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PARADIGMS OF PLACE IN TRAVEL LITERATURE: THE ORIENTAL
VOYAGES OF NERVAL, BURTON, KINGLAKE, AND CHATEAUBRIAND

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1984

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THE ORIENTAL VOYAGES
OF NERVAL, BURTON, KINGLAKE, AND CHATEAUBRIAND

by

KATHLEEN J.C. ZANE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Comparative Literature in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1984

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1984

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

PARADIGMS OF PLACE IN TRAVEL LITERATURE:
THE ORIENTAL VOYAGES
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by

KATHLEEN J.C. ZANE

Adviser: Professor E. Allen McCormick

This dissertation examines the concept of place as an integral feature of travel literature; first, as the necessary grounds for being which permit travel, and secondly, as a paradigm imposed by the traveller upon his perception and description of places visited. The two main paradigms for place are a) those generated by attitudes which value sameness (seen in the chauvinistic model) and b) those which negate one's own place to aspire to the place of the other (as in the xenophiliac model associated with the Romantic movement). The philosophical ground of the introduction draws upon the thought of Heidegger and phenomenologically-based theories of place used in the works of geographers, Yi-Fu Tuan and E. W. Relph, as well as the works of social theorists, Alan F. Blum and Peter McHugh.

The subsequent chapters of this dissertation explore the Oriental voyages of two French and two English travellers in the nineteenth century in an effort to relate the paradigms of place held by each to their narrative points of view and descriptive strategies. The paradigm of the Orient as "other" place serves in the production of narrative structures and stances, reflecting attitudes of loss or appropriation in the metaphoric colonization which constitutes place description.

In chapter one, Gérard de Nerval's Voyage en Orient is analyzed as an example of the Romantic paradigm of place, which seeks union with the lost maternal source residing in the place of the other. Sir Richard Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah is discussed in chapter two with respect to its concept of place as order, and its use of conventions to display a scientific disguise. The following chapter relates Burton's posture of deflected distance to Alexander Kinglake's sense of place as the inconvertible separateness of an individual and an English identity. Chapter four, "Chateaubriand: Closing the Circle," focuses on the issues of identity and the literary pilgrimage, treating Chateaubriand's Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris as an example of a literary archive through which the self-proclaimed "last" Frenchman and pilgrim voyages to secure his place.

In the final chapter, the focus turns from place to placelessness in a discussion of the conceptions and literary treatments of the desert as a paradigmatically "other" or anti-place. The epilogue compares the four travellers by plotting their relative places in the metaphor of life as a voyage.

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In Memoriam

Tien Soong Zane,
for whom this voyage was
"A Project for a Trip to China," 1898-1967

Brazeline Tavares Zane, 1898-1968

Guido Kung Zane-Blum, 1970-1975

Meryse Holder: "Aimer et mourir
Au pays qui te ressemble!"

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I

INTRODUCTION

"THE FIRST OF THINGS"

THE CONCEPT OF PLACE AND ITS PARADIGMS

I

Every body occupies some place, and cannot exist unless its place exists. Since what is moved is moved into a certain place and doing and suffering are motions, it is plain that place, in which what is done and suffered exists, is the first of things.

Archytas

Place is among the first principles of human life and understanding. Martin Heidegger claimed that it "places man in such a way that it reveals the external bounds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality."¹ The study of geography similarly links places to human understanding. In his article on "The geographical imagination," Hugh Prince affirms as a tenet of geography that "A knowledge of places is an indispensable link in the chain of knowledge."² The significance of this understanding has been summarized in Place and Placelessness by E. Relph in the following manner: "To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place."³

Using insights into the nature of place from phenomenologically oriented studies of geography, landscape, and

architecture, the following discussion attempts to emphasize the primacy of place as a principle of human existence, and to define it in terms of home.⁴ Relating the human need for home to the emergence of a man's identity, the discussion proceeds by using Heidegger's definition of being as the activity of dwelling in a place and caring for it. Thus the relationship between place and man is seen as mutually defining.

i - Place and home

If knowing the place where one belongs defines what it means to be human, then the primary conceptualization of one's place concerns itself with one's place of origin, or one's source. This is understood to be one's native land, one's place of birth, one's home.⁵ To be human then is to have and know a place which is one's own.

The relationship between place and man is a complex one: "The place in which I am living has not significance as a geographical concept but as my home."⁶ The need for attachment to, and familiarity with, a place is a profound aspect of human life. In The Need for Roots Simone Weil discussed this necessity of having a home to which one belongs as if rooted there:

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul. . . . A human

being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of the community. . . . This participation is a natural one in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings.⁷

To have roots is to respect one's home and to care for it. This respect and responsibility demand a commitment to the place which is a profound part of being human. Heidegger finds that man's essential relationship to places, and through them to space, consists in dwelling -- "the essential property of human existence."⁸ In his description of the etymology of the Old German bauen, Heidegger shows us how being as dwelling in one's place also includes the activity of caring:

The old word bauen, which says that man is insofar as he dwells, this word bauen however also means at the same time to cherish and protect, to preserve and care for, specifically to till the soil, to cultivate the wine. Such building only takes care -- it tends the growth that ripens into its fruit of its own accord. Building in the sense of preserving and nurturing is not making anything.⁹

Hence, place, which is one's home, is defined and created by human activity. "We do not grasp space only by our senses . . . we live in it, we project our personality into it, we are tied to it by emotional bonds; space is not just perceived . . . it is lived."¹⁰ As place receives its being from man's recognition of a home, the human is acknowledged through his place-making.

Caring for one's place has been the traditional central focus for social activity. The geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan, in Space and Place uses the example of ancient cities in the Near East and Mediterranean basin to demonstrate the principle of caring for one's place as a source for the unification of religious and political values in ancient times.¹¹ Cities were established on sites accessible to the gods, places where an originating event was believed to have occurred. These sites were the "first" of places. Since the authority of the gods extended in a hierarchy to ancestors, heroes, political figures and family members, the place of their dwelling engendered a strong sense of the past and assured a care for the continuity of that place. Withdrawal from that place meant chaos and destruction, as the loss of one's place through warfare meant the loss of one's home and one's gods.¹²

Place and religion were so closely associated in the ancient world that the consequence of impiety meant the renunciation of one's home, and exile the worst fate imaginable, as it deprived one of his geographical and physical home as well as of the protection, hence cosmic order, guaranteed by the local gods. The profundity of this relationship is seen in Euripides' Hippolytus, where Theseus refused to impose the death penalty on Hippolytus because the enormity of his crime of impiety requires the more ap-

appropriately severe punishment of exile.

ii - The particularity of place

By extension from these sacred sites, the altar or hearth where family gods and ancestors were worshipped and their protection was petitioned localized the home which one cared for and preserved. "The altar or family hearth symbolized sedentary life. It must be placed on the ground, and once established it could not be moved except as the consequence of unforeseen necessity. Duty and religion required that the family remain grouped around its altar; the family was as much fixed to the soil as the altar itself."¹³

Since the jurisdiction of local gods was limited to their immediate abode, altar or hearth, those who dwelled within the boundaries of their protectors were likewise bound to a particular place. "Evidence from different cultures suggests that place is specific -- tied to a particular cluster of buildings at one location -- wherever the people believe it to be not only their home but also the home of their guarding spirits . . ."¹⁴

Consequently, home is an irreplaceable center of significance which "in its most profound form is an attachment to a particular setting, a particular environment, in comparison with which all other associations with places have only a limited significance."¹⁵

The particularity of one's place is recognized and experienced as part of achieving the human. Tuan remarked on the experiential perspective of place and space that "intelligence is manifest in . . . the ability to recognize and feel deeply about the particular. . . . An object or place achieves concrete reality when our experience of it is total, that is, through all the senses as well as with the active and reflective mind."¹⁶

iii - Place and identity

The particularizing feature of an attachment to a place which is one's home allows for the emergence of identity.¹⁷ The local gods and ancestors recognized those who belonged within their protectorate and distinguished those who were outsiders. Their hostility to strangers secured the defense of members.¹⁸ Paraphrasing Fustel de Coulanges, Tuan explains: "Love for one's own kin and hostility, rather than mere indifference, to strangers was a common trait of place-bound religions."¹⁸

Where you are from is essential to your identity, as is evidenced in the following statements: "I can't place him/her" is the equivalent of "I don't know who that person is." One of the opening questions in meeting a new person is "Where are you from?", that is, what is your place? For some time now, lack of understanding a person

is expressed by "I don't know where you're coming from,"
i.e., I don't know your place.

What the individual requires . . . is not a plot of ground but a place -- a context within which he can expand and become himself. A place in this sense cannot be bought; it must be shaped, usually over long periods of time, by the common affairs of men and women. It must be given scale and meaning by their love. And then it must be preserved.²⁰

The particular quality and distinctiveness of one's own place bestow an identity that demands the recognition of difference between oneself and another. Such recognition implies a point of view, a place from which to distinguish. The point of view which attachment to the homeland provides is cogently illustrated in Archie Lieberman's study of a farm family in northwestern Illinois, Farm Boy. Returning early from her honeymoon in California, the bride explained, invoking the validity of her own world, that "It's so unreal to be gone."²¹

iv - Place as point of view

To have a sense of one's home as a place of origin is to have a point of view in life, and hence an identity. One needs grounds in order to see and describe the world. It is through the rootedness of having a home that one comes to know the other. "To have roots in a place is to have a secure point from which to look out on the world, a

firm grasp of one's own position in the order of things, and a significant spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular.²²

The roots created by recognition of and caring for one's place which are essential to human nature and identity extend to the possibility of national identity. In their article on Canadian nationalism,²³ social theorists Alan F. Blum and Peter McHugh have analyzed the necessity for national identity of respecting the particularity of difference and strangeness, citing Nietzsche's parable about the Greeks in The Use and Abuse of History.²⁴

In certain epochs the Greeks were in . . . danger of being overwhelmed by what was past and foreign, and perishing. . . . They never lived proud and untouched. Their "culture" was for a long time a chaos of foreign forms and ideas . . . and yet Hellenic culture was no mere mechanical unity, thanks to the Delphic oracle. The Greeks gradually learned to organize chaos by taking Apollo's advice and thinking back to themselves, to their own true necessities, and letting all the sham necessities go. Thus they again came into possession of themselves, and did not remain long the Epigoni of the whole east, burdened with their inheritance. After that hard fight, they increased and enriched the treasure they had inherited by their obedience to the oracle, and they became the ancestors and models for all the cultured nations of the future. This is a parable for each one of us; he must organize the chaos in himself by "thinking himself back" to his true needs.²⁵

The Greeks, threatened by the presence in their homeplace of barbarians and foreigners, returned to themselves by recalling their "true needs," by distinguishing between

"sham necessities" and true necessities. In Blum and McHugh's reading of this passage, the Greeks distinguished between technical and genuine difference by respecting the particularity of difference and rejected the accidental and coincidental in order to affirm the "good place."²⁶ Their strong sense of difference itself provided a sense of the particular which is place as well as the place of the particular.²⁷

A people's sense of identity is enhanced for themselves as well as for strangers by their homeland's landmarks, those features of high visibility and public significance.²⁸ In order to return to their place, so as to respect and commit themselves to it, the Greeks were required to know their place by particularizing it, by observing difference in order to render its features visible and to order the chaos into a cosmos of visible and significant features. In the words of Max Scheler, "To find one's place in the world, the world must be a cosmos. In a chaos there is no place."²⁹

In Blum and McHugh's analysis, sameness is a "sham" for the particular, as when the Greeks imitated the whole east and disregarded their difference from the Easterners beyond merely technical considerations. This sham of sameness is modern as it expresses the universalism of an industrial age, comprised of the marriage of science and com-

merce, wherein difference is treated inessentially by being transformed into variation and novelty.³⁰

It may be assumed that knowing your place through respecting its particularity and difference implies knowing what is not your place, but is the place of the other. As one's place is essential to one's identity, having a place and an identity are requirements for distinguishing the other and his place.

v - Place as point of departure

Besides endowing an individual and a group identity on its members, the point of view which commitment and caring for one's place provide also frees its people to travel away from it. It is a point of departure. Having a home is that necessary "base to set down Being and to realize our possibilities -- a here from which the world discloses itself, a there to which we can go."³¹

As discussed previously, one belongs first in his place of birth, the place where one originates, and understanding one's motherland as the first of relationships of belonging requires the recognition of one's motherland, one's home, as a Good, as a "first of things."³² On this premise, it would seem that this need to care about one's place might require forever dwelling in that place, never travelling from it, which is Heidegger's point: "buan

means to dwell. This signifies: to remain, to stay in a place."³³

A similar assumption underlies the question posed to Doughty at the start of Arabia Deserta:

A new voice hailed me of an old friend when, first returned from the Peninsula, I paced again in that long street of Damascus which is called Straight; and suddenly taking me wondering by the hand "Tell me (said he), since thou art here again in the peace and assurance of Ullah, and whilst we walk as in the former years, toward the new blossoming orchards, full of the sweet spring as the garden of God, what moved thee, or how couldst thou take such journeys into the fanatic Arabia?"³⁴

However, commitment to one's place strengthens it and can thereby provide a means of liberation from the place itself so that, ironically, place as home may hold its people by sending them out.³⁵ "It is the point of departure from which we orient ourselves and take possession of the world."³⁶

As a point of departure, home is the necessary place for the traveller, making it possible for him to understand who and where he is when he is not at home. Having such a home makes it possible too to take possession of the world by describing it. In the same way the strength of its relationship to its homeplace made it possible for a strong nation to possess "other" nations, for the possession which description entails is analogous to the possession of colo-

nization.

Hence, the travelling of a country's citizens may exemplify the strength and not the weakness of their place (home).³⁷ Movement to and from their place is only possible for those whose sense of place is strong, because their place (of being) is dwelled in throughout their various movements into and out of their home. For those whose place dwells with them, travel which is mere motion is experienced with indifference.³⁸ What is significant is the perception of and respect for other places which having a home as point of view and departure permits.

As a point of departure, the homeplace is a profound center of human existence. While human groups tend to regard their own homeland as the center of the world, thereby claiming for its location a superior value, its particularity is regenerative and abiding as a result of its basis as a mythic concept.³⁹ Rather than binding its people to it irrevocably in the sense that leaving it would be impossible and its loss would destroy the cosmos, a home may travel with its people. About this concept of "center," Tuan claims:

In mythic thought several world centers may coexist in the same general area without contradiction. It is possible to believe that the axis of the world passes through the settlement as a whole as well as through the separate dwellings within it. Space that is stretched over a grid of cardinal points

makes the idea of place vivid, but it does not make any particular geographical locality the place. A spatial frame determined by the stars is anthropocentric rather than place-centric, and it can be moved as human beings themselves move.⁴⁰

Burton demonstrates a confident sense of his homeplace as a center and his indifference to mere movement by his readiness to dismiss the objections of his military superiors who refuse his request of "three years leave of absence on special duty from India to Moskat" for the "reason that the contemplated journey was of too dangerous a nature":

What remained for me but to prove, by trial, that what might be perilous to other travellers was sage to me? . . . being liberally supplied with the means of travel by the Royal Geographical Society; thoroughly tired of "progress" and of "civilization," curious to see with my eyes what others are content to "hear with ears," namely, Moslem inner life in a really Mohammedan country; and longing, if truth be told, to set foot on that mysterious spot which no vacation tourist has yet described, measured, sketched and photographed, I resolved to resume my old character of a Persian wanderer, a "Darwaysh," and to make the attempt.⁴¹

Understanding one's place as home liberates one to "enjoy" other places in their particularity without reference to their coincidental character. As a leisure activity, travel entices with its prospects of romance and adventure to be encountered by visiting places which are not one's own. Such places may be visited in the hope of recapturing something lost to us, something present in the world's past or in the traveller's past which is desirable

to us in the present because of its absence in our lives now. This nostalgia invoked by other places occurs as a sense of absence. "Most Americans still live in second-hand homes, but the homes are not their own. And so they go away to Europe to feel at home in time."⁴²

It is by pointing to this sense of absence, this desire to recover what is lost, that we make a place noticeable. By estranging ourselves from a place we can discover it. Being out of place makes a place noticeable to oneself. "Ce qui est curieux, écrit Stendhal, c'est ce qui se passe dans la rue et qui ne semble pas curieux à aucun homme du pays."⁴³

vi - Denial of place

Homelessness, a key tenet of modernity, endangers a commitment to place of birth by allowing universalist and economic values to "displace" a place.⁴⁴ In such a world, exploitation supplants caring as the basic definition of human dwelling.⁴⁵ For Heidegger such caretaking or "sparing" is lost: "Real sparing is something positive and takes place when we leave something beforehand in its own nature, when we return it specifically to its being, when we 'free' it in the real sense of the word into a preserve of Peace."⁴⁶ He goes on to say:

Mortals dwell in that they save the earth -- taking the word in the old sense still known to Lessing.

Saving does not only snatch something from a danger. To save really means to get something free into its own presencing. To save the earth is more than to exploit it or even wear it out. Saving the earth does not master the earth and does not subjugate it, which is merely one step from spoliation.⁴⁷

Thus homelessness generates the possibilities of an international market, promoting a relationship in which the earth becomes a resource and places become commodities which can be exchanged and purchased regardless of their particularity.⁴⁸ In this universalist economic perspective, novelty is mistaken for difference.⁴⁹ Motion is then viewed as desirable and good in itself without valuing the good of place which makes movement possible. The grounds of motion, the point of view or home which permits movement are disregarded.

In modern travel, process and movement are emphasized and institutionalized at the expense of place which is then treated as an exchangeable commodity. The commitment to universalism which is seen as the Good in modern life diminishes the commitment to belonging to one's own place. To love and care for one's place in its particularity allows one to recognize the goodness of any place. Caring for place includes respect for one's own place and for difference. Disrespect for the strange, the other, is a feature of disrespect for roots and for place itself.⁵⁰

The universal aesthetic trivializes difference by

treating all differences as mere variation and incidental or glamorous. The ends of colonialism are well-served by a universalist disregard for the good of place in its blatant disrespect for real difference. T.E. Lawrence, reflecting upon his experience of being a tool in the service of colonialism, acknowledges this confusion between novelty and difference and its ultimate failure to respect one's own place.

Pray God that men reading the story will not, for love of the glamour of strangeness, go out to prostitute themselves and their talents in serving another race.

A man who gives himself to be a possession of aliens . . . is not of them. He may stand against them, persuade himself of a mission, batter and twist them into something which they, of their own accord, would not have been. Then he is exploiting his old environment to press them out of theirs. Or, after my model, he may imitate them so well that they spuriously imitate him back again. Then he is giving away his own environment: pretending to theirs and pretences are hollow, worthless things. In neither case does he do a thing of himself, not a thing so clean as to be his own . . .⁵¹

The refusal to engage in a relationship of caring for one's place provides a license to be anywhere without an identity.

Burton, whose own success at being physically out of place depended to a great extent on the license of disguised identity, analyzes the character of the Darwaysh as an eminently appropriate traveller. The Darwaysh is a uni-

versal stranger whose refusal to respect both his particular origins and the particularity of the places he travels to allows him total access through the rejection of any fixed identity.

