clifford and George E. Marcus *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (University of California Press: Los Angeles, Berkeley, London, 1986) p.12. This, we shall see, is similar to Rohlfs's depiction of theatricality, as 'the others' play out their daily routine which is witnessed from a 'privileged standpoint'. Distance is a requirement of scientific objectivity and it is created by defining cultures in 'temporally distinct, yet locatable places' pp.101-102. At the time when European society existed in a comparable state, written records were also few. 'Going back' to Africa allows the *Reisende* to fill in this gap.

[20] Barth, p.177.

unprepared 'other' over which to assert superiority, Barth is unprepared for contradictory situations. As we saw, during his encounter with Bello, the Sultan of Katsena, Barth describes the products of western society i.e. weapons, as 'ungeheuer'. Here he employs the same adjectives to describe the process of European production. The balanced relations evident in this area will be destroyed by the onset of industrialisation, which Barth facilitates by transcribing, yet which he does not fully support, hence the inclusion of this observation. Writing thus becomes a dialectic instrument of European culture. Barth at once strengthens the temporal rift of systematic development, by asserting the cultural superiority of written transcription. In doing so, he records information, which simultaneously reveals the deficiencies of this supposedly superior culture. After witnessing this unprecedented admission, in which Barth's a priori, European mind-set is subverted by African experience, we will now look at the nature of Rohlfs's encounter.

Gerhard Rohlfs

Rohlfs describes residents of Fesan as follows: 'Nirgendwo findet ein so schrankenloser Verkehr der Geschlechter statt wie in Fesan [...] Das Volk lebt sorglos in den Tag hinein; des Abends kauert jung und alt im Kreis und schaut dem pantomimischen Tanz der Mädchen zu.'(Rohlfs, pp. 114-115) The residents appear to exist in a continual present. However, a concept of time does exist, even though Rohlfs suggests it is so inferior that the sole unit of its measurement seems to be the unchanging, repetitive daily cycle. It is task-orientated, regulated by the natural cycle of light and dark, and controlled by the body, not by the artifice of mechanisation. It is the concept of time from which western society has become alienated and for which Barth yearns, as we saw above. Rohlfs, however, infantilises the culture as existing in a state of carefree innocence. It has no concept of past or future in the European sense of history and progress. There is no reminiscence of Forster's recognition of common rationality behind this body-language, which Rohlfs seems to take as further evidence of the chaotic state in which the locals reside.

As Rohlfs travels through the area he again witnesses celebrations of music and dance: 'Am Tag der Ankunft gab es abends Musik und Tanz zur Feier der

Wiederkehr des Mondes. In der Nacht vorher hatte nämlich eine Mondfinsternis stattgefunden.' (Rohlfs, p.138) Celebratory acts involving the moon oppose the central placement of the sun in European culture. The Muslim calendar is regulated by lunar, rather than solar movements and appears thus closer to 'heathen' rituals, which are accorded an inherent sense of darkness and superstition.[21] Rohlfs, for example describes such rituals as night-time occurrences. Rohlfs's observations are distinctly visual, concentrating on external characteristics by which he defines cultures as more or less aesthetically pleasing: 'Von Farbe schwarzbraun, haben die Gameru ausgeprägte, doch nicht gerade häßliche Negerphysiognomien'. (Rohlfs, p. 235) The residents of Fesan and Mursuk are categorised as 'schwarz und braun', their celebrations are a 'greulicher Lärm', (Rohlfs, p. 138) suggesting little evidence of civilised musical appreciation. Rohlfs's emphasis on external features also does little to further in-depth understanding of cultural idiosyncrasies. He continues an older European discourse of physiognomic racism, which equates dark faces and features with cultural negatives. Rohlfs does not participate in these celebrations, reiterating his rhetoric of fear and suspicion which prevents him from experiencing alterity. He displays an exemplary 'denial of coevalness', creating a clear distinction between participant and observer, which protects his fragile sense of identity from penetration by other cultural characteristics. His racist judgements are thus of a piece with the temporal mind-set. This will become most evident when we contrast Rohlfs's experience of the same population which prompted Barth's romantic vision of industrial utopia.

Rohlfs begins his description of the Africans residing in the 'Negerland' of Bornu by noting their high level of productivity. He also tells us that Bornu possesses an institute of higher education. These features of cultural advancement are, however, negated by the nature of religious practices:

> Dennoch hat der Islam im Volk keine Wurzel geschlagen und wird es auch nie, er scheint in Afrika über eine gewisse Grenze nicht hinaus zu können. Man nahm den Eingeborenen ihren uralten Fetischdienst, ohne daß eine Idee des Monotheismus gewonnen wurde, nicht einmal ein Wort besitzen sie in ihrer Sprache für Gott [...] jetzt feiern sie gar keine Gottheit mehr, und ihre ganze

[21] See Louis Gardet, 'Muslim Views of Time and History', in *Cultures and Time* (Paris: Unesco, 1976), pp. 197-229.