No character in the Moslem world is so proper for disguise as that of the Darwaysh. It is assumed by all ranks, ages, and creeds; by the nobleman who has been disgraced at court, and by the peasant who is too idle to till the ground; by Dives, who is weary of life, and by Lazarus, who begs his bread from door to door. Further, the Darwaysh is allowed to ignore ceremony and politeness, as one who ceases to appear upon the stage of life; he may pray or not, marry or remain single as he pleases, be respectable in cloth of frieze as in cloth of gold, and no one asks him -- the chartered vagabond -- Why he comes here? or Wherefore he goes there? He may wend his way on foot alone, or ride his Arab mare followed by a dozen servants; he is equally feared without weapons, as swaggering through the streets armed to the teeth. The more haughty and offensive he is to the people, the more they respect him; a decided advantage to the traveller of choleric temperament. In the hour of imminent danger, he has only to become a maniac, and he is safe; a madman in the East, like a notably eccentric character in the West, is allowed to say or do whatever the spirit directs. Add to this character a little knowledge of medicine, a "moderate skill in magic, and a reputation for caring for nothing but study and books," together with capital sufficient to save you from the chance of starving, and you appear in the East to peculiar advantage.⁵²

Pilgrimage

In this discussion of the role of place in travel literature, the concept of travel which properly links movement and place in observing the previously discussed necessity for respecting home is that of the pilgrimage. With

its goal of arrival at a holy place by a pilgrim who is transformed by this task, the pilgrimage provides a paradigmatic structure for a work of travel writing. Despite its being increasingly secularized, the pilgrimage structure has been retained in accounts of modern leisure travel as well as in works such as Chateaubriand's Itinéraire, in which the author's explicit references to being a pilgrim have been combined with modern and secular variations of that structure.

The transformation of the pilgrim-traveller is observed in contemporary parlance as being "turned around," which also reflects upon the meaning of the Old Semitic root h-aj for hadj (pilgrimage), meaning "to go around, to go in a circle."⁵³ The dominance of this circular structure may be found in the function of symbolizing the person and the place. As a goal, the place is sacramentalized and takes on a mythic identity as a source, making it both goal and beginning. A journey to such a (holy) place is a return, for which the circle or pilgrimage provides the controlling metaphor.

The role of the secular traveller-writer in this circularly symbolizing process is that of symbolic pilgrim. He is engaged in an endeavor which is an initiation rite voluntarily undertaken but weighted with structural obligations which give it a communal status.⁵⁴ In his dual role,

the pilgrim (traveller-writer) is bound to his individual endeavor of personal transformation as well as to standing-in for (symbolizing) his readers in a communal function.

Controlled by the metaphor of the circle, the ritual process of pilgrimage is analogous to initiation rites which concern the passing of the initiate through stages that bring him near death (disintegration) in order that he be reborn. He leaves behind a profane life, is tortured and emerges as a transformed being, united with the holy. In similar fashion, Victor Turner explains his view of pilgrimage as "that form of institutionalized or symbolic anti-structure (or perhaps meta-structure) which succeeds the major initiation rites of puberty in tribal societies as the dominant historical form."⁵⁵

Following the structure of pilgrimage as initiation rite, suffering is seen as a requisite rite in travel.⁵⁶ Temptations and pain which threaten the integration of the Self are analogous to the required death for the sake of rebirth. A pilgrimage of Self brings the traveller to the brink of death, to the near loss of Self in order that he be reborn through the re-emergence of the metamorphosed Self. His travel undertaken as a quest for an original Self, to the source of his Self-hood, is expected to effect a profound change.

Such a change is induced by suffering obstacles that

cause him almost to lose his life (his sense of Self) so that he may be reborn in a stronger, educated, and enduring Self.⁵⁷ As Eliade notes, the entry into a state of near-death or its equivalent acceptance of participation in suffering provides the

only possible way of abolishing temporal duration -- in other words, of annulling historic existence -- and of re-entering into the primordial situation. Evidently, this re-entry into the germinal state of "the beginnings" is itself equivalent to death: in effect, one "kills" one's own profane historic existence, now outworn, to re-enter into an immaculate, open existence, untainted by time.⁵⁸

In its analogy to religious ritual, travel is educational.⁵⁹ Although travels undertaken in an educational, self-enhancing spirit properly focus on the individual experience of the traveller, all travel provides an individualizing experience because travel obviates a confrontation with the other, the strange and different. This confrontation in turn allows the traveller to apprehend himself as he passes through other-imposed limits or boundaries. As the traveller intrudes into the place of the other, he is subjected to an assault -- the impingement of another culture. This impingement is effective in dividing the traveller into an individual self (whom he feels himself to be) and his representative self (whom he is perceived by others to be, e.g., a Frenchman, a gringo, a tourist).

Travel makes the traveller particularly vulnerable to

this self-divisiveness -- a loneliness engendered by the isolation of him whom he perceives from him who is perceived. This inevitable solitude in travel of experiencing himself as an other is a feature of the pain one undergoes in travel, the necessary initiation rite of punishment and death from which one emerges as a purified and resurrected self. Through this assault on the Self, the discomfort and pain experienced as a result of his travelling, the traveller comes to know himself, both in his uniqueness as an individual "soul" and in his representativeness of his home culture.

The stranger and the need for disguise

As one's place is essential to one's identity, the individual who is out-of-place, the stranger or foreigner, is perceived as a barbarian and therefore as threatening, as lacking a culture and willfully without identity. His presence in a place to which he does not belong, to which he has no relation as a "dwelling place of being" seems to announce his indifference to caring for his home as well as indifference to the needs of the place which is the home of others.⁶⁰ These negligences comprise a failure of respect and caring for place as a first principle of being.

The stranger is threatening, not because of his visibility and manifest particularity (his steadfast English-

ness in having a formal tea service in the middle of the desert, for example), but because his presence in a place which is not his expresses a disregard for the commitment and caring for place which bestows identity.⁶¹

Disguise

As Burton's case and his anecdote suggest, travel in a place not one's own often demands or is enhanced by assuming a disguise. The need to conceal one's particularity as a stranger actually honors the difference between one's own home and the home of the other. Unlike the non-differentiation of participating in a universal style such as a ubiquitous international uniform of blue jeans and T-shirts, the aping of another's style of dress or external custom to conceal one's identity suggests the strength of one's original place.

In indicating strength of place, disguises are most particularizing -- as in the case of Burton's detailed and specific assumed identity as "Shaykh" Abdullah, Bismillah-Shah, Murshid⁶² -- when they are assumed by a person with a strong sense of his place; and they are least particularizing -- as with Nerval who merely "dressed up" in his machlach, completing his disguise with a longish beard and a handkerchief wrapped about his head -- when employed by someone more committed to the homeless, universalist aes-

thetic. The distinction between costume and disguise, between play-acting and imposture, may be made in relation to a variation in strength of place.

The endangerment produced by a stranger's presence may be seen as the correlate of the strength of place. Doughty's attachment to his place which provided his identity, that is, his humanity, is a source of peril to him early in his journey, when he is unable to refrain from interfering in the execution of a thief, who is being beaten until he confesses.

It was perilous for me to tempt so many strangers' eyes, but as humanity required, I called to them, "Sirs I am an hakim; this man may not bear more, hold or he may die under your handling!" -- words which, besides their looking upon the speaker, were not regarded. . . . "Khali Effendi" (said the Persian when he found me alone) "what is this meddling with the man's punishment? wouldst thou to Medain Salih, or no? This may be told tomorrow in the ears of the Pasha; then they will know you, and you will be turned back. Come no more forth in the public view." But as an European I trod every day upon the mesquin oriental prudence; in camp he would have me remain in my little tent separately.⁶³

The situation of the thief mirrors that of Doughty, in that both are forced to cry out confessions of their "real" identities.

Through his impulsive interference at the risk of exposing himself to grave peril, Doughty also exposes himself as a stranger -- a Westerner and a Christian. This anecdote has further implications for the notion of disguise as

concealed place because of the parallel between the situation of the thief who is being beaten until he confesses and that of the disguised Doughty, who, in crying out, confesses his disguise, his being out of place.

The offense of the thief compounds the parallel, for he was " . . . an Arab caravan servant of Bagdad and grey-haired: bursting a lock he had stolen the purse with £40 of his Persian master, a foolish young man, and hid it side their tent in the earth."⁶⁴

Having no place of his own, the servant takes the money out of its hiding place only to hide the master's property in the master's own place. In addition, he has committed the "theft" for the purposes of "saving" the young man's purse from his profligacy.

The most extreme cases of disguise, of which Burton may serve as an exemplar, involve real danger if one were discovered and a moral question as well. Burton penetrated Mecca in a case of classic intrusion -- a criminal act by Muslim law. That his act is considered heroic, brave and a coup is a tribute to Western values of scientific inquiry, which sanctions knowing all that there is to know.

Burton's transformation through a highly successful disguise is effected through both the empirical and scientific view of objective place and the Romantic view of place which is other. Burton's successful disguise shows

his strong sense of his own place through an understanding of particularity and difference; this accounts for a highly chauvinistic and patriotic view, yet at the same time makes him a Romantic figure, an adventurer and outsider who felt himself not so much English but an individual seeker of another, spiritually more "native" place in a place of the other.

Apart from the need for total disguise in undertaking the Pilgrimage to Mecca, Burton was fond altogether of disguises and costumes, feeling perhaps that he could thereby be more himself -- more uniquely individual, and not merely playing his social roles of Englishman, husband, writer. Of Alexander Laing, one of the first travellers to wear the native Berber dress while crossing the Sahara, Lyons similarly remarks that he "probably felt to be more truly himself hidden in a dishdasha than if he were to carry on his person the more anonymous identity of an Englishman."⁶⁵

While the degree and purposes of disguise may vary widely, they are related to the conception of "going native," whereby one not only participates in the visited culture but attempts to transform oneself, radically as in the cases of Burton and Laing, or superficially, as in a dress-up performance, as did Nerval and Lady Hester Stanhope, or T.E. Lawrence, for the sake of convenience and of being less conspicuous. This intermediate state of dis-

guise may reflect a professional respect as in the case of E. W. Lane, who tells us in the introduction to The Modern Egyptians that he has been able to observe and understand so intimately and accurately because he has respected their customs and because physically he may "pass" since his command of the language is so good.⁶⁶

Paradigms of place

The previous discussion has sought to establish the priority of the home place as the means of learning respect for place itself and for the particularity of difference. We have observed that travel may seem to threaten a commitment to a place which is home, and hence to a respect for place itself. In societies where family gods and ancestors have been displaced in favor of universal and transcendent belief, that is, in characteristically modern society, the recognition of and attachment to the particularity of one's homeplace typically wanes as travel for its own sake becomes a routine activity. The enhanced ease of travel in an industrial age which fostered the development of travel as a full-fledged industry, contributes to the weakened sense of place as home, allowing home to be identified with its superficial embodiment.^{67,68} As Heidegger claims: "Home nowadays is a distorted and perverted phenomenon; it is identical to a house; it can be anywhere. It is subor-

dinate to us; easily measurable and expressible in numbers of money-value."⁶⁹

The attitudes of universalist materialism addressed in Heidegger's position above weaken the respect for the particularity of the homeplace, and consequently weaken the respect for place itself which includes the respect for difference and the particularity of the place of the other.⁷⁰

Mistaking the particularity of one's own place for place itself or denying one's place by attributing priority to the place of the other represent the two basic distortions of the concept of the primacy of place which are present in the paradigms of place used by the travellers under discussion in their descriptions of places seen.

Paradigm of one's own place

Failure to acknowledge the particularity of difference itself can result in chauvinism, in which the particulars of one's own place are taken as paradigmatic. The place of the other is thereby apprehended as less valid than one's own point of view. One's own perspective is taken as the reality while the place of another is experienced as "unreal."

In colonialist enterprises, this distorted equivalence of place as one's own place is paramount. Proceeding be-

yond the protection of one's own people and the hostility to strangers that occurs in a place-bound culture, the perspective of colonialism asserts itself as the singular reality and demands the appropriation of the other place for the purposes of imposing order on its chaos, domesticating its strangeness, thereby endowing it with a reality that approximates the particulars of one's own place. Such forms of place-affirmation provided a protective vehicle for many European travellers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, linking them closely with the patriotism which infused colonial and imperialistic practices.⁷¹

In patriotism, it is only the coincidence of birth or biographical detail that prevails as a reason for respecting a place, rather than respect for place as "the first of things" (Archytas). Patriotism conflates the particular and the whole by creating a mistaken version of the particular and in so doing rejects the whole, raising a single particular into a privileged and unquestioned domain. Thus, for the patriot, respect for one's own place can never promote respect for the place of the other, for what is "right" for patriotism can only be equated with the coincidence of that which, or the place where, one happens to be.

The privilege accorded coincidence in patriotism equates the value of one's own place with the goodness of

place in general and extends the analogy by valuing what is similar to one's own (place). To view the particularity of one's home as the reality represents a chauvinist attitude in that it demands a correspondence or acquiescent sameness of the other. The universalizing view, on the other hand, focuses on the basic sameness of things by diminishing the particularity of one's home. Both attitudes of chauvinism and universalism demand sameness and distort the respect for difference by overemphasis on particularity in the one, and by diminishing it in the other. Both views produce paradigms of place which focus on one's own place and on the sameness of either an essential or a forced analogy.

Sameness or analogy is an essential mode of science, which classifies and derives general principles from multiple occurrences. The extreme universal view imposes sameness as an ideal, denying the particularity of the home-place and weakening the primacy of place itself. The loss of particularity and grounds of being (bauen) promotes the superficial apprehension of place as a commodity which, as Heidegger points out, is then easily appropriated and exchanged. Tourists who are consumers of industrialized travel trade in such places:

They see visions of great cities and wild regions; they are in the marts of commerce or amid the isles of the South; they gaze on Pompey's pillar or on the Andes; and nothing which meets them carries them either forward or backward, to any idea be-

yond itself. Nothing has a drift or a relation; nothing has a history or a promise. Everything stands by itself, and comes and goes in its turn, like the shifting scenes of a show, which leaves the spectator where he was.⁷²

Becoming an activity for the accumulation and exchange of places, travel forfeits its pilgrimage structure, which focuses on the transforming experience of being in a particular place, and is converted into tourism. The close tie between tourism and photography as post-industrial, popular leisure activities has been remarked by Susan Sontag in On Photography, and focuses on the perception of place as a commodity which can be easily reproduced and re-located, and whose particularity is weakened.⁷³

The uses of tradition by which the process of exchange among writers as members of a literary archive is engendered also implies a view of literary objects as commodities. While the paradigm of place as a commodity is an obvious perspective in an industrialized culture, with its revolutions affecting means of transport and mass leisure time to produce a universalist form of tourism, place as an element and topic in travel narratives is always treated as a commodity within the corpus of knowledge.⁷⁴

The other place as paradigm

In looking to tradition as a marketplace, many writers in the nineteenth century, whose literature was informed by

industrialization and Romanticism, sought to reject the sameness of bourgeois culture engendered by the earlier social and technological revolutions. The individualism which had been fostered by the fall of traditional authority was felt to be stifled by the accompanying preponderance of a universalist, middle-class, commercial ethos.

Unable to discern in its smug sameness either the particularity of their homeplace or the potential for developing the individual within it, some writers found a paradigm for place in the place of the other. The value of what was not theirs was seen as greater than that of their homeplace. In a near-reversal of the chauvinist paradigm of place which equates what is one's own with what is real, the homeplace is viewed as inauthentic and inadequate. The reaction against the bourgeois home or place demanded a mythical place which was seen as an anterior and truer home, which was also outside the domain of the native place. The impulse towards the new and the novel was an aspect of this paradigm of place, which rejected sameness, as was the desire to return to a distant past. In this paradigm of place which fastened on respecting the particularity of the other, the past and the novel were oddly allied in an aesthetic comprised of voyage and dream as means of moving away from one's native place. The dissociation of voyage and dream provided a liberation from the homeplace whose

particularity and distinctiveness had been lost or which did not compel the respect and caring due to one's "true" home.

In "Le voyage," dedicated to Maxime du Camp, Baudelaire expresses this impulse to voyage for its own sake, in search of the new:

Un matin nous partons, le cerveau plein de flamme,
 Le coeur gros de rancune et de désirs amers,
 Et nous allons, suivant le rythme de la lame,
 Berçant notre infini sur le fini des mers:
 Mais les vrais voyageurs sont ceux-là seuls qui
 partent
 Pour partir; coeurs légers, semblables aux ballons,
 De leur fatalité jamais ils ne s'écartent,
 Et, sans savoir pourquoi, disent toujours: Allons!

Similarly, in "L'Invitation au voyage," Baudelaire invokes the dream of the other place:

Mon enfant, ma soeur,
 Songe à la douceur
 D'aller là-bas vivre ensemble!
 Là, tout n'est qu'ordre et beauté,
 Luxe, calme et volupté.

In this view, place loses its significance as the grounds of being, as mere motion replaces place as "the first of things." Since "Doing and suffering are motions" and place is that "in which what is done and suffered exists" (Archytas), this version of place subverts caring for place by diverting it to the secondary matter of motion.

Novelty replaces intimacy as a "good."⁷⁵

As in the sameness paradigm of place, the other-directed or xenophilic model affirms a place's circumstantial particularity or variation rather than place itself. Both models treat the "good" of place as incidental and mistake a feature of coincidence for the essence of place.

In the nineteenth century, one focus of a place which was "other," offering both the novelty of experience and the sources of an ancient past the sensibility of the age desired, was identified as the Orient.

[Orient] cette figure de la nature, dont l'Europe ne nous offre pas d'exemple. . . . C'est le charme de l'Islam, le décor d'une religion si parfaitement appropriée à un climat et à une humanité. . . . C'est la pompe des souvenirs historiques, les scènes de l'antiquité biblique et classique que nous rappellent, en les lieux mêmes où elles se développent, des attitudes et des coutumes . . . ⁷⁶

Edward Said, in Orientalism, has analyzed the invention of the Orient as a category of Western knowledge with roots in linguistic scholarship which was systematically extended to imperialist practice.

In the Orient one suddenly confronted unimaginable antiquity, inhuman beauty, boundless distance. . . the Orient is a form of release, a place of original opportunity. . . . One always returned to the Orient . . . seeing it as completion and confirmation of everything one had imagined.⁷⁷

. . . from one end of the nineteenth century to the other -- after Napoleon, that is -- the Orient was a place of pilgrimage, and every major work . . .

took its form, style, and intention from the idea of pilgrimage there. In this idea . . . the Romantic idea of restorative reconstruction (natural supernaturalism) is the principal source.⁷⁸

Inherent in the Romantic sensibility was a principle of quest and idealization which invoked the spatial and temporal distance represented by the Orient. The Romantic notion of the Orient served as a place where the terminus of the quest could be imaginatively posited, as well as a place where one might voyage in reality, in search of novelty and one's identity. As a place imaginatively identified with the past, with the feminine ideal, and with infinite novelty, the Orient was an ideal source for a quest for Self.

Aux vagues senteurs de l'ombre,
 Les riches plafonds,
 Les miroirs profonds,
 La splendeur orientale,
 Tout y parlerait
 A l'âme en secret
 Sa douce langue natale.

(Baudelaire, "L'Invitation au voyage")

As a paradigmatically "other" place, the Orient was viewed as an archetypal place, not as geographically or nationally distinct places. The Orient was an essentially strange, generalized other place which was "there," and "not here," which is of course at odds with a geographical definition. The Orient's location was vague. This vague-

ness is expressed in cognates such as the verb which means "to direct, refer, locate in the direction of, towards another point or with relation to (especially the east, where the sun 'begins')." "

It is that generalized quality expressed by "towards" rather than "to" which gives the Orient an identity, not as a localized "there," in that spot, but an "over there," somewhere. This amorphous, liquid quality promotes a view of it as a non-rational place with an allusive identity. Hence the Orient exists as a construct which is understood by the relationship of meanings assigned to it. Not specifically locatable, yet sensually present, its changing floating nature enhances its potential for metamorphosis in literature and as a source of quest of self.

Neither knowable nor containable, the essence of the Orient was an amorphousness which precluded definition and imbued it qua place with the quality of a dream world, "synonymous with the exotic, the mysterious, the profound, the seminal."⁷⁹

Historical models

Having previously distinguished the two polar "misunderstandings" of the true nature of place as being 1) the identification of the circumstances of one's place with place itself and 2) the rejection of one's own place for

the place of the other, we can use these attitudes towards place to analyze some descriptions of the Orient as an "other" place in the narratives of nineteenth-century Western travellers to the Orient which follow. The distinct histories of the French and the English in the Orient add another axis of comparison to the paradigm of the Orient which preoccupied the traveller from each nation.

As Said has pointed out, the Orient of the nineteenth-century Englishman was defined as a material possession and possessed by a material imagination. En route to India, a major colony, the "Orient" of the Islamic Middle East was a place subordinate to English rule and hence "real" to the English. For the French, whose defeat in Egypt imbued the place with an acute sense of loss, the place was "in their minds."⁸⁰

The present study uses both these insights into the accompanying paradigms of place used by two English and two French travellers to the same "places" of the Orient in an attempt to compare their individual intentions and responses in describing the Orient as a place. The "possession" which description effects can be compared to their accompanying views of the possession their own colonizing nations effected on this "other" place.

Creation and re-creation of place

Place descriptions

A traveller's attitudes towards place, the paradigms for place understanding which we have outlined above are part of the baggage of travel. The image of the place a traveller visits is packed beforehand. Throughout his voyage connecting him to his home as point of departure, it assists or impedes his experience and usually returns with him in a condition which reflects the uses to which it has been put.

In his literary representation of place, the paradigm similarly accompanies him, enabling the traveller-writer imaginatively to generate and sustain a place by reference to its tradition of ordered human significance. Place as a paradigm, as an experience of travel, and as literature partakes of the human imagination and is brought into being by human perception and intention. David Lowenthal, cited on the title page of Tuan's Topophilia, stresses this feature of place: "The geography of the world is unified only by human logic and optics, by the light and color of artifice, by decorative arrangement, and by ideas of the good, the true, and the beautiful."⁸¹ As creation involves ordering, the writer's task, like that of the architect in creating a place, is "to set about endowing some considerable part of the human environment with a new and special or-

der."⁸²

The imaginatively enhanced or literary place may be so effectively animated as to overshadow, intercede or even, replace the place in sitio in the experience of the traveler. While the ordering or reshaping which is art usually confers on its transformed object a heightened aesthetic status, place as a literary object is even more susceptible to a rendering which is "better than the real thing" because the basic meaning of place comes from its being, in Relph's words, "a profound centre of human existence,"⁸³ whose compelling significance can only be transmitted and perceived in the effective animation of it produced by art.

Thus, for many film-goers, the place Casablanca was fulfilled in the Michael Curtiz film, whereas the actual city in Morocco is disappointing, even "unreal." In a television documentary on the making of this film broadcast on November 15, 1981, the narrator proclaimed that "They made a Casablanca beside which the real city fails." On the effectiveness and dominance of literary place, with regard to its reference to an actual place, Anthony Burgess advises the use of one's imagination: "Probably (as Thomas Pynchon never went to Valletta or Kafka to America) it's best to imagine your own foreign country. I wrote a very good account of Paris before I ever went there. Better than the real thing."⁸⁴ In his reference to Pynchon's Valletta and

Kafka's America, Burgess points to the evolutionary chain linking paradigms and literary creations, as each partakes of the other in a literary tradition, wherein a literary place is used as a model for seeing and describing an actual place, and that description is, in turn, used as a model. As a literary entity, a place may be identified, represented, "reproduced," and established (placed) in a literary tradition as a paradigm for other travellers-writers. The isle of Cythera as exchanged among Francisco Colonna, Nerval, Baudelaire, and Watteau is one example.

The convention and the personal

Against the dominance of the paradigm for place which accompanies the traveller (comprised of his national and personal attitudes and his acquaintance with other literary representations of place) is projected the personal and individual manner of reflecting the paradigm that occurs in the subjective acts of perceiving and creating. Even when Montaigne proposes precision as an antidote to the fantastic renderings of voyages then in vogue, that exactitude is dependent upon the experience of the individual: "We need topographers who would give us exact descriptions of the places where they have been."⁸⁵

The act of electing to be out of one's place for a limited period -- which is travel -- alerts the traveller

to the personal status of his experience. He "is strictly personal, can only take it personally, can only see the personal, since he ignores the source of embodied activities."⁸⁶ The metaphoric homesickness of loneliness and pain suffered by being out of place gives a personal and individualizing quality to the traveller's experience.

a. Autobiography

The personal and individualizing nature of this experience, as well as the metaphor of the voyage taken for the life lived, relate the sub-genres of the non-fictional travel narrative and the autobiography. Both share the issues of being intimately connected to material based on fact and having the project of an individual as their main concern. In addition, they share a number of narrative structural features as a result of the author's being both the narrator and the protagonist of the work. He may also figure as a character portrayed in a third-person narrative. In a travel account, place may be portrayed as a character, but its depiction occurs through the eyes of the main character as traveller.

As protagonist, the traveller focuses the narrative on his endurance of a process -- a journey -- which alters him. His account of travel is structured upon that of a pilgrimage, and the particular process of his quest or ad-

venture is rendered significant and valuable as an individual experience. The focus of his creation as the protagonist is on his sensory experience, on how he feels or thinks about the process through which he is being created as a self. Places are expressed in terms of pauses, sites, points in the process of his journey. The highlighted place as goal of his voyage is comparable to the highlighted event or crisis in an autobiography which alters or fixes the protagonist's shaping identity.

As narrator, the traveller mediates between his experience and his reader, as a function of the temporal and spatial distance between his accomplishment and his narration. The description of a place requires participation, for the travel experience is active and sensory, particularly as it refers to the ritual structure of a pilgrimage. " . . . [T]hroughout religious history, sensory activity has been used as means of participating in the sacred and attaining to the divine."⁸⁷ A travel narrator, in the tradition of the guidebook, is a stand-in for the reader and provides him with the means to enjoy vicariously the experience of travel and of place.

b. Techniques

The travel narrator's duty to his reader as part of the communitas of pilgrimage is to put him in that place as

well, to the recreation of his personal and sensory experience through its ordering and shaping as an aesthetic response. Anecdotes which demonstrate the oddness, difficulty, or pain of being in a place are therefore useful for this purpose of simulating physical knowledge. "Knowledge of Rome must be physical, sweated into the system, worked up into the brain through the thinning shoe leather . . . when it comes to knowing, the senses are more honest than the intelligence. Nothing is more real than the first wall you lean up against sobbing with exhaustion."⁸⁸

Appeals to the visual through techniques taken from painting, such as the tableau, the still-life, the landscape, the panorama, and the portrait are also methods used by the travel narrator to present a place. The frame and focus which result from electing to mention certain places or an object which creates that place are other visual and literary techniques used in the presentation of a place.

Similarly, the process of naming places creates the pause or attention that gives a place visibility. The scientific methods of naming, classifying, and cataloguing are also means for a narrator to convey a place to the reader. Scientific measurement and experiment, such as Chateaubriand and Burton use, can also appeal to a reader's sense of participation in a place.

Direct references to the reader's participation can

also be made, as in the use of the second person to give instructions for responding to a sunset, or the first person plural to describe moving from one level of a pyramid to another. Mediating the spatial distance between reader and traveller in this fashion evokes the communitas ethic of pilgrimage. As a form of nostalgia, also evoked by references to a shared past, the sense of communitas mediates temporal distance as well.

c. Analogies of intrusion

Just as the traveller is an intruder in a place, so is he an intruding character in the narration. He is not only the main character about whom the narration proceeds, but also a participant in the events or anecdotes as an "other." Anecdotes may serve to highlight or dramatize the character of the place and of the protagonist. As an insert, an anecdote interrupts the narrative flow, thus calling attention to the parallel of the intrusive, outsider status of the traveller. Portrayed in the third person, he is thereby made visible as an "other" to the reader, the other characters and to himself.

When someone leaves his native place, he assumes the role of a traveller, of one who doesn't belong where he happens to be. The scheme of entering is reiterated within a travel account by the narration of an entrance into a

place or an entrance into the persona of traveller, which is sometimes accentuated by entering a disguise, as well as by the intrusion of anecdotal material such as stories within the story.

The intrusion of anecdotes and stories commonly occurs as part of the narrative structures of travel literature and parallels the pattern of entering or embarking that informs the endeavor of travel itself. The stories within the story, the separate points or places along the way which stand out as pauses and are made memorable, resemble the structure of literary works such as The Canterbury Tales or Diderot's Jacques le fataliste, which affect the convention of a voyage to facilitate the incorporation of digressions. The convention seems to suggest that one travels in order to tell stories. The reader, by analogy, reads stories in order to travel.

Anecdotes serve to illustrate and dramatize the particular experience, to make it memorable, or to lend an air of authenticity. They may also demonstrate the overriding, compelling, and essential story line of a travel account by personalizing the experience of the traveller to transform it for the reader, to put him in the traveller's place. Attempts to describe geometrically or in another standard measurement do not put the reader in that place, but a metaphorical response which answers the implied simile in

the question, "What was it like? How was it?" may do so.

Like rest stops along the way, chance conversations overheard or engaged in, or a mind's musing while a traveller is in transit, anecdotes, stories, tales or mini-narratives intrude upon the reader and refresh him on his linear progression through the chronological sequence of the travel narrative. Sometimes it is the storyteller within the larger narrative who intrusively asserts, as does Chateaubriand: "The history of these three or four hundred banditti, is as follows: ---" In even the most technical of guidebooks, the random item of human interest is welcome.

These incorporated materials, such as anecdotes, stories, tales, and dramatic encounters render by means of their specificity the impression of character, often of the general or national character of the culture being visited, and frequently provide characters of local color such as guides, hosts, informants who necessarily people the narrative as incidents and as structural constituents. Their portrayal, through these mini-narratives within the travel narrative, follows the conventions of fiction and necessarily refers to them. The influence such references demonstrate is itself a variety of intrusion.

The traveller as intruder is echoed by the intrusion of the character of the traveller-persona into the anecdotal material. It is the means by which the protagonist is

rendered a character in the third person, who participates in the incident or anecdote, so that the narrator may stand aside to comment and portray himself in the first person. When an implicit comparison is made between his native place and the place he is visiting, the character of the traveller is seen in the process of self-definition, by his active response or his recognition of difference. As he is being portrayed to the reader through such incidents, the traveller creates a persona for the strangers he encounters and hence to himself, as he searches for the self whose articulation and development he attempts to express and accomplish in his travels.

Hence, these "intrusions" are pauses or places which, in their seeming digression, are out-of-place in the progression of the narrative, but serve to call attention to and characterize the places in which they occur, thereby presenting them as a heightened and directly perceived experience.

The human attribute of ordering, which is intrinsic to perception, interpretation, and creation domesticates the strange, imbuing it with the familiar. Hence, the imaginative construction of a place "known" through literature or art, Cythera or Casablanca for examples, may have more "reality" or currency than the place in sitio. The assault a new place makes upon the traveller also forces his ac-

count of the place to focus upon the experiential, therefore autobiographical responses such an encounter elicits. Place as a subject takes shape as the traveller's self takes shape, the latter coming to replace the former as the main subject of the travel narrative. Thus the overall structure of a travel narrative parallels that of an autobiography with its metaphorical pilgrimage of life and its termini in pilgrimage sites.

Four Travellers in Place

This dissertation explores the relationship that each of four travellers to the Orient in the nineteenth century held to a concept of place as home which allowed him to travel to other places and to describe them. In each case, the relationship between the traveller-writer's sense of place as a paradigm and his re-creation of place in his work is examined.

Through an analysis of the idea of place as the first of things, the thesis analyzes the concept of place as essential to identity and the recognition of the other, both processes basic to travel, and demanded by rootedness in a homeplace.

Nerval's close correspondence to the paradigms of place as other makes him and his voyage exemplars of the

Romantic view. His sense of personal loss echoes the French loss in Egypt, and this strong desire to reunite himself with the lost or elusive object is an essential part of his psychology and his aesthetic project in literature. The analysis of Nerval's Voyage en Orient is placed at the head of the present study because Nerval's personal attitudes so closely reflect the Romantic view. The biographical and psychological references in this section set out to amplify the paradigm of the Orient as a paradigmatically "other" place. The subject of Nerval's homelessness is used to suggest a relation to his methods of displacement within his literary voyage. Nerval's position as Chateaubriand's path-follower is also intended to be emphasized by putting Nerval first and closing their circle with Chateaubriand at the end.

Nerval's "failed union" with the Orient is then contrasted with Burton's success at "penetrating" Mecca, which also demonstrated the success of the English nation vis à vis the Orient. Burton's form of individualism is wed to a systematic and orderly scientific attitude which is used as a pretext and a tool for Burton's domination of place. By examining the ordering techniques he uses to describe and manage places, we arrive at a version of place understanding which utilizes the Romantic notions of the sublime and the individual in conjunction with empirical method, and

the scientific posture.

As Nerval's version of place suggests French loss and nostalgia, Burton's version suggests the maintenance of order and codified distance as the essence of English place. In the analysis of Kinglake's Eothen, which follows Burton's Pilgrimage, the distance seen as Burton's deflection of feeling into pedantry as part of his concealed voyeurism is examined in Kinglake's case as providing the means to make contact without loss of identity. Analyzing the case of contact and the section on Cairo as the common place of visitation, this third study shows the strong identity which emanates from Kinglake's membership in the English club.

As the self-designated last of the French pilgrims to visit the Orient, Chateaubriand is placed at the end of this study of place in travel narrative, thus closing the circle of pilgrimage whose structure dominates the voyages of the nineteenth-century traveller to the Orient. Chateaubriand's French sense of loss, his concern for codified convention and past, and his confidence of his own place are visible in the three literary voyages which precede his in this study and follow his historically. His compulsion about his place in the literary archive is analyzed as the principal intention of his pilgrimage. His sense of uniqueness as the "last" of a species is seen as an essen-

tial factor of his identity and his sense of place in literature.

Notes

¹ Martin Heidegger, "An Ontological Consideration of Place," in The Question of Being, trans. intro. William Kluback and Jean T. Wilde (New York: Twayne, 1958), p. 19.

² Hugh Prince, "The Geographical Imagination," Landscape II (1961), p. 22.

³ E. Relph, Place and Placelessness (London: Pion, 1976), p. 1.

⁴ Important sources for the discussion of phenomenologically based issues of geography in this dissertation are the works of Yi-Fu Tuan, particularly Space and Place (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1977) and Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), and the related work of E. Relph, Place and Placelessness (see note 3).

⁵ Informing this discussion is the work of two social theorists, Alan F. Blum and Peter McHugh, which has been seminal to theorizing about the meaning of theorizing and its connection to the meaning of place. Their two essays on homelessness and travel propose a significant theoretical framework to which this discussion is indebted. See Alan F. Blum, Theorizing (London: Heineman, 1974), Alan F. Blum and Peter McHugh, "The Risk of Theorizing and the Problem of the Good of Place: A Reformulation of Canadian Nationalism" (unpublished), and Peter McHugh et al., On the Beginning of Social Inquiry (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).

⁶ Alfred Schutz, "Phenomenology and the social sciences," in Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Edmund Husserl, ed. J. J. Kockelmans (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 466 quoted in Relph, Place and Placelessness, p. 6.

⁷ Simone Weil, The Need for Roots (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 53.

⁸ Martin Heidegger, quoted in C. Norbert-Schulz, Existence, Space and Architecture (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 16.

⁹ Martin Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 147. Among twentieth-century philosophers, Heidegger's theorizing has been most attentive to the meaning and significance of home, dwelling, and thus, place.

¹⁰ G. Matoré, L'Espace Humain (Paris: La Columbe, 1962), pp. 23-23, cited in Relph, p. 10.

¹¹ Yi-Fu Tuan, Space and Place, pp. 149-54. Tuan's example is summarized below.

¹² Tuan, Space and Place, p. 151. Tuan remarks that such a belief sheds light on the paradox that "Although the city is the embodiment of civilization, the Sumerians listed 'the destruction of cities' as one of the divine institutions upon which civilization is founded."

¹³ Tuan, Space and Place, p. 153.

¹⁴ Tuan, Space and Place, p. 150.

¹⁵ Relph, p. 40.

¹⁶ Tuan, Space and Place, p. 18.

¹⁷ Tuan as well as Blum and McHugh discuss the significance of the particular. For Blum and McHugh, strangers deny "the good of particularity" by representing a "universality," "Canadian Nationalism," p. 14.

¹⁸ Fustel de Coulanges tells us that the city as a confederation of families had its fixed hearth as well, where officials and honored citizens took their meals. Fustel de Coulanges, The Ancient City (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, n.d.), pp. 36-37.

¹⁹ Tuan, Space and Place, p. 153.

²⁰ August Heckscher, quoted in L. Brett, Parameters and Images (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), p. 140.

²¹ Quoted in Archie Lieberman, Farm Boy (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1974), p. 20, and cited in Tuan, Space and Place, p. 160.

²² Relph, p. 38.

²³ In this essay, Blum and McHugh suggest the need for respect of difference and particularity, attacking what they term a "universalist" ethic.

24 Blum and McHugh, "Canadian Nationalism," pp. 22-24.

25 Friedrich Nietzsche, The Use and Abuse of History (New York: Bobbs-Merrill reprint), p. 72, cited by Blum and McHugh, "Canadian Nationalism," p. 22.

26 See Blum and McHugh, "Canadian Nationalism": "The highest good lies in knowing the place where one belongs," p. 13.

27 McHugh et al., "Travel," p. 149. In this essay, a sense of difference is related to travel as a source of change. Collected in Social Inquiry.

28 See Tuan, Space and Place, chapter 12, "Visibility: The Creation of Place," pp. 161-78.

29 Max Scheler, quoted in Matoré, L'Espace Humain, p. 16.

30 Blum and McHugh, p. 23: "What is a sham for the particular is sameness . . . such a sham is modern because it expresses the universalism of our present scientific age, in which difference is made inessential by being transformed into variation."