> Religion besteht in allerlei Aberglauben und einigen äußerst verworrenen Vorstellungen der Mohammedaner von Paradies und Hölle. Daher haben auch die religiösen Feste keine tiefere Bedeutung für sie, sondern werden nur mit wiederkehrenden Naturerscheinungen, wie Vollmond, Eintritt der Regenzeit und dergleichen, in Verbindung gebracht.[22]

The episode epitomises Rohlfs's attitude to alternative modes of structuring time. The cyclical nature of celebrations is not combined with a linear concept of beginning and end which, as a result, means that according to Rohlfs the culture itself makes no attempt to attain a "higher" status. They are incapable of comprehending even Islamic divine concepts, which as we know, are for him already on a lower level than those of Christianity. Their understanding of time is not measured mathematically, yet as we can see, it does exist and it is divided into units of reference. These are event-related occurrences, revolving around natural phenomena, or actions, i.e. practical tasks which denote a period of time. Time in this world cannot be separated from the inner sense of time governed by the body. Therefore it cannot become a commodity. This is the height of cultural otherness in Rohlfs's opinion, which differentiates 'them' from 'us'. Thus he propagates the cultural inferiority of native Africans, based on the incongruity of models of temporal reference. He implies that these natives lack direction, such as the presence of Europeans on the continent as a liberating force with which to free 'the other' from their unending cyclical constraints. Improved trade routes over water to these areas are essential to the success of the European market, as are the possible railway routes which embody the European time-set and its agenda to lock Africa into this structure of European control.

Gustav Nachtigal

In contrast to Rohlfs, Nachtigal's reaction to alterity reflects Forster's humanistic presumption of negotiable rationality, which we saw at the beginning of this section. As discussed above, religious celebrations provide both a poignant place of cultural affiliation and differentiation. As we have witnessed, tribal acts of worship –

[22] Rohlfs, pp. 226-227.

particularly fetishism – simultaneously fascinate and repulse the explorers. Nachtigal introduces the theme of fetishism and superstition into his narrative by remarking on the mystical signs he distinguishes hanging over the entrances to local dwellings in order to repel evil:

> Jedes Haus hat an der Tür ein mystisches Zeichen zur Abwehr, und Mensch und Tier trägt am Arm oder Halse Eckzähne des Wildschweins, Fischknochen, Hundszähne oder geschriebene geheimnisvolle Amulette gegen die bewussten und unbewussten Zauberer. Wenn der Glaube an diese auch in den meisten Ländern Europas erheblich abgenommen hat, so haben die unbestimmten Theorien der nicht übersinnlichen Krankheitsentstehungen im Volke bei uns noch weitverbreitete Geltung, und eben dieselben Anschauungen finden wir auch in Fezzan gang und gebe.[23]

The episode begins with the creation of a divisive temporal rift as the subjects are transported to dimensions associated with the biblical plague. Rather than forming an alien element, the presence of cognate trends in European culture is immediately acknowledged. This negates the absolute duality implied by linear levels of development. This statement is a direct contradiction of Fabian's 'denial of coevalness', as Nachtigal toys with conventional notions of time and development to highlight integrative cultural recognition.

'Wie viel kann man in der Herrschaft über sich selbst von vielen unzivilisierten Völkern lernen, denen man sich so sehr überlegen glaubt?'(Nachtigal, p. 104) By invalidating the traditional degradation of fetishism as a belief in magic akin to the primitive mind, Nachtigal learns as much about his own culture as of others, certainly a valid indicator of successful cultural exchange. He not only defines his cultural affiliation through familiarity rather than difference, he also recognises the negative effect of pre-existing cultural epistemes as a hindrance to self-discovery, which he openly states is one of his objectives. This presents a continuation of Forster's narrative tradition, which is divergent from the pro-colonial discourse propagated by Cook and later Rohlfs. As we have witnessed, the tools of European culture, such as writing, aid the transfer of images, which contend the a priori,

[23] Nachtigal, I, pp. 33-34.

western conception of 'self' and 'other'. Thus Nachtigal not only learns from the encounter and is presented with a new self-understanding, its narrative representation is spread throughout the sphere of western cultural influence.

Conclusion

All three levels of encounter we witnessed in this chapter, reveal ruptures in the structure of supposed European superiority. The first topic of discussion focused on the disjunctive relationship between the explorer and the entourage. The native Africans are able to communicate across both cultures, yet only within the limits prescribed by the explorers. Their quasi-hybrid position appears to threaten the explorer. Thus attempts are made to marginalise the status of their knowledge. The entourage is mainly Moslem, which provides both explorers with opportunities to create divisory rifts according to the opposing calendars. It is implied that those not adhering to the Christian calendar have an inferior understanding of time and history. However, we also saw Nachtigal's alternative use of sacred time to encourage culturally-hybrid unity amongst his entourage. He rejects European structures of knowledge and thus appears to be less threatened by the intrusion of alternative cultures.