31 Eric Dardel, L'Homme et La Terre: Nature de Réalité Géographique (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1952), p. 56, cited in Relph, p. 41.

32 See Blum and McHugh, "Canadian Nationalism," p. 26, on the hold a place exerts and the possibility of movement from it.

33 Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought, p. 146.

34 Charles Doughty, Arabia Deserta, 2 vols., intro. T. E. Lawrence (New York: Random House, n.d.), p. 1.

35 "Only those who can place their place of birth -- who know the need to understand their place as good -- can freely move to other places." Blum and McHugh, p. 15.

"The strong place holds its people by sending them out; their very wanderings exemplify the strength of the whole." Blum and McHugh, p. 16.

36 Relph, p. 40.

37 "Wanderers claim that their very wandering testifies to the strength of their place." Blum and McHugh, p. 18.

38 "The strong place strengthens its people to be indifferent to movement to and from the place in the sense that the strong place lives among those who leave even as they reject it and it lives among those who come and settle if they are strange to it. The strong place strengthens the people's indifference to sheer movement in the very way it makes indifference to its Good impossible." Blum and McHugh, p. 16.

39 See Tuan, Space and Place, chapter 7, "Mythical Space and Place."

40 Tuan, Space and Place, p. 150.

41 Richard Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1964), I, 2.

42 Kevin Lynch, What Time is This Place? (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972), p. 41.

43 Lévy, Mémoires d'un touriste, II, 293, cited in Roger Mathé, L'Exotisme d'Homère à le clézio (Paris: Bordas, 1972), p. 23.

44 Blum and McHugh, p. 17: "The commitment to staying where one is born is endangered by homelessness in the sense that 'values' of universalism and economism take root."

45 For an elaboration of Heidegger's point of the equation of modernity and the calculative, sources viewed as resources, see Blum and McHugh's discussion, pp. 35-38 and the concept of a universalist standard, p. 23.

46 Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought, p. 149.

47 Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought, p. 150.

48 Blum and McHugh, p. 17: "Homelessness generates an international market -- an exploitative social relationship." The views of Blum and McHugh on the issue of homelessness and its attendant weakening of the grounds of motion have provided the central focus in this section on the denial of place.

49 Blum and McHugh, p. 23.

50 See Blum and McHugh, pp. 23-24, on difference. "We need, then, a 'strong and distinctive' sense of difference itself, which would in turn provide a 'strong and distinctive' understanding of the particular (of the place of difference)," p. 23.

51 T. E. Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom (London: Penguin Books, 1962), pp. 29-30.

52 Burton, I, p. 15.

53 A. J. Wensinck, "Hadjdj," in The Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden: Brill, 1966), quoted in Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1974), p. 173.

54 Turner, p. 182. Pilgrimage "is the ordered anti-structure of patrimonial feudal systems. It is infused with voluntariness though by no means independent of structural obligatoriness. Its limen is much longer than that of initiation rites . . . and it breeds new types of secular liminality and communitas. . . . The influence of pilgrimage extends into literature, not only in works with direct reference to it, . . . but also the numerous 'quest' or 'wayfaring tales,' in which the hero or heroine goes on a long journey to find out who he or she really is outside 'structure' . . ."

55 Turner, p. 182.

56 Paul Fussell, Abroad, p. 39: "But travel is work. Etymologically a traveler is one who suffers travail, a word deriving in its turn from Latin tripalium, a torture instrument. . . . Before the development of tourism, travel was conceived to be like study, and its fruits were considered to be the adornment of the mind and the formation of the judgment. The traveler was a student of what he sought . . ."

57 Mircea Eliade, Myths, Dreams, Mysteries (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 212.

58 Eliade, p. 227.

59 See McHugh et al., p. 149, for a critique of theories of travel as educational.

60 See Blum and McHugh, pp. 16 and 21 on the indifference and detachment of strangers.

61 "The real threat which the alien poses is then not that he expresses his particularity . . . but that his commitment is to homelessness." Blum and McHugh, p. 13.

62 Burton explains his four-part identity in footnotes, I, p. 14.

63 Doughty, Arabia Deserta, pp. 14-15.

64 Doughty, p. 14.

65 John O. Lyons, The Invention of the Self (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1978), p. 13.

66 E. W. Lane, An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (London: Dent, 1908), p. xxi.

67 "This difference between what one finds one self in and what one chooses or elects -- corresponds to the difference between, say, a house and a home." Blum and McHugh, p. 47, on the confusion of the accidental with the essential.

68 See, on the other hand, Gaston Bachelard, The Poetics of Space, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), where the house is a metaphor for being.

69 Martin Heidegger, cited in Vycinas, Earth and Gods (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), pp. 84-85, and in Relph, p. 40.

70 When the particularity of the familiar is unobserved, the particularity of the different is likewise unrespected. The familiar home-place is not strong and distinctive (particular) when it is treated indifferently with respect to what is good; it is viewed as different merely in degree from the place which is different. This is the technological, materialist, universalist view. Conversely, an understanding of the familiar place as an essential good, which is strong and distinctive, that is, as particular, allows for the treatment of the unfamiliar, the different and Other place as strong, distinctive, particular. See Blum and McHugh, pp. 14, 19, 21, and 23.

71 See Said, Orientalism, for an analysis of Orientalism as a system of knowledge politically structured in the sense of Foucault's archaeologies of knowledge.

⁷² Cardinal Newman, cited in R. Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy (London: Chatto and Windus, 1959), p. 159, and in Relph, p. 87.

⁷³ Susan Sontag, On Photography (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), pp. 9-10.

Also see Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), pp. 217-51.

⁷⁴ See Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge (New York: Pantheon, 1972), p. 219.

⁷⁵ See Blum and McHugh's discussion of motion and movement and the loss of grounds, p. 16, and McHugh et al., p. 151.

On novelty see Benjamin, "Paris, the Nineteenth Century Capital," in New Left Review, No. 48 (Mar.-Apr., 1968), pp. 72-88, and "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," in Illuminations, pp. 155-200.

⁷⁶ A. Thibaudet, Intérieurs (Paris, n.d.), pp. 93-95, cited in Roger Mathé, L'Exotisme d'Homère à le clézio (Paris: Bordas, 1972), p. 24.

⁷⁷ Said, Orientalism, p. 167.

⁷⁸ Said, Orientalism, p. 168.

⁷⁹ Said, Orientalism, p. 51 referring to Raymond Schwab.

⁸⁰ Said, Orientalism, p. 170.

⁸¹ David Lowenthal, cited on the title page of Topophilia by Tuan.

⁸² S. Gauldie, Architecture: The Appreciation of the Arts I (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), p. 173.

⁸³ Relph, p. 43.

⁸⁴ Anthony Burgess interviewed in Writers at Work, 1972.

⁸⁵ Michel de Montaigne, "On Cannibals," in Essays and Selected Writings, trans. Donald Frame (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963), I, 31.

⁸⁶ McHugh et al., p. 140.

⁸⁷ Eliade, p. 73.

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Bowen, A Time in Rome (London: Longmans, 1960), p. 4.

· II

CHAPTER ONE

NERVAL:

THE RECOVERY OF PLACE

II

Gérard de Nerval, in his Voyage en Orient¹ as well as in his life, exemplifies the Romantic traveller, the figure sketched in our opening section as the self-conscious seeker of his place or home in the other. His biography corresponds to the Romantic paradigm of quest for self in an idealized place identified with the past and the distant, with the feminine images of Mother and Bride, and with the flâneur's sense of unlimited novelty. Nerval's life seems to have manifested the modern crisis of homelessness, of displacement from one's roots, and the subsequent attempt to recover a place is a dominant theme in his work.

Homelessness

Nerval's homelessness is attested to by his friends and acquaintances, who seemed to accept that his character was perhaps annoying, but clearly "Gérard." "Comme les hirondelles, quand on laisse une fenêtre ouverte, il entrait, faisait deux ou trois tours, trouvait tout bien et tout charmant, et s'envolait pour continuer son rêve dans la rue."²

Depuis son enfance . . . --- il n'a jamais posé
 tout un jour au même coin du feu; . . . Je l'ai
 connu pendant vingt ans, je ne l'ai jamais vu
 prendre pied. Je ne parle pas de la maison que
 nous habitions ensemble avec Théophile Gautier,
 car Gérard n'y venait pas deux fois par se-
 maine . . .³

In a schizophrenic personality whose philosophical in-
 terests lay in the dualistic nature of things, the impulse
 towards homelessness mirrored its opposite impulse: the
 life-long quest for "home" as source or place of origin.
 His mother died when he was two, after having left the in-
 fant Gérard in order to accompany her husband, a military
 physician, on the Napoleonic campaigns. Nerval grew up in
 the home of his maternal uncle in Mortefontaine. His moth-
 er's early death in Silesia and his subsequent homelessness
 are facts which served as the sources of major themes in
 Nerval's writing, and the association of the female, of
 loss and home are especially pertinent in examining Ner-
 val's ideas of place in his Voyage en Orient. The case for
 his homeless childhood is thus clearly made.

In his very name Nerval has chosen a place: Nerval is
 the name of an area loosely associated with his mother's
 family. Such a choice thus seems to locate Gérard La-
 brunie, and relates his identity to a place linked with his
 mother.

The substitution of place for name signals a seemingly
 trivial but nonetheless basic identification with place.

Nerval's interest in travel, his refusal to use a fixed address, his love of wandering all involve an influence of place, which his dualistic nature both desired and feared.

Travel

At the age of thirty-one, Gérard made his voyage to the East. This was June 1842, two years after his first psychiatric crisis, which led to a stay in the clinic of Dr. Esprit Blanche, and some six months after the death of Jenny Colon, the light-opera singer with whom Gérard was infatuated. In the preceding nine years he had travelled to Italy, Belgium, and Germany. When the definitive version of Voyage en Orient was published in 1851, the events of these previous travels were reshaped so as to be included in the first part of the trip to the Orient.

This deformation of place in time is one of the key problems in reading Voyage en Orient, which includes an overland route from Geneva, through Munich and Vienna, along with travels in the Adriatic with stops in various islands before embarking for Cairo. Nerval's actual voyage proceeded overland from Paris to Lyon, included a riverboat trip to Avignon and the stagecoach to Marseilles, where on January 1, 1843 he set sail on the Mentor for Malta. Just one day after his arrival he re-embarked for Syria and Egypt.

Nerval undertook the trip to the Orient quite specifically as a pilgrimage in search of Self. In the Voyage his quest followed the convention of a rebirth. Bettina Knapp has focused upon Nerval's personal descent into the Pyramids, as it is narrated primarily through information "given" to Nerval about the purposes of the descent and the trials of the ancient acolytes. She stresses the importance of seeing the Pyramids as a mythological "source" for Nerval, in terms of his own quest for origins, trial, death and rebirth.⁴

Nerval's voyage may thus be seen as a pilgrimage in which the sacred quality of a place is confirmed by the pilgrim who re-creates a trip and thereby affirms his place in a community of pilgrims. Nerval's experience of Cairo serves as a means of realizing himself. In re-creating this city he creates himself. The act of retracing the paths of his predecessors, as well as those taken in his own imagination, make his voyage to Cairo a return. He had seen it in youthful reveries and dreams, and now he follows in his own footsteps and can predict the spaces he will encounter there.

Je l'avais vue tant de fois dans les rêves de la jeunesse, qu'il me semblait y avoir séjourné dans je ne sais quel temps; je reconstruisais mon Caire d'autrefois au milieu des quartiers déserts ou des mosquées croulantes! Il me semblait que j'imprimais les pieds dans la trace de mes pas anciens; j'allais,

je me disais: En détournant ce mur, en passant
cette porte, je verrai telle chose . . . et la
chose était là, ruinée, mais réelle. (I, 300-301)

Orient as Source

In Nerval's mind, concurrent with the concerns of his French contemporaries, the idea of the Orient was evocative of loss and constituted itself as a paradigmatic source, interiorized and essentially female. The interplay between the paradigm and his presentation of place focused on the Orient as an anterior home where he might find himself, where he could be reunited with the lost female figure, and where he could live the reality of dreams and commune with and mutually validate antecedent writers. These goals intersected in the secular pilgrimage, a quest for self-knowledge and identity, to the infinite source in the Orient.

For Nerval, Egypt was a vast and ancient place, admitting through its vastness and its ancient archaeological layering the possibility of syncretism which Nerval desired as a means of resolving his dualism. Although it was in Constantinople that he found the syncretic quality most successfully realized, Egypt, and in particular Cairo, remained the significant source despite his apparent disappointment with his actual experience of it. To his father, he had written on May 2, 1843:

Malheureusement la population n'est plus en rapport avec l'ancienne magnificence des palais et des maisons. . . . Il faut dire que l'Egypte est un peu monotone à la longue pour qui n'est pas spécialement un savant et un déchiffreur de hiéroglyphes. . . . Cette étroite lisière de végétation serée entre deux déserts n'offre pas assez de contrastes, et l'on conçoit que les Egyptiens aient été portés de tout temps à la tristesse. La Syrie nous offrira un spectacle moins sublime mais plus vivant . . .⁵

Yet in the Voyage en Orient, when he leaves the city his dream of it is reaffirmed, pointing perhaps to Nerval's notion of loss and separation as inherent features of source. "Je quitte avec regret cette vieille cité du Caire, où j'ai retrouvé les dernières traces du génie arabe, et qui n'a pas menti aux idées que je m'en étais formées d'après les récits et les traditions de l'Orient" (I, p. 300).

Egypt as a repository or tomb dramatizes the identity of Cairo as an interiorized place. Beneath its veils and within its labyrinths lies a Cairo that corresponds to the image Nerval had formed from his reading and his reveries. Through his actual voyage and his Voyage en Orient, Nerval "re-creates" this subterranean and paradigmatic Cairo and confirms the essential truth of his image. Although he is initially discouraged by Cairo -- "Le soir de mon arrivée au Caire j'étais mortellement triste et découragé . . . j'étais parvenu à me démontrer que j'allais passer là les six mois les plus ennuyeux de ma vie, et tout cependant était arrangé d'avance pour que je n'y pusse rester un jour

de moins" (I, p. 129) -- it remained a repository of his desires and dreams. When he speaks of it as a tomb, it is with respect for what lies within: "Ce culte de la mort est un trait éternel du caractère de l'Egypt: il sert du moins à protéger et à transmettre au monde l'éblouissante histoire de son passé" (I, p. 301). Insofar as Nerval's paradigm for place corresponds with his experience, he judges the Cairo he sees in 1843 as "real." Thus the "reality" of Cairo for Nerval has its origin in an imaginative tradition transmitted through literature, myth and dream; similarly, the Cairo of direct experience has a precedent in the "created" Cairo. "Nous nous engageons sous une voûte à l'aspect grandiose, formée de charpentes sculptées d'un style antique, où le vernis et la dorure rehaussent mille détails d'arabesques splendides" (I, p. 159). Such a sight can be "placed" as a result of his youthful preparation and literary imagination:

C'est là peut-être le besestain des Circassiens où s'est passée l'histoire racontée par le marchand cophte au sultan de Casgar. Me voilà en pleines Mille et une Nuits. Que ne suis-je un des jeunes marchands auxquels les deux dames font déployer leurs étoffes ainsi que faisait la fille de l'émir devant la boutique de Bedreddin. (I, pp. 159-60)

The Female other

Much of the literary study of Nerval has focused on

his idealization of the elusive female. Without overemphasizing a psychological analysis of Nerval, the present study utilizes this view of Nerval's perspective to elaborate a paradigm for place which focuses on the place of an other, as suggested in the introductory section. The loss of his mother, accentuated by the loss of other idealized and beloved women, produced in Nerval a yearning for reunification with a loved one, who was in reality barely experienced and hence readily idealized. Nerval's desire for the elusive woman is related to his desire to travel and it is this relationship which lends the foreign and distant place more authenticity than one's native land.

Nerval's personal predilections coincide with the predominant literary tastes of his times which tended to see the Orient as the mother place or source of culture, viz. language. Like his Romantic contemporaries, Nerval viewed the Orient as an archetypal place endowed with the qualities of dream. For Nerval this other, dream world was a desirable and comforting place -- a motherland; and as mother, the Orient was a source and beginning to which one returned to be reunited as with a bride or a sister. It may also be asserted that the variety of relationships with the feminine ideal may lead to dreams of incest, as in the case of the Caliph Hakim, one of the retold tales inserted

in Nerval's voyage narrative.

We may expand on this notion of feminine identity by pointing out that Nerval, like many of his contemporaries, viewed the Orient as an essentially feminine place. The Orient was a mother with whom he desired to be reunited, as well as the bride he wished to marry. In the Orient he could become whole by encountering his essential self after the bouts of psychic disintegration already painfully experienced.

In Nerval's writing, places are given the weight of characters, and certainly in Voyage en Orient the Orient is conceived anthropomorphically. His quest in journeying to the Orient (for which Egypt was the principal and adequate location) was paralleled by his life-long quests of the Eternal Feminine, in that both are quests of ideals and of dreams. With respect to Egypt, Nerval wrote to Gautier:

O mon ami! que nous réalisons bien tous les deux la fable de l'homme qui court après la fortune et de celui qui l'attend dans son lit. Ce n'est pas la fortune que je poursuis, c'est l'idéal, la couleur, la poésie, l'amour peut-être, et tout cela t'arrive à toi qui restes, en m'échappant à moi qui cours Moi, j'ai déjà perdu, royaume à royaume, et province à province, la plus belle moitié de l'univers, et bientôt je ne vais plus savoir où réfugier mes rêves . . . (I, p. 933)

Similarly, his admiration for Francesco Colonna, who, in the character of Polyphile was "un des plus fidèles apôtres de l'amour pur. . . ." (I, p. 97), corresponds to

Nerval's own fascination for an ideal love that transcended its physical personification. Such seems to have been the nature of his love for Jenny Colon, the actress with whom Nerval had been involved until her death six months before his voyage. Such too was his love for Salèma, the young Druid priestess who became the mistress of Nerval's slave, Zetnaybia.

Significantly, Nerval's section on Cairo is entitled "Les femmes du Caire" and the city is introduced through the metaphor of "le masque et le voile": "Le Caire est la ville du Levant où les femmes sont encore le plus hermétiquement voilées . . . l'Egypte, grave et pieuse, est toujours le pays des énigmes et des mystères; la beauté s'y entoure, comme autrefois, de voiles et de bandelettes . . ."

(I, 127). Egypt and Cairo are places difficult of access. They are not easily viewed because of the veils and masks symbolic of the enigmas and mysteries which abide in them.

This opening observation about Cairo serves to define it and introduces the metaphor Nerval will use throughout the Voyage to symbolize Cairo as female. The image of Cairo as an alluring woman is further elaborated by Nerval's experience of the physical setting of the Oriental city. The women walking in public throughout Cairo seemed available or accessible except for being veiled: "les bazars, les rues et les jardins nous les présentent par

milliers, marchant seules à l'aventure, ou deux ensemble, ou accompagnées d'un enfant."

Thus veiled to enhance their allure, the women were framed as if on display in a shop and evoke as well the image of the bride. Nerval's vision of Cairo as a city of women conceives of its urban setting -- the bazaars, streets and gardens -- as places of display ("nous les présentent"). Cairo, a female place, displays itself as it displays its women.

In an attempt to place himself in Oriental domestic life, he refused the life of the European tourist in Cairo and vowed to lift the veil through patience, unlike "l'Européen frivole" who: "abandonne le Caire après huit jours, et se hâte d'aller vers les cataractes du Nil chercher d'autres déceptions que lui réserve la science, et dont il ne conviendra jamais" (II, p. 10). In this opening, Nerval develops the close correspondence between place and its feminine inhabitants to provide the metaphor of the Orient, Egypt and Cairo as the veiled woman: "La ville elle-même, comme ses habitantes, ne dévoile que peu à peu ses retraites les plus ombragées, ses intérieurs les plus charmants" (II, p. 92).

This enticing Oriental manner almost discourages Nerval, whose intense disappointment with the Orient of the "Thousand and One Nights" plunges him into despair at the

realization that its grandeur belongs to thirty generations past -- "partout la pierre croule, et le bois pourrit" (II, p. 90).

However, his first night's slumber is inexplicably crossed by "les sons vagues d'une cornemuse et d'une viole enrôlée, qui agaçaient sensiblement mes nerfs." "Cette musique obstinée répétait toujours sur divers tons la même phrase mélodique, qui réveillait en moi l'idée d'un vieux Noël bourguignon ou provençal" (II, p. 93). Asleep, Nerval is unable to "place" the music as occurring in a dream or in life, but it reminds him of his native land. As the noise approaches and gets louder, a bright light through his window convinces him that there is a completely material spectacle outside his window, which is related in its fantastical appearance to the dream world -- "des hommes presque nus," "un fantôme rouge portant une couronne de pierreries," "des pyramides de bougies portée par des enfants."

Viewed from his window, the theatricality of this spectacle is enhanced, but having seen a tableau of these ceremonies in Paris, Nerval readily recognizes them: "C'était un mariage, il n'y avait plus à s'y tromper." The view framed by the window and the tableau in Paris are artfully at a remove, as are the veiled women. Claiming to have been dissatisfied with the second-hand experience

through art, Nerval proposes to jump into the action by following the procession. He is already equipped with an adequate disguise: "Heureusement j'avais acheté un de ces manteaux de poil de chammeau nommés machlah qui couvrent un homme des épaules aux pieds; avec ma barbe déjà longue et un mouchoir tordu auteur de la tête, le déguisement était complet" (II, p. 93).

Hence, the first occasion of Oriental life in which he participates is a wedding, which anticipates the unfolding of events that demand his taking a wife in order to live in a house he rents as a citizen of Cairo. The requirement to marry for the sake of assuming a place is analogous to Nerval's attempts at assimilation through a metaphoric marriage to Cairo, his bride.

The wedding related in this section which is entitled "les Mariages Cophtes" closely follows the description given by E. W. Lane and emphasizes the significance of the Copts both as descendants of the ancient Egyptians and as a largely assimilated people to develop Nerval's notion of marriage as synthesis and union.

. . . many of them have embraced the faith of El-Islam, and become intermixed by marriage with Muslims. . . . The Copts are undoubtedly descendants of the ancient Egyptians, but not an unmixed race; their ancestors in the earlier ages of Christianity having intermixed with Greeks, Nubians, Abyssinians, and other foreigners.⁶

As the first event involving Nerval in Cairo and as an expressed goal demanded by renting a home, marriage is the apparatus which will recur in Voyage en Orient to further Nerval's quest of place, by permitting him to make Cairo a home and to domesticate its foreignness.

In addition to the feminine and the undefined elements of the Oriental topos espoused by Nerval and his contemporaries, Nerval's personal concern with loss similarly echoed the loss experienced by his countrymen with regard to the Orient. That theme of loss and the desire for recovery is a significant aspect of the nineteenth-century French paradigm for place, in which Nerval is so fervent a believer.

In distinguishing the perspective of French travellers from those of the English in the Orient in the nineteenth century, Edward Said attributes to the French pilgrim a sense of loss in view of the lack of France's sovereign presence there. Thus, "pilgrims planned and projected for, imagined, ruminated about places which were principally in their minds":

Theirs was the Orient of memories, suggestive ruins, forgotten secrets, hidden correspondences, and an almost virtuosic style of being, an Orient whose highest literary forms would be found in Nerval and Flaubert, both of whose work was solidly fixed in an imaginative, unrealizable (except aesthetically) dimension.⁷

In the text of "Depart," Nerval's feeling similarly echoes Chateaubriand's realization that he is the last pilgrim and last Frenchman to set foot somewhere before changes destroy the meaning of that place.

As we have seen through our discussion of Nerval's sentiments about the Orient which were shared by contemporary Frenchmen, Nerval was an exemplary French traveller in the Orient in his acceptance of the paradigm of the Orient as the Other place, his intentional displacements and borrowing techniques which fortify and validate that paradigm, and his nationalistic and literary reassertions of Chateaubriand.

In the French manner also, Nerval's tastes and predilections were distinctly urban. In much of his thought, Egypt is Cairo, as Cairo is Egypt. His attention is focused more on places as social contexts or literary creations than on natural places, perhaps because it is in linking associations, relating the connotations of a place, that he can place himself.

Nerval's age was one which, after Napoleon, conceived of the Orient as a place of pilgrimage with the purpose "either to relive or to liberate from the large, incredibly fecund Orient some portion of Judeo-Christian or Greco-Roman actuality."⁸ Thus the Voyage en Orient defined not

only the generalized Orient as a center, but Egypt in particular as the mother-source-center of all culture.

While the Orient was generally imbued with the fertility of a source, for Nerval, Egypt (and Cairo particularly) was a sacred place, the signification of which is defined by Eliade in the following way:

Sacred places are centres of the world -- points at which the three cosmic planes of heaven, earth, and hell are in contact and where communication between them is possible. Such centres are in no way to be understood as geometric, and indeed there may be an infinite number of sacred centres in any region all of which are considered, and literally called, "the center of the world."⁹

Placed at the center of his literary work, the Pyramids are for Nerval that place where the cosmic planes are in contact and communion.

In a chapter entitled "Le Passé et l'avenir," Nerval discusses Egypt as a place with the role of source, originator, and mother with relation to its being in time. Despite the changes wrought historically, Egypt is essentially unchanging: "La conquête arabe n'a jamais pu transformer à ce point le caractère des habitants . . ." (I, 236). "Jamais" and "toujours" are the modifiers used to evoke the essential changelessness of this essential place. It is "la terre antique et maternelle où notre Europe, à travers le monde grec et romain, sent remonter ses origines . . ."

As an essential and inner place, it is evoked and ad-

dressed through metaphors of the veil, the tomb and pyramid which are external symbols covering, at once concealing and manifesting, the presence of the precious inside:

" . . . tout partait de ce centre à la fois mystérieux et accessible, où les génies des premiers temps ont puisé pour nous la sagesse." The interior quality is pointed to in the ensuing description as the geniuses "pénétraient . . . dans ces sanctuaires . . . pour révéler . . . des traditions antérieurs au deluge . . . fonds d'enseignement . . ."

Ce qui fait le caractère de l'antiquité égyptienne, c'est justement cette pensée d'universalité. . . . Un peuple qui fondait des monuments indescriptibles pour y graver tous les procédés des arts et de l'industrie, et qui parlait à la postérité dans une langue que la postérité commence à comprendre, mérite certainement la reconnaissance de tous les hommes. (I, 236-37)

Nerval's concern with concealed, inner things includes, besides tombs (the Pyramids), veils and masks, such forms of Oriental life and architecture as the harem and the garden. When he is taken to visit the wakil, he is shown a space conceived as particularly Oriental.

La chambre où l'on entraît ensuite donnait sur la rue, et la large fenêtre, avec tout son grillage de menuiserie, s'avancait, selon l'usage, d'un demi-mètre en dehors de la maison. Une fois assis dans cette espèce de garde-manger, le regard plonge sur les deux extrémités de la rue; on voit les passants à travers les dentelures latérales. C'est d'ordinaire la place des femmes, d'où comme sous le voile, elles observent tout sans être vues. (I, 169)

Another example is the Rosette garden to which he wanders on Palm Sunday. The most charming promenade in Cairo, it is "une verte oasis au milieu des maisons poudreuses". . . . Il n'est pas facile de trouver le chemin de cet Eden mystérieux qui n'a point de porte publique" (I, 174). The garden is veiled as are its habituées:

Le vendredi, ce sont des musulmanes, toujours voilées le plus possibles, le samedi des juives, le dimanche, des chrétiennes. Ces deux derniers jours, les voiles sont un peu moins discrets; beaucoup de femmes font étendre des tapis près du bassin par leurs esclaves, et se font servir des fruits et des pâtisseries. (I, 175)

This occasion, contrived as it is in that garden, is a double in miniature to the situation of Hakim, the tale of incest which Nerval places within the narrative of the second volume. In the tale, Nerval's identification with Hakim who desires to wed his sister but is replaced by his double in the marriage scene is part of his quest and discovery of Self. "Pourtant ne serait-il pas charmant de voir grandir et se développer près de soi l'épouse que l'on s'est choisie, de remplacer quelque temps le père avant d'être l'amant! . . . Mais pour le mari quel danger!" (I, 176).

Connective Paths

The internalized, concealing structure of Cairo, an

elusive city labyrinth decorated with hidden gardens, reflects the submerged, interior Nerval, whose own incestuous connections, like Hakim's, have been missed and lost.

The Cairo of the past which resides below the surface of consciousness is a submerged, interiorized place. For Nerval, Cairo is one of the three principal points of a subterranean route of intermediate cities, the others being Beirut and Constantinople which, according to Butor, correspond to and substitute for the three "maîtres-mots du Chateaubriand" -- Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem. In this "texte d'en dessous," Nerval as literary pilgrim is underlining Chateaubriand's voyage and his text.

Le voyage de Chateaubriand reste pour Nerval un voyage de surface. Lui-même calcule le sien en utilisant des centres, annexes, foyers d'ellipses englobant les principaux, qui lui permettront de mettre en évidence par des parallaxes toute l'épaisseur de piège que recèlent ces centres normaux. Parcourant les rues de Caire, de Beyrouthe ou de Constantinople, Nerval est à l'affût de tout ce qui lui permet de présenter une caverne s'étendant au-dessous de Rome, Athènes et Jérusalem . . .¹⁰

Like Chateaubriand, Nerval consciously follows a path. He begins by following in the path of the nocturnal wedding revellers and spends his sojourn following the path of his guide in understanding Cairene cultural expectations, as well as his literal path through the streets. On the occasion that he attempts to break out of his guide's path, he has the misadventure of following a "false path," led by

two French bourgeoisie women in the disguise of native seductresses.

His description of Le Mousky, in the section of that name, is a distillation of the city of Cairo as a market whose labyrinthine features emphasize the activity of path-following. Nerval leads the reader through the Mousky, through a guide's description which begins "Lorsqu'on a tourné la rue en laissant à gauche le bâtiment des haras, on commence à sentir l'animation de la grande ville" (I, 151), and points out things of interest along the path:

Voici à gauche. . . . Mais passons. Voici à droite . . . (I, 152). En poursuivant notre route, nous rencontrons à gauche une maison . . . (I, 153). C'est qu'en face de nous voici dans tous son luxe la grande rue . . . (I, 154). On n'est pas étonné de voir . . . (I, 154). On vient attendre tous les jours la correspondance et les nouvelles . . . (I, 155)

Nerval becomes the path follower again with "Je touche au but de mon itinéraire, car je rencontre à la pharmacie Castagnol mon peintre de l'hotel français. . . . Il me propose de venir avec lui prendre un point de vue dans la ville; je donne donc congé au drogman . . ."

En acceptant la promenade proposée, je complotais une idée plus belle encore: c'était de me faire conduire au point le plus embrouillé de la ville, d'abandonner le peintre à ses travaux, et puis d'errer à l'aventure, sans interprète et sans compagnon. (I, 155)

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Conducted by his friend the painter through "une sorte de bazar où se termine le quartier franc," Nerval finds "après mille detours, la voie devient plus silencieuse, plus poudreuse, plus déserte." When he is left without a guide, Nerval tries to find the path alone. This is one of the greatest risks he is to take in his travels. It would seem to serve as a reminder that he is always searching for his own path, a link to the past and to an archetypal self. Without a map or the indicators which would assist him in a western city such as street signs, he must somehow contact the path which is present as a subtext.

In crossing to the suburb, he and the painter have followed a path through, from the place to another place. It is the path which is significant as the connector. Nerval is interested in following connectives or correspondences, with accepting the "invitation au voyage," for "qu'est-ce qu'une belle perspective, un monument, un détail curieux, sans le hasard, sans l'imprévu?" (I, 155).

As is the case with mythologized places, the reality of the present place defers to its paradigm. It is the re-creation of the place, above all when it has not been visited, which "arrives" at the essential place. The re-creation of the place is similar to following a path. Hence, Nerval's interest in mythologized places corresponds to his interest in paths, above places as locations. The trans-

formations and motion of metaphor concern the essential rather than the physical reality of place and demonstrate travel as a return.

This realization of Cairo serves as means of realizing himself. In re-creating Cairo, he creates himself. As he proved Cairo, it proves him. Since he has seen it in youthful reveries and dreams so often, it is possible for him to follow in his own footsteps and to predict the space he will encounter there. His voyage to Cairo is essentially a return.

Complementing Nerval's tendency to fit the actual experience of Cairo to his preconceived and received ideas of it is his focus on the strangeness, otherness, or difference of the place. The paradigm becomes a barrier to an experience of the actual place by asserting its greater validity, since it is maintained in the imagination and literature regardless of its apparent incongruence.

What Nerval describes and renders of Cairo as a place is its foreignness, not its familiarity. Nerval's very commitment to an ideal of syncretism acts to expose the impossibilities and failures of that illusory union all the more obviously, thus more fully demonstrating the alienness of a place to the traveller. This otherness of a place travelled in is also fostered by the imposition of the ideal of the place as a source and site of pilgrimage. The

active creation of the place through preconception and study that pre-image it, as well as the symbolization of a place in a literary work (as for example, variously "un vaste tombeau," "le voile," "le masque") put the traveller at a further remove from the place he is in. The literariness of the place presented in Voyage en Orient provides the only possibility of a "here," an intimate presence in the place. Cairo, the actual city, is always "there," apart from Nerval even when he is in it.

This apartness or otherness of the place gives it an identity of strangeness which evokes the unreality of dream. The place cannot be known, wed, or conquered. Its abiding spirit is an aloofness which permits it to be observed in various aspects but never assumed or integrated. While one is in it, the place remains "there," not "here." As the narrator is not of the place, not at one with it, he needs interpreters, guides, advisors, storytellers, sages, scholars and other characters who are sources in their own right, by virtue of their identity with the place, as well as means of conveying the voice of the place as a source.

In striving to reaffirm the paradigm of the Orient as a source, Nerval fails to maintain distinctions between the various places he visits, that is, he fails to respect difference because he has failed to respect place as the "first of things." In this narcissistic version of home seen only

in the other, Nerval renders the Orient as an amorphous and undifferentiated place, which is valid insofar as it coincides with his prefixed notion.

In a variety of places, Nerval refers to his sense of having been transported to the Arabian Nights. These places are seen through the veil of an idealized and literary Orient just as his women are viewed through the shadow of an idealized woman. As Arthur Symons puts it rather harshly, " . . . all imaginative lovers . . . create for themselves the veil which hides from them the features of the beloved."¹¹

Failed synthesis and integration

Essential to Nerval's paradigm of the Orient is the possibility for integration and synthesis which it suggests. His wistful longing for union with the other, as well as his paradigm for place which is other, demands however that the object be forever at a remove, posited in a distant place. The distance between lover and object is expressed as desire, which presumes to traverse that distance (as in travel) while maintaining it, thereby fetishistically fixing the object at a distance, and insisting on its otherness.

Despite Nerval's opening expression of his intention to marry, he marries neither Salèma nor (metaphorically)

Cairo, but merely engages them in a flirtation. The adventures described throughout his sojourn in Cairo are only fragments of his dalliance there, that serve as titillations. At the end of his stay in that city, his occasional returns to Balbek and conversations with le père Plancet serve to regenerate his wistful desire for an ideal marriage -- the mixing of contraries: "Élevé dans des idées philosophiques, je me préoccupe fort peu de cette opinion d'un jésuite. Pourtant n'y aurait-il pas moyen d'amener dans le Liban la mode des mariages mixtes? J'y réfléchirai" (II, 432).

Thus the hope with which he has begun his sojourn is periodically stoked, despite evidence of his failure, as a superficial concern which titillates desire. Nerval's assimilative attempts thereby remain on the surface of his disguise. His presence is tolerated because his camouflages are "passable," but they leave him untransformed. He does not become an Oriental. Despite his study of the religion of the Druses and his convincing argument with the Sheik -- the father of Salèma and his proposed father-in-law -- a marriage and conversion are not possible because "la plume est brisée, l'encre est sèche, le livre est fermé!" (II, 426).

The place cannot be attained, in a primary sense, for the original book is closed, but his literary repetitions

of the place effectively promote it as a fetish.

The extent to which Nerval attains the Orient, that is, becomes the place and incorporates it, is limited to the expedience of the story. For the purposes of access to stories and the possibility of recounting them, Nerval introduces himself in the character of narrator-traveller into Oriental life, playing out roles of listener and observer. There is a motive of business in his donning native dress, as well as of personal delight in the license it provides. Like the veils of Cairene women, the use of native dress permits freedom of movement through the labyrinth of society.

The external guise is no more than a camouflage. The study and interest Nerval takes in Oriental philosophy remain on the level of interpretation, just as his rendering of the story of "The Queen of Morning" plays with variant emphases of interpretation of the stature and character of King Solomon.

His respect for antiquity and his affinities with ancient religions are personalized and symbolized in his writing; but without Burton's command of languages, Nerval's Orientalization is limited to the level of adornment and influence. That lack of language is depicted as problematic in several scenes where Nerval's attempts to play the Oriental suitor or master are thwarted or undermined by

Zeynab's unsuitability as either wife or slave -- during her lessons and aboard the Santa Barbara. Nerval is hence dependent on various interpreters or initiators and excluded from genuine participation.

Chambers views characters such as Abdallah, the painter, Yousuf, M. Jean, the consul general, the poet-sheik, and Mme. Bonhomme as initiators who represent father-teachers, instructing and integrating Nerval into the culture and thereafter becoming rivals as the acolyte initiated becomes a member and consequently the equal of his teacher.¹² However, since Nerval's interest is in the frustration of his desire as a way of thus maintaining it, he is not transformed into a rival of his initiators. Instead, he focuses on the ritual of initiation itself as a stalled process wherein he plays the role of initiator to the reader, freely borrowing from previous literature, repeating it as a literary fetish.