Further attempts are made by Barth and Rohlfs to denigrate the ability of the native entourage by portraying them as time-wasting hindrances. The argument, as we saw, paradoxically heightens the sense of power the entourage have over the expedition's course, as they demonstrate usage of time to their own advantage. Mohammed Gatroni, the native servant, epitomises the unintended reversal of roles, as he projects the qualities of authority, knowledge and sensibility, claimed by European culture for its subjects. Thus the superior intellectual vantage-point from which both explorers attempt to conduct communication, fails.[24]

[24] Norbert Aas discusses a symbolic variation of these intended levels of contact in his article *Vom hohen Roß. Ein Leitmotiv der Berichte Gerhard Rohlfs' über seine Afrikareisen* in *Gerhard Rohlfs Symposium*, pp. 57-69. The article is a fitting play-on-words, which combines Rohlfs's attitude, inherently 'looking down' on the believed inferiority of the natives, with his physical position during part of his traversal – on horseback, thus above the others.

The second level of encounter between explorer and local potentate is characterised by suspicion and fear from both sides. The native leaders wield power over the explorers' time, thus again demonstrating superior control over a supposedly western European phenomenon. The intended imposition of unequal power structures indicated by the clock fails. Instead, the explorers find their presence used by the potentates as objects with which to bargain.

The final level, as we witnessed, at last produces the unequal balance of power in the explorers' favour. The image of Rohlfs looking down is more appropriate here than during any of the other encounters. However, these confrontations, rather than re-iterating the superiority of a priori western European knowledge, demonstrate, as we witnessed, unexpected outcomes.

Barth attempts to systematically categorise otherness. He sees his cultural affiliation as representative of a superior level of historical progress, therefore he is able to understand and interpret those cultures inferior to his own and capture them in writing. He thus becomes an example of Fabian's 'denial of coevalness', by objectifying the other and confining him to a lower evolutionary status. As Barth categorises development on a linear, historical scale, the other is simultaneously relegated to a different period in time and designated an inferior form of temporal consciousness.

However, Barth witnesses a society which negates the equation of the linear, historical passage of time with western European progress. In fact, the pre-industrial, artisan community reveals the negative effects of Barth's contemporary society. The romantic yearning Barth experiences is directed towards pre-commodified experiences of time, before the worker was alienated from his labour. Paradoxically, the superior methods associated with western European culture i.e. the increased mobility of its subjects and their drive to capture history in written form, prove to be optimal means of spreading its negative image.

Rohlfs intends to diminish the status of the African native by confining him to a form of temporal consciousness, which remains inferior to his own. This is a purely cyclical concept of time, which Rohlfs equates with low levels of industrial progress,

measured against categories of western European development. This legitimises his expansionist agenda to destroy the cycle of stagnation by installing a linear concept of time, epitomised, as we have seen, by the mechanical, mathematical time of the railway. As we witnessed through the example of Noël, the context of Rohlfs's nineteenth-century cultural imperialism is a clear attempt to transpose western European temporal consciousness onto 'unstructured' subjects. Noël represents Rohlfs's image of Africa – devoid of history, thus requiring the aid of European cultural norms to grant him one. In contrast, we saw Nachtigal's recognition of subtler, deeper universals of human nature, which coincide with Forster's positive experience of alterity at Dusky Bay.

The temporal mind-set thus proves to be an indispensable element of cross-cultural encounter, yet contrary to the undialectical function attributed to it by Fabian's narrowly "Orientalist" theory. Nachtigal, as we saw, propagates the integrative, culturally hybrid nature of time, thus negating the incongruity of alternative forms of temporal consciousness. Barth attempts to categorise cultural development on a linear, temporal scale, the impossibility of which induces unprecedented recognition of his own culture's deficits. Rohlfs denies cultural equality, yet his unsuccessful attempts to confine 'the other' to primitive levels of development reveal the inherent contradictions of his assumed supremacy. Forster's divergent representation of cross-cultural encounter is therefore not an isolated occurrence, but the origins of a tradition of 'otherness' within the discourse of 'otherness'. The *Afrikareisende*, outsiders themselves amongst expansionist exploration, continue this tradition. Time therefore, rather than reiterating pre-existing levels of understanding, becomes the subversive instrument of the narratives.

As our explorers move further into Africa they find themselves lost in time and space. They are subjected to the subversive powers of Africa which erode the would-be authority of their pre-conceived occidental mind-set. They are forced to transcend the security of their cultural affiliation to quantifiable, mathematical time. For Africa evinces the irrelevance and abstraction of these artificial methods of structuring experience.