Nerval's distancing and idealization of the other as a fetish accounts for the act of displacement repeatedly used by Nerval to create the Orient as a place in his literary text. Nerval's attitudes and style of representation reflect a fastidiousness and distaste for the base actualization of attainment of the loved object that is reminiscent of the idealization of the medieval courtly lover. His displacements refuse the imitation of actual events and

places, preferring, like a medieval mind, their rearrangement into more delightful patterns that are further decorated in a symbolic context.¹³ This occurs in part because for Nerval the Orient is a place of the imagination in which all things promote the mind's flight to a sense of correspondences. It is a place that evokes, and what it evokes is within, under, covered. Egypt is a tomb because it commemorates all that is internal and within, that is, the spiritual.

One may gain access only in a similarly correspondent manner, that is, symbolically, through the construction of symbols. Hence Nerval's description of places is structured around carefully elaborated and symbolically intricate tales which rework the old legends, as in the cases of Hakim and the Queen of Sheba and Adoniram, or highlight the symbols inherent in ancient ritual, as in the visit to the Pyramids. Nerval's artful displacements serve to impose a symbolic value on the voyage itself as well as on the points or places along the way.

Hovering in the vicinity of lies, Nerval's fetishism and displacements call attention to the lie of history in which Nerval is a pilgrim.¹⁴

Displacement

Nerval's paradigm of place is an idealized home from

which he had been displaced, to be sought in the Orient as an unfixed place which is simultaneously ancient and novel, and elusively feminine as represented by Cairo. His creations of place relied on the principle of displacement as a method and theme, in a constant interplay with the paradigm. Hence the Orient of Nerval is patently subjective and takes its identity from the literary imagination of its creators whose pilgrimage there is a search for self. In his displacements of literary material and of his person, Nerval is self-consciously imposing the mundane upon the ideal, fitting things or places as they are upon the paradigm.

Travel as displacement

The voyage itself was a major displacement in a literal and physical sense. Nerval was well aware of the effect of displacement upon himself as a traveller with a quest. Ever mindful of the dualities inherent in place, he seems to have benefited from the displacement of travel, inasmuch as it served to "place" him more properly, more adequately, more "truly." The painful bouts of mental disturbance, manifested by his inability to fix himself in any fashion, seem never to have occurred when he was on a voyage. It is as if while voyaging he were more "at home." In Voyage en Orient, his domestic stability suffices to permit the use

of an account of house leasing and the subsequent purchase of a slave necessitated by it as a major mode of rendering Cairo as a place.

Nerval's intentions concerning his journeys have been analyzed by Jean-Pierre Richard as attempts to rediscover the conditions of normal life. In Richard's view, the traveller Nerval is "une sort d'anti-Nerval."¹⁵ To some extent, the anti-Nerval, Nerval the traveller, may be "the real Nerval" insofar as it is this Nerval who seems comfortable with places and who seems to be "in place" while in motion, or in the place (the Orient) he conceives as a place of origin, a source in the other.

To have come to this understanding, a penetration of the veil, Nerval has found it necessary to locate or place himself in the place: "Je ne regrettais pas de m'être fixé pour quelque temps au Caire et de m'être fait sous tous les rapports un citoyen de cette ville, ce qui est le seul moyen sans nul doute de la comprendre et de l'aimer . . ." (I, 233).

Being in place is hence far preferable to the mere motion of travel for developing knowledge and love of place. It is Nerval's optimism in this view that a place of the other may be temporarily lived in and known which allows him to travel at all. " . . . les voyageurs ne se donnent pas le temps, d'ordinaire d'en saisir la vie intime et d'en

pénétrer les beautés pittoresques, les contrastes, les souvenirs" (I, 233).

Textual displacements

Among the changes Nerval imposes on the literary voyage to the Orient are his linking the actual Eastern trip with an account of his previous visit to Vienna, Les amours de Vienne, and the reference to a railroad trip to Trieste which he did not take. There is also a disclaimer about not describing scenes in the Adriatic for reasons of their being obscured by mist as well as having already been amply detailed by Charles Nodier:

. . . tu peux en lire d'admirables descriptions dans Jean Sbogar et dans Mademoiselle de Marsan de Charles Nodier; il est inutile de les recommencer.
(I, 89)

Nous descendons l'Adriatique par un temps épouvantable: impossible de voir autre chose que les côtes brumeuses. . . . Le pays des Monténégrins ne dessine lui-même à l'horizon qu'une sombre silhouette . . .
(I, 89)

Nerval's actual voyage, however, did not include these places. Nonetheless, this fact would not have constrained him from describing these coasts, since he describes the island of Cythera without having been there. A letter to his father from Malta, dated January 8, 1843, informs him that Nerval is going to take the Minos the following day for the Archipelago: " . . . car nous sommes forcés de

faire un coude jusqu'à Syra avant d'arriver en Egypte. Il n'y a pas de trajet direct. Dans trois jours, nous espérons être à Syra et, trois jours après, à Alexandrie."¹⁶ The evidence is that Syra is as far as Nerval went, but his fascination with the tale of Polyphilus, which Nerval admired for its description of a place not visited by its author, would be sufficient reason for including Cythera in his literary Voyage.

Nerval's "lie" about having gone to the isle of Cythera is further embroidered by his expressed anxiety that because he is an heir to a disillusioned age, he must actually go to the place to understand its history:

Et moi qui vais descendre dans cette île sacrée
que Francesco a décrite sans l'avoir vue, ne suis-je
pas toujours, hélas! le fils d'un siècle déshérité
d'illusions, qui a besoin de toucher pour croire et
de rêver le passé . . . sur ses débris? Il ne m'a
pas suffi de mettre au tombeau mes amours de chair
et de cendre, pour bien m'assurer que c'est nous,
vivants, qui marchons dans un monde de fantômes.
(I, 97-98)

Through this conceit, in conjunction with his claim to have visited Cythera, Nerval shows himself the equal of Polyphilus, for not only does he pretend to describe a place he has not seen, he obscures the fact of not having been there. He thus spins out Colonna's lie even further.

Nerval, it would seem, respects the essence of a place as a potential for creative voyaging. As a voyage is in

effect a displacement, Nerval's literary voyage displaces places insofar as he re-creates them by putting them into a different framework of time while he relocates the path of his journey. The facts of his voyage are deformed to create his literary voyage. Earlier voyages are thus used to supplement the Voyage en Orient, and events which occurred during the Oriental trip are sometimes replaced temporally and spatially.

Another element subjected to displacement is the inclusion of material copied or paraphrased from other sources and authorities, chief among them Silvestre de Sacy's Mémoire sur la dynastie des assassins et sur l'origine de leur nom (1809), the Dictionnaire Oriental, Pierre Vathier's l'Egypte de Murtadi translated from the Arabic, Quatremère's Mémoires sur l'Egypte, translated from the Arab Magrisi, Kircher's Mundus Subterraneus and Oedipus Aegyptiacus, Devismes au Aalgay's Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Origine et la Destination des Pyramides d'Egypte, and E. W. Lane's The Modern Egyptians.¹⁷

Rhodes points out that the description of ceremonies of initiation in the Pyramids is extracted verbatim from Jean Terrassou's eighteenth-century work Sethos -- Histoire ou vie tirée des monuments anecdotes de l'ancienne Egypte.¹⁸

In addition to the displacement and the lie of such materials from other sources, Nerval chooses to replace

them by attributing them to a fictional source. The information from Terrassou is presented as being from a fellow-traveller, a Prussian officer whose demeanor has earlier proven to Nerval that the gentleman is an experienced and knowledgeable informant: "L'officier prussien, en consultant ses souvenirs, me soumit une explication assez logique de la destination d'un tel monument. Nul n'est plus fort qu'un Allemand sur les mystères de l'antiquité. Voici, selon sa version, à quoi servait la galerie ornée de rails . . ." (I, 292).

Interspersed within the information recounted by the officer are questions interjected by Nerval:

---Avec ce système, dis-je, il est impossible d'expliquer matériellement toutes les religions. Mais qu'y gagnerons-nous? (I, 299)

Ici je crus devoir interrompre le récit image du savant Berlinoïse:
 "Il me semble, lui dis-je, que vous me racontez là
 ---A peu près," répondit-il. (I, 297)

Within the structure of the supposed conversation between the two, information is presented and debated:

Le Prussien qui me racontait tout cela était évidemment un fils de Voltaire . . . cet homme en était encore au Scepticisme religieux de Frédéric II. Je ne pus m'empêcher de lui en faire l'observation. "Vous vous trompez," me dit-il . . . (I, 298)

In addition, Nerval steps out of the conversation and pre-

sents what may be taken for his interpretation of these initiation ceremonies: "En effet, la dernière épreuve, si charmante, mais si imprévue, de l'initiation égyptienne était la même que Moïse a racontée au chapitre de la Genèse" (I, 297).

While presenting details taken from his reading, Nerval has constructed a fictional context -- an authority in the person of the Prussian officer and their debate -- for this exposé. Here one encounters a sort of double displacement. While a lie is constructed regarding the source of the information, on another level, the borrowings of information without references to it may perhaps also be seen as a lie. Perhaps one can go so far as to disconnect the actual voyage taken from the literary Voyage en Orient written by Nerval. If Polyphilus did not have to go to Cythera to describe it perfectly, Nerval did not have to stay away from the Orient to describe it literarily.

Nerval's "created" voyage moves through "created" places, that is, places rendered through adjustments of detail, occurrence, and measure. Cairo is perceived and presented as a Nervalian female, desirable yet unattainable. The circumstances through which Nerval comes to know Cairo are related within the structure of Oriental feminine life. His attempts to put himself in contact with the Orient and

with Cairo are made concrete by his attempts to meet and marry a woman there. The apparatus of a handbook about the Oriental female is imposed as a scheme upon the progress of his account of Egypt and Cairo. The schematization evokes Lane's An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians from which Nerval borrowed entire sections.

In contrast to the other accounts of voyages under discussion here, Nerval's is the most "created," with less regard for the truth about place which accurately locates it geographically and temporally. Furthermore, it is the least concerned with those details of hardship and personal travail that mark the accounts of an "authentic first-hand experience." The reader is not often put in that very place himself, nor are places described with conscientious accuracy of measurement, as is found in Burton. Neither is there an insistence on the verification of earlier descriptions, as in Chateaubriand, nor on the nearly physiological responses of discomfort the alien place engenders, as expressed by Kinglake. While a form of self-detachment is involved in the travel experience and its literary rendering in these three other cases, for Nerval the desire for union with self is the all of voyage.

His suicide on the morning of January 26, 1855 was an act consistent in several respects with his life-long habits as an urban wanderer or flâneur. Having no semblance

of a fixed abode, Nerval hanged himself from the railings of a Paris street, the rue de la Vielle-Lanterne, about three months after he had left Dr. Blanche's clinic to wander through Paris. Driven by an impulse towards motion, fascinated by the variety of chance encounters afforded in the city, and suffering from the nineteenth-century addiction to novelty, Nerval was a paradigmatic flâneur and as such embarked on the flâneur's ultimate voyage in search of the new: "Au fond de l'Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau!" (Baudelaire, "Le Voyage").¹⁹

Intensifying the Romantic conception of voyage and the new, Nerval was the ultimate Romantic voyager. In his suicide (the ultimate "trip"), he embarked on an infinite voyage through places in eternal dreams which had a far greater significance and "reality" for him than the world in which he lived. For Nerval nothing was real unless he was travelling, impelled towards the forever elusive home.

Notes

¹ Gérard de Nerval, Voyage en Orient, in Oeuvres Complètes, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, Pléiade, 1966). All subsequent references to the Voyage will be taken from this edition and will be indicated in parentheses in the text.

² Théophile Gautier, Souvenirs romantiques, p. 217, cited in Ross Chambers, Gérard de Nerval et la poétique du voyage (Paris: Corti, 1969), p. 13.

³ A. Houssaye, Histoire du 41^e fauteuil de l'Académie française, pp. 328-29, cited in Chambers, pp. 13-14, my ellipses.

⁴ Bettina Knapp, Gérard de Nerval: The Mystic's Dilemma (University, Ala.: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1977).

⁵ Gérard de Nerval, Correspondence (1830-1853), intro. and notes, Jules Marsan (Paris: Mercure de France, 1911). Letter to Dr. LaBrunie, dated Cairo, May 2, 1843.

⁶ Edward W. Lane, An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, ed. E. Stanley Poole (London, 1860; rpt. London: Dent, 1908), pp. 529-30.

⁷ Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 170.

⁸ Said, Orientalism, p. 168.

⁹ Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1959), p. 39.

¹⁰ Michel Butor, Repertoire IV (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1974), p. 25.

¹¹ Arthur Symons, The Symbolist Movement in Literature (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1958), pp. 11-12.

¹² Ross Chambers, Gérard de Nerval et la poétique du voyage (Paris: Jose Corti, 1969).

13 Kenneth Clark defines the medieval mind as "a state of mind in which all material objects were thought of as symbols of spiritual truths or episodes in sacred history. . . . The less an artifact interests our eye as imitation, the more it must delight our eye as pattern, and an art of symbols always evolves a language of decoration." Kenneth Clark, Landscape into Art (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 19.

14 Michel Butor has called Nerval's voyage a pilgrimage of the lie of history. See "Le Voyage et l'écriture," in Repertoire IV, pp. 9-30.

15 Jean-Pierre Richard, "Géographie Magique de Nerval," in Poésie et Profondeur (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1955), p. 25. Richard claims that Nerval tried to be what he wasn't, i.e., "normal," as a cure.

16 Nerval, Correspondence. Letter to Dr. LaBrunie, dated Malta, January 8, 1843.

17 Cited as sources in the Oeuvres Complètes, pp. 1332-38; S. A. Rhodes, Gérard de Nerval (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), p. 193; Jean Richer, Nerval: Experience et création (Paris: Hachette, 1970), pp. 45-70.

18 Rhodes, p. 195.

19 See Walter Benjamin's discussion of the flâneur in "Paris -- the Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in New Left Review, No. 48 (Mar.-Apr., 1968), pp. 72-88.

III

CHAPTER TWO

BURTON:

PLACE AND ORDER

III

In the first chapter of his narrative, under the heading "A few words concerning what induced me to a Pilgrimage," Burton claims to have offered his services "for the purpose of removing that opprobrium to modern adventure, the huge white blot which in our maps still notes the Eastern and the Central regions of Arabia."¹ The spirit of this offer and claim is retained throughout his narrative and is reinforced by his closing statement.

This spirit of scientific detachment holds within it the Romantic belief in the power of the individual, and in the good of "progress.". "Modern" adventure is positively valued, and Burton demonstrates no yearning for tradition. His scientific attitude concerns itself with "removing" what he views as a stricture and reproach. The question of ethics does not enter here. The quest for modernity under the right to seek information by any means is paramount.

One does not encounter in Burton's writing the Romantic quest of place conceived as a source, an origin, and a mother. His quest of place is that of a collector and his view of these places is objectifying. As a linguist, Burton uses a method and purpose closely linked to classifica-

tion, categorizing and ordering. Place is order. When he is concerned with places, he is concerned to classify, identify and arrange them intellectually. This same impulse is reflected in his concern for the aptness of his disguise and the appropriateness of response in all his encounters.

Order and place

The title of Burton's "Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah" betrays the interests served by his paradigm of place as well as an essential irony. For Burton, place is closely connected to a concept of order which is imposed on a place, allowing it to be represented. As a narrative, his work will be ordered chronologically and sequentially. The stated termini of his travel encapsulate the two places and imply his appropriation of them. The personal feature of his narrative provides authenticity in his account and enhances the sense of mastery, while the term "pilgrimage," as used by Burton, suggests both the secularized and the sacrilegious act whose successful accomplishment will ironically deny the essences or sacredness of these places, and in allowing Burton to know them, violates, possesses and acquires them.

As a "pilgrim," Burton's relation to his goal is influenced by the desire to arrive at a particular place and,

once there, to contain that place, to "conquer" it by a scientific measurement. Place is for him a tangible thing, located geographically and capable of being reached and described by a Western mind. There is never any doubt that some mysterious and essential quality of the place may escape. The place may elude a lesser man perhaps, but given the faculties of Burton, those places can be attained, demystified, ordered and presented through a literary mode. Place can be subjected and controlled.

Structures for ordering place

This ordering and acquisitive attitude towards place is apparent in the very structure of the two-volume work. Organized in a chronologically and spatially consecutive narrative, Burton's work is extensively supplied with scholarly cross-references as well as anthropological data, political commentary, and personal cavilling. Few pages are without secondary commentary. There are frequent assumptions of a "how to" nature, as Burton explains how parts of this feat may be duplicated by the reader.

Burton's journey and narrative focus on two major places, goals which fulfill the aim of the pilgrimage. The narrative thus falls into two parts -- two volumes, in which the descriptions of the two places follow similar paths. The first volume, on Al-Madinah, includes the view

of the Holy City available to arriving caravans and officially opens with the description in Chapter XV of arrival through the city to the place of lodging. Next, Burton describes the visit to the Prophet's Tomb (Chapter XVI), with a physical description of the tomb itself from hearsay, a description of the external architectural interests, and a discussion regarding the conventions of the disposition of the Prophet's remains.

The next chapter is "An Essay towards the History of the Prophet's Mosque" followed by a geographical, meteorological, socio-cultural history of the city of Al-Madinah, and two additional chapters on nearby places of holy visitation. The following three chapters describe respectively "The People," "A Visit to the Saints Cemetery," and "The Badawin of Al-Hijaz."

At Meccah, the opening description of Chapter XXVII concerns the first visit to the House of Allah with secondary information about Burton's temporary place of residence and some commentary about the town. The succeeding four chapters deal in chronological order with the visits and ceremonies fulfilled in the following six days. There is a chapter treating "life at Meccah" (Chapter XXXII), and containing Burton's observations of Meccan character, his own routines as a guest there, and the customs of the season and the town. In a catalogue chapter, he describes the

other "places of visitation" in the environs, based on secondary information. The volume ends with his departure from Meccah and his return from the pilgrimage.

The structures of these two volumes show parallels that indicate Burton's sense of place as endowed by the following characteristics: a) prospect of the town from outside and above its boundaries; b) passage from exterior through the town to the place of lodging (home); c) the arrival at the distinct goal of pilgrimage; measurement, classification of this place -- its history, physical properties, customs; d) customs and spectacle of the larger place (the town); e) the people of the town; f) the subsidiary places of visitation, subsequently described according to the structures of description of the main place, as in c). C), d) and f) are filled in by anecdotal material and populated by the other characters of the narration such as the boy, Mohammed, and such standard figures as hostesses, beggars and officials at the places visited. In the analyses of Burton's place descriptions which follow, there will be occasion to refer to these characteristic structures as part of Burton's paradigm of place.

Aesthetic of order

Burton's sense of order as characteristic of place is seen not only in the orderly structuring of his narrative,

but in his expressed respect for the synthesis of order in art, nature, and society. On the prospect of H. H. Abbas Pasha's proposal to erect a mosque, Burton expresses a hope that the architect will be inspired by Sultan Hasan's, not Mohammed Ali's, splendors. Relating social order with aesthetic order, Burton discloses that:

The former is like the genuine Osmanli of past ages, fierce, cold, with a stalwart frame, index of a strong mind -- there was a sullen grandeur about the man. The latter is the pert and puny modern Turk in pantaloons, frock coat and Fez, ill-dressed, ill-conditioned, and ill-bred, body and soul. (I, 99)

Perhaps as a consequence of his personal rebellion against the arbitrary law and order of his early schools and his military profession, Burton is emphatic in distinguishing his aesthetic of order from a concept of order synonymous with regularity and regimentation. For Burton, orderliness arising from the imposition of law is quite the contrary of a respected order whose model is taken from nature. Thus, architecture, as "the highest expression of a people's artistic feeling, -- highest because it includes all others" (I, 96), must respect the social and natural order by seeking "that general analogy compatible with individual variety" and avoiding "the over-display of order and regularity" (I, 91).

In the following paragraph Burton proposes an aesthetic

of order related to his paradigm of place which emphasizes the individual in a synthesis of the natural and artistic orders.

Such "architectural lawlessness," such disregard for symmetry, -- the result, I believe, of an imperfect "amalgamation and enrichment," -- may doubtless be defended upon the grounds both of cause and of effect. Architecture is of the imitative arts, and Nature, the Myriomorphous, everywhere delighting in variety, appears to abhor nothing so much as perfect similarity and precise uniformity. To copy her exactly we must therefore seek that general analogy compatible with individual variety; in fact, we should avoid the over-display of order and regularity. And again, it may be asserted that, however incongruous these disorderly forms may appear to the conventional eye, we find it easy to surmount our first antipathy. Perhaps we end in admiring them the more, as we love those faces in which irregularity of feature is compensated for by diversity and piquancy of expression. (I, 99)

Order in place description

Burton's own art, his re-creation of place, bears examination with regard to his aesthetic of order. The following section focuses on several examples of place descriptions which are closely analyzed in terms of their ordering principles and the attitude towards place which they assume. In particular, Burton's landscapes and his architectural sketches display his adherence to the paradigm of place as inherently and essentially ordered, as in nature, that is, in its infinite variety.

a. Landscape

Landscape paintings, unlike maps, are "historical" because "Space is historical if it has direction or a privileged perspective."² Furthermore, landscapes transform "the simultaneity of space into a happening in time, that is, an irreversible sequence of events."³

Burton's landscape, his word painting of³ the scenery on the banks of the Nile, describes space from a privileged perspective imbued with history. However, categorizing the scenery as "dull," Burton refers to it as a double -- "Sind over again." The sense of déjà vu which this Nile scene arouses in Burton negatively connotes a world-weary attitude, which yawns at the possibility of a reified and archetyped set piece of landscape description. Yet the timeless or historical quality of the déjà vu experience could also be viewed positively because it renders possible the discovery of relationships, such as those perceived in scientific ordering. The place Burton describes has the appearance of an occurrence in time, arrested and ordered by being reproducible in Burton's description, as well as in his recognition of the experience which refers to its prototype in (his experience of) Sind.

Through an accumulation of detail, of painterly strokes, Burton describes the scenery in the following text as a landscape which may therefore be copied, since it has

its double in another mapped "place." It seems the scene he paints here has an anterior reference in a generically composed landscape.

To me there was double dullness in the scenery: it seemed to be Sind over again -- the same morning mist and noon-tide glare; the same hot wind and heat clouds, and fiery sunset, and evening glow; the same pillars of dust and "devils" of sand sweeping like giants over the plain; the same turbid waters of a broad, shallow stream studded with sand-banks and silt-isles, with crashing earth slips and ruins nodding over a kind of cliff, whose base the stream gnaws with noisy tooth. On the banks, saline ground sparkled and glittered like hoar-frost in the sun; and here and there mud villages, solitary huts, pigeon-towers, or watch turrets, whence little brown boys shouted and slung stones at the birds, peeped out from among bright green patches of palm-tree, tamarisk, and mimosa, of maize, tobacco, and sugarcane. Beyond the narrow tongue of land on the river banks lay the glaring, yellow Desert, with its low hills and sand slopes, bounded by innumerable pyramids of Nature's architecture. The boats, with their sharp bows, preposterous sterns, and lateen sails, might have belonged to the Indus. So might the chocolate-skinned, blue-robed peasantry; the women carrying progeny on their hips, with the eternal waterpot on their heads; and the men sleeping in the shade or following the plough, to which probably Osiris first put hand. The lower animals, like the higher, were the same; gaunt, mange-stained camels, muddy buffaloes, scurvied donkeys, sneaking jackals, and fox-like dogs. Even the feathered creatures were perfectly familiar to my eye . . . (I, 31)

The details Burton compiles, labelled doubly dull by reference both to a previous experience and a composed model of landscape that have become clichés, suggest their seeming monotony through the use of a list of simple adjectives and nouns and by the reiteration of the words "the

same" as modifier. The first sentence comes close to being tiresomely long. With the second sentence, "On the banks . . . ," Burton is coloring in the structure of basic elements of the scene sketched in the first sentence with terms "sparkled," "glittered," "little brown boys," "bright green patches" accompanied by the simile "like hoar-frost in the sun." He also fills in the randomly placed detail "here and there mud villages, solitary huts, pigeon-towers, or watch turrets," and the focal points of the foreground: boys who "shouted and slung stones at the birds," peeping out from amid the final list of vegetation.

The third sentence, "Beyond the narrow tongue of land," locates as "beyond" and washes in the background with more generalized imagery of "glaring yellow Desert," "low hills and sand slopes," which is farther away and less clearly seen, so that the mountains are without number and perceived as Nature's pyramids.

The human element which locates the landscape historically, that is, the boats and the peasantry, is seen as a double of the Hindu landscape as well as humanly eternal through details of their "carrying progeny," "the eternal waterpot," "men sleeping" or working at the plow, which connects them to Osiris. Even the lower animals and the birds were "the same . . . perfectly familiar to [the] eye."

This landscape copy or re-creation removed a place

from its mapped location and made possible a number of renderings. "In the scenery on the banks sketcher and describers have left you nought to see" (I, 29). The place in sitio was removed and replaced by renderings of it, which were interposed between the place and the viewer's direct experience of it. The notion that nothing remained to be seen implies that place is an entity which can be treated as a commodity, to be ordered and disposed of.

b. Tableau

As a classifier and cataloguer of scene, Burton frequently summarized descriptions of places by rendering them as stereotypes. The repetitiveness of actions confines them within a single setting to produce a verbal tableau.

In the nineteenth-century novel, tableaux are often used in an attempt to deny or repress the emotional quality of the scene. They allow the characters to strike a pose which is familiar, which compresses their responses to a threatening moment such as a leave-taking, into a sentimentalized, stereotyped "set-piece." Such a tableau serves to cover the character's inability to acknowledge and (re-)create the intensity of the moment. Such a set-piece is appropriate to Burton's distancing disguise as the scientific cataloguer of behavior and further assists him in camouflaging and repressing his (real) emotional responses.

The tableau provides an emotional distance like that of a landscape cliché in which the viewer's perspective of distance is enhanced by the déjà-vu quality of the experience. Like a mob scene in a film, the verbal tableau acknowledges the other and creates the impression of chaos, under controlled and well-ordered direction.

A departure scene begins with an instructive address to the reader: "Suppose us gathered . . ." in which Burton objectifies himself as well within the scene and seems to encounter both fellow travellers and the reader while rendering them invisible observers:

Immense was the confusion at the eventful hour of our departure. Suppose us gathered upon the beach, on the morning of a fiery July day, carefully watching our hurriedly-packed goods and chattels, surrounded by a mob of idlers, who are not too proud to pick up waifs and strays; whilst pilgrims are rushing about apparently mad; and friends are weeping, acquaintances are vociferating adieux; boatmen are demanding fees, shopmen are claiming debts; women are shrieking and talking with inconceivable power, and children are crying, -- in short, for an hour or so we stand in the thick of a human storm. . . . Again the Turkish women make a hideous noise, as they are carried off struggling vainly in brawny arms; the children howl because their mothers howl; and the men scold and swear, because in such scenes none may be silent. The moment we had embarked, each individual found that he or she had missed something of vital importance, -- a pipe, a child, a box, or a water-melon; and naturally all the servants were in the bazars when they should have been in the boat. (I, 186)

In this tableau, time is not located aside from the generalized "morning of a fiery July day" in which the in-

definite article a indicates any of the possible days and serves as a typification. The list of typical behavior sketches in the types and dramatizes simultaneous description through the relative "whilst" which changes the static use of verbals from modifiers ("gathered," "watching," "surrounded") which paint inactivity in the beginning of the sentence to the present continuous tense to provide a sense of tableau. This tense, which indicates an on-going action, also suggests an encapsulation of time that suspends the scene in a self-contained tableau in which the action has no direction but is simply repeated.

The present continuous also indicates repetition, with the effect of indicating stereotypical action as well as the use of lists and plurals: "rushing," "friends are weeping," "acquaintances are vociferating," "boatmen are demanding," "shopmen are claiming," "women are shrieking and talking," "children are crying." Burton declares the summary feature of his description with " -- in short" and the 'suspension of the scene and its typicality with "we stand in the thick of a human storm," in which he begins to use the simple present tense.

Emphasizing the repetitive feature of the scene, Burton writes, "Again the Turkish women make a hideous noise . . . the children howl . . . the men scold and swear" as if to explain the raison d'être of the scene as a repeti-

tion, a type. The simple present which is used in this sentence indicates repetition of the action at repeated intervals. In both sentences, the actions are noise-producing, and except for the first reference to pilgrims, are specifically vocal, "because in such scenes none may be silent."

To emphasize the stereotype, a typical occurrence is described in the past tense so as to give the scene the humor of stereotypical behavior through hyperbole -- "The moment we had embarked, each individual found that he or she had missed something of vital importance," and "naturally all the servants were in the bazars" -- and through ludicrously specific details which imply frivolity -- "a pipe, a child, a box, or a water-melon." The disorder of the scene is ridiculed by selecting details which demonstrate the silliness and triviality of a place that lends itself to being put in order by Burton's description of it, as it fairly demands having British colonial order imposed upon it.

The Typical and the Unique

The stereotypic and the déjà-vu aspects of the examples of landscape and tableau which have been analyzed are viewed by Burton in a highly patronizing manner. For him, their typicality as experiences negate the particularity of

the places being described. In the first case, through the intervention of the model of a conventionally composed landscape, and in the second, through the characteristic behavior of the human mass, both examples of place description indicate some inadequacy of the place itself. In addition, the banality of both scenes is an example of the over-display of order and regularity incompatible with Burton's aesthetic of order as analogous and compatible with the individual variety in nature.

Unique sense of place

By contrast to the composed order of the landscape and the typical hyperbole of a tableau, Burton speaks approvingly of the existence of certain scenes which have the capacity to print themselves upon a memory for the lifetime of the medium.

There are certain scenes, cannily termed "Ken-speckle," which print themselves upon Memory, and which endure as long as Memory lasts, -- a thunder-cloud bursting upon the Alps, a night of stormy darkness, off the Cape, an African tornado, and, perhaps, most awful of all, a solitary journey over the sandy Desert. (I, 88)

Unlike the landscape of the banks of the Nile, these self-rendering scenes are directly imparted and uniquely experienced, without the intervention of prior images, and do not extract or banalize the place, as do sketches and

descriptions. In Burton's terms, the processes seem opposed -- the printing of a scene upon Memory is additive, while the intervention of scenes previously rendered or experienced en masse are reductive and removed -- "have left you nought."

The negative doubling of the déjà-vu scene makes it a reductive. It cannot be figured out any more and adds nothing illuminating because it reflects, however infinitely and variously, rather than leading to discovery or instruction. The Kenspeckle which demand engagement and do not permit the individual to evade his own reactions and diffuse the intensity of the event, as in the tableau, are originals which owe their existence to their impress upon an individual human experience, rather than being observed from a distanced, controlled perspective or attitude.

Dramatic scene

A further distinction between the Kenspeckle and the indirect and distant versions of place experiences like landscapes and tableaux is entailed by Burton's use of the term "scenery" in the Nile bank passage and "scene" regarding the Kenspeckle. The term "scenery" which he equates with landscape and structures within the landscape painting convention seems to pertain to what is passively observed by a spectator from a fixed prospect. A "scene," such as

"a solitary journey over the sandy Desert" or "a stroll through the thoroughfares of old Cairo by night," involves the viewer's movement through a place. While the other examples given -- "a thunder-cloud bursting upon the Alps, a night of stormy darkness. . . , an African tornado" -- are not participatory scenes in the same sense as the stroll and the journey, they are experienced within time as duration or event in a way that the landscape is not -- it is static and the observer is not inside it -- it lies before him.⁴

The word "scene" also has value as a dramatic term as it describes what lies opposite the observer en face as, in its theatrical origin, being "the flat and square-shaped σκηνή behind the orchestra in a Greek theatre," as well as "the square frame of the proscenium arch which the English theatre had adopted since the Restoration."⁵

In the following example of a scene printed upon Memory, Burton's description is surely theatrical -- it could in fact be a description of a theater, squalid by day, waiting in silhouettes and shadows until the stage lights transform the "scene" into a land of fantasy, behind and above which is the backstage machinery and labyrinth, and the usual feature of the arch.

As an effect of light and dark, and of anthropomorphic architectural details, the scene reveals itself in a ballet

macabre of open and closed spaces:

. . . the copings meet, and there the outriggings of the houses seem to interlace. Now they are parted by pencil of snowy sheen, then by a flood of silvery splendour; under the projecting cornices and the huge hanging balcony-windows of fantastic wood-work, supported by gigantic brackets and corbels and under deep verandahs, and gateways, vast enough for Behemoth to pass through, and in blind wynds and long cul-de-sacs, lie patches of thick darkness, made visible by the dimmest of oil lamps. The arch is a favourite feature: in one place you see it a mere skeleton-rib opening into some huge deserted hall; in another the ogre is full of fretted stone and wood carved like lace-work. Not a line is straight, the tall dead walls of the Mosques slope over their massy buttresses, and the thin minarets seem about to fall across your path. The cornices project crookedly from the houses, while the great gables stand merely by force of cohesion. And that the Line of Beauty may not be wanting, the graceful bending form of the palm, on whose topmost feathers, quivering in the cool night breeze, the moonbeam glistens, springs from a gloomy mound, or from the darkness of a mass of houses almost level with the ground. Briefly, the whole view is so strange, so fantastic, so ghostly, that it seems preposterous to imagine that in such places human beings like ourselves can be born, and live through life, and carry the command "increase and multiply," and die.
(I, 89)

The single living thing in the scene is presented as a near abstraction -- "that the Line of Beauty may not be wanting." Burton speaks of the palm's "topmost feathers" to which the moonbeam is directed, while the rest of the form "springs" from a gloomy mound, or from "the darkness of a mass of houses almost level with the ground."

The order of this scene is determined by the play of light and dark. The presence of light is described as

mostly limited -- "the strip of pale blue sky above scarcely reveals"; "a pencil of snowy sheen"; "patches of thick darkness, visible by the dimmest of oil lamps"; "gloomy"; "darkness." The lower portions closest to the ground are dark, shadowy, and only barely visible. One's eye is forced upward to the strip of sky, the pencil of sheen, the glistening moonbeam in the uppermost palm branches. Because its form also directs the eye upward, "The arch is an important feature."

Place and social order

Burton's aesthetic of order as an inherent feature of his sense of place is apparent in his social attitudes, as well as in his conceptions of art and architecture. His condition of being out-of-place in his voyage is doubled by the successful use of a disguise to perform his feat, for he is forced to observe scrupulously the regimented order and conformity of his assumed place in order to deny externally his own (concealed) place. As pointed out in the earlier discussion of place and disguise, the strength of one's sense of place is directly related to the elaborateness of the transformation made possible by assuming a disguise, and Burton's sense of his place was strong.

Burton's acute perception of place in the social order of the Orient helped him to create successfully a disguise

which was an artfully composed and scientifically observed counterpart of his place descriptions. In all its aspects, the disguise itself described the place Burton attempted to command through his visit, originating in his paradigm of the place as classifiable and possessable. The disguise depended upon and demonstrated Burton's fastidious attention to the details of appropriate social behavior in comparative cultures.

It is a great mistake to carry too few clothes, and those who travel as Orientals should always have at least one very grand suit for use on critical occasions. Throughout the East a badly dressed man is a pauper, and, as in England, a pauper -- unless he belongs to an order having a right to be poor -- is a scoundrel. (I, 24)

The conflict resulting from his disguise never seems to be internalized. Burton comments from the superior position of an Englishman among "Orientals." When he is abused by an Englishman, he perceives the irony and accepts the insult as a manner of compliment: " . . . one of the Englishmen, half publicly, half privily, as though communing with himself condemned my organs of vision because I happened to touch his elbow. He was a man in my own service; I pardoned him in consideration of the compliment paid to my disguise" (I, 34).

From the privileged perspective of the Englishman, despite his disguise, Burton is interested in defining the

place of various Oriental peoples and observing the Europeans in the Orient in terms of their respect for their place. His penchant for classification and ordering meets with an accord in the strong concern he perceives in the Orient for social order.

As an Englishman, he is consequently annoyed by the East-Indian, who of all Orientals least observes his place, and is thus "the most antithetical companion to an Englishman," as he becomes "easily friendly, disagreeably familiar, offensively rude, which ends by rousing the 'spirit of the British lion'" (I, 37). That is, he does not observe the order and does not keep his place; despite his English passport and his imitation of English manners, he can never succeed in passing himself off as English, because of the essential distance inherent in English social order.

. . . we English have a peculiar national quality.
 . . . Certainly nothing suits us less than perpetual society, an utter want of solitude, when one cannot retire into oneself an instant without being asked some puerile question by a companion, or look into a book without a servant peering over one's shoulder . . . (I, 35-36)

Hence, while the British lion symbolizes a national and public identity, this nationalism is identifiable by its solitary and individualistic character. It is this character too which is reflected in Burton's evinced distaste for the déjà-vu landscape, his condescension towards the mob

,

scene, and his embellishment of the direct and solitary individualizing experience.

Burton's reference to the Oriental ideal of one's place as determined by a communal source is set against the Western concept of privacy, which defines one's place spatially, by distancing and disassociating the individual. Burton's personal need to disguise his identity reflects his reluctance or refusal to assimilate as well as his membership in a culture which is itself filled with disassociations. Burton's understanding of the Hindu caste system relates it to "the peculiarly social nature of the native mind" and expands on the Western family unit to explain caste as the division of people into huge families. By use of this analogy, Burton sanctions the observation of caste as a way of belonging to a place. Just as a caste member ought to keep his place, the Oriental should stay in his, since his familiarity is antithetical to the English identity of distance.

In amusingly describing the difference in place conceptions (I, 35-36) between the Western habit of individual privacy and the Indian habit of perpetual society, Burton withdraws, imposing a distance between his English identity and his scientist's pose, to regard himself objectively. In his passage, the subject pronoun shifts from "we" to "one" to "you" as it progresses.

Burton's sense of place as maintaining distance projects itself onto the Oriental mind, for which he feels there is an inability to respect "a European who mixes with them familiarly, or especially who imitates their customs, manners, and dress" (I, 40). Thus, the Westerner who acts in his place is more respectable than one who "goes native." Additionally, Burton argues that the Western mode of dress carries an authoritative weight because it complies with the colonized people's version of "the master's attitude" (I, 40).