In Chapter One we saw that the western European and thus German mind-set was dominated by a temporal consciousness fixated with linearity. This time-set was influenced by the revolutionary processes of industrialisation, capitalism and scientific progress. All of these added to the perception of time as a measurable, quantifiable commodity. The introduction of the railway epitomised this time-set. Its reliance on standardised clock-time soon consolidated this as *the* accepted form of gauging time in general. Great thinkers such as Hegel developed linear-historicist, cumulative and progressive systems of cultural development in keeping with this time-set. Towards the end of the century, critics of the prevalent temporal consensus introduced radical, alternative concepts of understanding time. Bergson, as we saw, was a proponent of the subjective, individual, inner experience of duration.

Chapter two firstly situated our narratives in the context of the historical tradition of exploration travel writing. Secondly, the narrative situation was discussed with reference to Stanzel's theory. Thus works of the historiographical genre were analysed as works of literature. Our cognitive interest – time – was thus discussed in its narrative function. As we saw, our explorers employed connotative images conducive to the occidental time-set in order to radiate significance over events.

Chapter three then moved to the confrontation between our German explorers and African nature. Firstly, we looked at the desert and water as symbolic occasions of representation of otherness; Secondly at portrayals of man-made and natural monuments. The symbolic challenges to occidental power posed by the landscape succumb to the subversive forces of Africa at critical moments of the plot.

Chapter four progressed from outer, spatial alterity to inner, human, cultural otherness. The influence of the occidental time-set on the qualitative portrayal of 'the other' was discussed in relation to the contrasting theories of Johannes Fabian and Russell Berman. The analysis considered three levels of representational encounters, coinciding with the level of mediation given on the part of the native inhabitants. The continuous subversion of the occidental time-set prevails through every level of confrontation. In the end, Barth admits the negative characteristics of the cumulative industrial mind-set which structure the occidental time-set. Rohlfs unwittingly demonstrates his own alienation from the inner experience of time. Nachtigal practises a culturally-hybrid integrative time. Furthermore, his willingness to enter alternative realms of the consciousness diminishes the strength of the occidental time-set thus opening his mind to otherness. Thus time, rather than preventing new experience of otherness, facilitates it.

Therefore this dissertation has shown that Russell Berman's tentative thesis, which suggests a specifically German openness to alterity, is based on fact. German tradition is thus far less imperial than orthodox opinion would have it. That being the case, it is up to us to reconsider the consequences of this for later practices in the German tradition of cross-cultural encounter.

For example, what would be the effects of this on the later literary tradition of the German colonial novel, such as Frieda von Bülow's *Tropenkoller*[1] or Hans Grimm's *Volk ohne Raum*?[2] There may be evidence of a similar emancipatory component which can be detected in the treatment of 'them' and 'us' in this kind of literature. We saw evidence of a romantic yearning for the idyll of pre-modern civilisation in our narratives. This diminished the status of capitalist-industrialist society and highlighted the de-humanising effects of its inherent commodification of time. The German colonial novel may create a fictional site on which to test the possibility of this dream-time utopia, rather than one on which to transpose and reiterate pre-exiting social norms.

We may also contemplate the Third Reich itself – one of the largest projects of colonisation in history. Here the heterophilic tradition completely disappears in

[1] Frieda von Bülow, *Tropenkoller* (Berlin: Fontane & Co., 1905)
[2] Hans Grimm, *Volk ohne Raum* (Berlin: [n.pub], 1926)

favour of social Darwinism. Thus the collective German consciousness which we saw as largely untainted by the imperial, expansionist tradition metamorphoses into the complete opposite.

The divergent German discourse of otherness will not have aided its acceptance by other European nations. In fact, this further proof of ideological difference may have enhanced the perception of Germany as the outsider in Europe. Paradoxically, the openness to alterity may thus have fuelled a national paranoia, which resulted in a fear of increasing marginalisation. This would doubtless have been enhanced by political rivalries within Europe before the First World War which polarised the continent and thus left Germany surrounded geographically by the opposing alliances and thus threatened from all sides.[3] The sites of our narratives may thus have provided the necessary space and opportunity for the German nation to expand in reaction to its increasing encapsulation. This would also stem the massive emigration to America in search of new opportunities which presented a further strain on the nation. An alternative, idealised lifestyle in Africa could have been presented as a similar opportunity. We should consider how the interpretation of our material may have become distorted in order to fuel the ideological reversal to otherness indicative of the Nazi era. It is this received image which dominates the generally negative cultural image of Germany. It is up to us to prevent the positive humanism radiating from our narratives, however short-lived, from being overshadowed by any later misuse.

[3] Norman Davies, *Europe: A History*, [1996] (London: Pimlico, 1997) pp. 872-879.

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