The tight pantaloons, the authoritative voice, the pococurante manner, and the broken Hindustani impose upon them -- have a weight which learning and honesty, which wit and courage, have not. This is to them the master's attitude: they bend to it like those Scythian slaves that faced the sword but fled from the horsewhip. (I, 40)

Burton elaborates on this belief by comparing and ordering the relative merit of different Oriental peoples according to their own systems of ordering and placing each other:

. . . a brave people, the Afghan . . . and the North American Indian . . . the "imbelles Indi" are still, with few exceptions, a cowardly and slavish people, who would raise themselves by depreciating those superior to them in the scale of creation. The Afghans and American aborigines, being chivalrous races, rather exaggerate the valor of their foes, because by so doing they exalt their own. (I, 40)

Similarly, Burton disdains Orientals who act as West-

erners, that is, out of their place. After visiting Khudabakkeh for ten days, Burton comments: " . . . my patience was thoroughly exhausted. My host had become a civilised man, who sat on chairs, who ate with a fork, who talked European politics, and who had learned to admire, if not to understand, liberty -- liberal ideas! and was I not flying from such things?" (I, 35).

The convert likewise is disdained for giving up his real place to embrace the place of another, mimicking the other while bereft of his own place in the other's order.

Pilgrim for Science

Up to now we have examined Burton's notion of place as being related to a sense of order, perceived in nature and extended to art and the social order. That ordering principle is an inherent feature of the scientific attitude by which Burton justifies his adventure as well as the disguise it demands. In calling his voyage a "pilgrimage," Burton secularizes and deflects what is in fact a sacrilegious act, justified under the auspices of the scholar's right to knowledge. In their voyeuristic attitude, Burton the scientist, and Burton the adventurer who refuses limits on himself, merge in accepting the perpetration of fraud to enhance their perspectives, as the means to discover, examine, evaluate, and report.

Burton's "pilgrimage" is an experiment and a discovery, not of a place previously unknown to the West, but of an individual Westerner's experience (frisson) of being radically not in his place. Appropriating this experience becomes tantamount to appropriating the place itself, and while Burton cannot do the equivalent of carrying off the Elgin marbles in this situation, he is bound to observe, measure, record, and report on this place in a scientifically correct manner in order to possess the place he has violated, acquiring and colonizing it for the Western corpus of knowledge. In this manner, Burton obfuscates his individual and unique achievement as the "first" of its kind by seeming to participate in the communal aspect of pilgrimage as a representative of Western knowledge.

Like the pilgrim he impersonates, the place to which he travels is seen as an intensified goal, an achievement worthy of his pain, the peak experience of his pilgrimage. His presentation of Meccah as a place is exhaustive, generated by the two attitudes which comprise his disguise -- pilgrim and scientist -- and justifying his "ecstasy of gratified pride" in realizing it.

Meccah: place of pilgrimage

Place as the point of arrival and the goal of the pilgrim is most clearly defined in Chapter XXVII, "The First

Visit to the House of Allah." Here too, Burton follows his orderly structure for describing a place which was outlined earlier. Since Meccah as center is the significant place for Burton, his manner of arrival at its presentation will be analyzed in this section.

Burton's location in Meccah begins outside his servant-guide Mohammed's home, where₃ their relationship abruptly changes. Once in his place, Mohammed trades social places with Burton.

I heard the . . . shrill cry which in these lands welcomes the wanderer home; the sound so gladdening to the returner sent a chill to the stranger's heart. . . . [Mohammed's] manner had changed from a boisterous and jaunty demeanour to one of grace and attentive courtesy -- I had become his guest.
(II, 159)

Burton's narrative emphasizes the second and more important arrival at the very place itself by prolonging the description of anticipatory rituals of arrival, which include the rituals of the pilgrim. After a meal and a rest, they prepare to perform the "Circumnambulation of Arrival" at the Harim. At dawn they "arose, bathed, and proceeded in . . . pilgrim garb to the Sanctuary." Burton's prose takes on a solemn and deliberate tone: "We entered by the Bab al Ziyadah, or principal northern door, descended two long flights of steps, traversed the cloister, and stood in sight of the Bayt Allah." A series of asterisks follow to

emphasize the momentous arrival at the destined place:

There at last it lay, the bourn of my long and weary Pilgrimage, realising the plans and hopes of many and many a year. The mirage medium of Fancy invested the huge catafalque and its gloomy pall with peculiar charms. There were no giant fragments of hoar antiquity as in Egypt, no remains of graceful and harmonious beauty as in Greece and Italy, no barbarous gorgeousness as in the buildings of India; yet the view was strange, unique -- and how few have looked upon the celebrated shrine! I may truly say that, of all the worshippers who clung weeping to the curtain, or who pressed their beating hearts to the stone, none felt for the moment a deeper emotion than did the Haji from the far-north. It was as if the poetical legends of the Arab spoke truth, and that the waving wings of angels, not the sweet breeze of morning, were agitating and swelling the black covering, of the shrine. But, to confess humbling truth, theirs was the high feeling of religious enthusiasm, mine was the ecstasy of gratified pride. (II, 160-61)

This paragraph epitomizes the place of pilgrimage.

"It" "lay" there, in a locatable place, as "it" was also the successful end of a "long and weary Pilgrimage," a place realized by personal perceptual significance in time endured and time projected. "The mirage medium of Fancy," the imagination, "invested" the place "with peculiar charms." To describe it, Burton's mind relies on comparison -- it was not the objective place of Egypt, Greece, Italy, or India sensed through "giant fragments," "remains of . . . beauty," or "buildings" and it did not give the sensations of "antiquity," "graceful and harmonious beauty," or "barbarous gorgeousness . . . yet the view was strange,

unique." The particularity of the place consisted in large part in Burton's reflection, "how few have looked upon the celebrated shrine!" Burton's sense of his own uniqueness in having realized his goal, in having seen Meccah, is imposed upon the place, making it thereby an object of his unique voyeuristic act.

The sacredness of this Muslim holy place is thus secularized into an object and symbol of uniqueness. Its attainment inspires deep emotion -- weeping and the beating of hearts -- which Burton describes in the similes "as if the poetical legends . . . spoke truth, and that the waving wings of angels . . . were agitating," as if to dodge or defer its impact. Burton distinguishes quite explicitly the different sources of these feelings -- "Theirs . . . religious enthusiasm, mine . . . the ecstasy of gratified pride." With that, the rapturous tone ends, and Burton's scientific attitude resumes.

The following paragraph begins Burton's account of the place in terms of its customs and usages. The center of the place is discussed with regard to the behavior of Moslems and the jest against newcomers. At the centermost place, the direction of prayer confuses newcomers. "This being the Kiblah, or fronting place, Moslems pray all around it; a circumstance which of course cannot take place in any spot of Al-Islam but the Harim" (II, 161).

Burton continues with a socio-historical account of the zemzem for nearly three pages, then returns to the narrative of the place with "We then advanced towards the eastern angle of the Ka'abah, in which is inserted the Black Stone." This place is described in terms of the appropriate ceremonial prayers they observed before it and a historical anecdote concerning the significance of the stone. "Then commenced the ceremony of Tawaf, or circumambulation . . ." (II, 165), which is described at length and the differences in the methods of the Hindus, Greeks, Romans, and Christians compared and footnoted.

At the end of the Tawaf "it was deemed advisable to attempt to kiss the stone" (II, 167). Burton's sense of this place is related by the anecdoted experience of fighting off other worshippers. "After thus reaching the Stone, despite popular indignation testified by impatient shouts, we monopolised the use of it for at least ten minutes" (II, 169), during which time Burton is able to observe it and compare his observations to those of Ali Bey and Burckhardt.

After Burton has left the Mosque at Meccah he remains in the city of Meccah, which is particularized by the house of Mohammed and by the scene of the Ka'abah, which he later visits. Mohammed's house is rendered as a particular place by an account of his family and the anecdote which involves a contention between Burton's rights of place as a guest

and the place rights of a group of Slavo-Turk pilgrims in the common male drawing room. There Burton asserts his territorial rights upon the Mastabah (platform) by stretching out his legs and, upon the temporary departure of other pilgrims from the salon, by depositing his medicine box upon the Mastabah, "thus defining, as it were, a line of demarcation, and asserting my privilege to it before the Turks" (II, 172).

After the battle for place, Burton's success allows him to perceive these men in a better light: " . . . with some exceptions, who were gruff as an English butcher when accosted by a lean foreigner, they proved to be kindhearted and not unsociable men. It often happens to the traveller, to find intercourse all the better by beginning with a little aversion" (II, 72).

In the evening, Burton returns to town to view the "Navel of the World" from a different perspective, "this time aesthetically, to enjoy the delights of the hour after the 'gaudy, babbling, and remorseful day.'" At night, the moon "lit up the spectacle with a more solemn light" (II, 172):

In the midst stood the huge bier-like erection. . . . It formed the point of rest for the eye; the little pagoda-like buildings and domes around it, with all their gilding and fretwork, vanished. One object, unique in appearance, stood in view -- the temple of the one Allah. . . . Sublime it was, and expressing by all the eloquence of fancy the grandeur of the One Idea . . . (II, 173)

This is the moonlit landscape of which the temple, in its representation of the One Idea, is the focus. The aesthetic perspective taken here echoes the night "scene" of Cairo's buildings analyzed as an example of Burton's aesthetic of order.

Following this moonlit perspective of the place, Burton describes the human life that crowded "the oval pavement around the Ka'abah. . . . What a scene of contrasts!"

Here stalked the Badawi woman, in her long black robe like a nun's serge, and poppy-coloured face-veil, pierced to show two fiercely flashing orbs. There an Indian woman, with her semi-Tartar features, nakedly hideous, and her thin legs, encased in wrinkled tights, hurried around the fane. Every now and then a corpse, borne upon its wooden shell, circuited the shrine by means of four bearers, whom other Moslems, as is the custom, occasionally relieved. A few fair-skinned Turks lounged about, looking cold and repulsive, as their wont is. In one place a fast Calcutta Khitmugar stood, with turband awry and arms akimbo, contemplating the view jauntily, as those "gentlemen's gentlemen" will do. In another, some poor wretch, with arms thrown on high, so that every part of his person might touch the Ka'abah, was clinging to the curtain and sobbing as though his heart would break.

(II, 173)

A few characters like these are sketched for contrast in the scene. The structure of this composed "nightscape" includes a movement to the background of Abu Kubays: "From this spectacle my eyes turned towards Abu Kubays. The city extends in that direction half-way up the grim hill: . . . To the South lay Jabal Jiyad the Greater, also partly built

over and crowned with a fort, which at a distance looks less useful than romantic . . ." (II, 173-74). In the final section of this verbal painting, the distant perspective is credited with providing a romantic cast to the fort, while the paleness of light in conjunction with the distance renders minarets into pillars of silver and the cloisters into boundaries of horizontal lines of shade.

With the event of Mohammed's feeding the pigeons, Burton uses "the place where pigeons flock -- the line of pavement leading from the isolated arch to the Eastern cloisters" (II, 174) to expand on the place of the pigeon in the history of religion.

From that nightscape till the late evening when Burton sees a man in a religious frenzy, he bides his time in the Harim to see if it will be empty. However, at two a.m. as during the day, the crowds are so numerous it is only with difficulty and physical persuasion that Burton can find a vacant place to pray over the grave of Ishmael. Burton takes the opportunity when his companions are asleep to go up to the Ka'abah "with the intention of 'annexing' a bit of the torn old kiswat or curtain, but too many eyes were looking on" (II, 176). He proceeds to give some general information about the curtain and the customs which surround it. This "distraction" gives the effect of biding time until "The opportunity, however, was favourable for a

survey, and with a piece of tape, and the simple processes of stepping and spanning, I managed to measure all the objects concerning which I was curious" (II, 176).

Such tenacity is remarked by V. S. Pritchett: "He is an almost pestiferous pursuer of whatever can be turned into a footnote. He has no sense of proportion and therefore no sense of theme. He is always salivating at the news of a detail and there is nowhere he won't stop in order to ask a question."⁶

When he is done with this, Burton describes walking through the streets "to our home in the Shamiyah" (II, 177). The house of Mohammed's mother has been appropriated as "home" during the stay in Meccah. "Arrived at the house," the primary destination or place becomes the bed or the Mastabah. Hence, arrival at home is completed upon going to bed -- the ultimate place to be located as "home."

Following this central chapter on the central spot or place which is Meccah are three chapters which describe the ceremonies in which Burton participates as a pilgrim on three successive days. Included is a visit to Muna with its three standing miracles, which "becomes a 'World's Fair' of Moslem merchants" during pilgrimage. Visits to consecrated sites are highlighted by the anecdote of a flirtation and Burton's equally covert attempt to make sketches.

Experiences of endangerment and fear are subordinated to Burton's scientific curiosity and detachment. After being raised and drawn into the House at the Ka'abah, and satisfactorily replying to official questions regarding his name and nation, Burton is allowed to view the interior of the building:

I will not deny that, looking at the windowless walls, the officials at the door, and the crowd of excited fanatics below . . . my feelings were of the trapped rat description. . . . This did not, however, prevent my carefully observing the scene during our long prayers, and making a rough plan with a pencil upon my white Ihram. (II, 207)

These chapters catalogue the pilgrim's experiences in the detached manner of the scientist, for as the frisson at penetrating the center of Meccah has subsided, the peripheral pilgrim resumes collecting bits of curious data. In addition to a description of the interior, Burton includes a diagram, numerous footnotes regarding differences among others' descriptions, proper names, changes in customs, additional information about architectural material, an account of the devotions employed, and a personal perception of the sensation of the place for him as a pilgrim in disguise which alludes to his English place-identity as one demanding distance: " . . . the windowless stone walls and the choked-up door made it worse than the Piombi of Venice; perspiration trickled in large drops, and I thought with

horror what it must be when filled with a mass of furiously jostling and crushing fanatics" (II, 209). Deferring the horrid and threatening sensation provoked by the very success of his disguise that permits him entry, Burton continues with an extensive anecdote regarding the payment made for the visit, as well as four pages on the traditions of "dressing" the Ka'abah. Thus the horror of being out-of-place is sublimated into subconscious allusions to the disguise as payment and as dressing up, deflected to the place from his person.

Place, identity, and disguise

-- my Eastern dress was called into requisition before leaving town, and all my "impedimenta" were taught to look exceedingly Oriental. Early the next day a "Persian Prince," accompanied by Captain Grindlay, embarked on board the Peninsular and Oriental Company's magnificent screw steamer "Bengal." (I, 5)

As we have seen, Burton's scientific attitude justified the would-be sacrilege of his "pilgrimage" and facilitated its success through his scrupulously compiled disguise of a pilgrim. To some extent, as is evident in Burton's confession of gratified pride at the center of Meccah, the role of scientist was itself a disguise, assumed to enhance and sanction Burton's individualistic voyeurism.

The disguise of pilgrim drew upon Burton's sense of scholarly order by enlisting for its execution his vast

command of languages, erudition, and anthropological researches. It was a creation as much as any of his place descriptions, reflecting his knowledge of the place he camouflaged himself within and hence itself serving as a description of the place, addressed to the paradigm of the place which he held in anticipation. It also complemented in many respects his personal proclivities both for a denial of feeling (the Romantic turned pedant) and the individualist's disregard of social limits which the license of the Darwaysh facilitated. Burton's analysis of the appropriateness of the Darwaysh for a disguise in the modern world (cited earlier in this study) extols his freedom from class restrictions and social etiquette, and his inherent and sanctioned ability as a charlatan to bluff, as possibly a madman, a medicine man, a magician or a scholar -- all identities readily assumable by Burton himself.

Burton's measures at disguise "in order to appear suddenly as an Eastern upon the stage of Oriental life" (I, 4-5) focuses upon his being out-of-place and permit him to regard himself as another, in the third person, and from a distance and covertly, as a voyeur.

The cooking was abominable, and the dignity of Darwaysh-hood did not allow me to sit at meat with Infidels or to eat the food which they had polluted. So the Pilgrim squatted apart, smoking perpetually, with occasional interruptions to say his prayers and to tell his beads upon the mighty ro-

sary; and he drank the muddy water of the canal out of a leathern bucket, and he munched his bread and garlic with a desperate sanctimoniousness.
(I, 32)

As Lyons suggests in his analysis of Laing, the individual in disguise may be freed to be more truly himself in the modern psychological sense.⁷

The necessity of concealing his real place and identity leads to a covert and intensified identification with England. On the sixth of July, 1853, while setting sail from Egypt, Burton says he "could not help casting one wistful look upon the British flag floating over the Consulate." Yet it was a pleasure to leave because:

I had lived there a stranger in the land, and a hapless life it had been: in the streets every man's face, as he looked upon the Persian, was the face of a foe. When ever I came in contact with the native officials, insolence marked the event; and the circumstance of living within hail of my fellow-countrymen, and yet finding it impossible to enjoy their society, still throws a gloom over the memory of my first sojourn in Egypt. (I, 194)

By virtue of the disguise, he is doubly estranged -- as a Persian he was perceived hostilely as an outsider by Egyptians; as a Moslem, he was not admitted to the company of the English colonialists in Egypt. This double-bind of the disguise has been illustrated in the case of Charles Doughty, the author of Arabia Deserta, whose inability to refrain from directly commenting to others present at the

savage beating of a thief makes his "not belonging"⁸ clear. While seeking a passport, Burton is subjected to brusque ill treatment as a result of his disguise, yet he controlled his natural reactions in the service of his role and turned away, "slowly and fiercely, for the next thing might have been a cut with the Kurbaj, and, by the hammer of Thor! British flesh and blood could never have stood that" (I, 21). The Oriental expletive he used in keeping with his disguise contributes to a self-mocking tone which serves to further estrange Burton from his real identity.

Burton's insistence on a disguise, whose success through its "authenticity" compounds his estrangement in Egypt and among the English, reveals his dogmatic Englishness. Addressing this issue, Burton anticipates an accusation: "The home reader naturally inquires, Why not travel under your English name?"

"For this reason. . . ," answers Burton:

. . . to pass through the Moslem's Holy Land, you must either be a born believer, or have become one; in the former case you may demean yourself as you please, in the latter a path is ready prepared for you. My spirit could not bend to own myself a Burma, a renegade -- to be pointed at and shunned and catechised, an object of suspicion to the many and of contempt to all. Moreover, it would have obstructed the aim of my wanderings. The convert is always watched with Argus eyes, and men do not willingly give information to a "new Moslem," especially a Frank: they suspect his conversion to be feigned or forced, look upon him as a spy, and let him see as little of life as possible. Firmly as

was my heart set upon travelling in Arabia, by Heaven! I would have given up the dear project rather than purchase a doubtful and partial success at such a price. Consequently, I had no choice but to appear as a born believer, and part of my birthright in that respectable character was toil and trouble in obtaining a Tazkirah. (I, 23)

To paraphrase Burton's advice, one's place (where one has the right to pass) is the place of birth within which "a born believer" has the birthright to act as he pleases, while always conducting himself correctly in regard to his place. The "convert" must follow a "path" -- he traces or copies the idea of the place, but is not one with it. Burton's own sense of his place is so strong that "my spirit could not bend to own myself a Burma, a renegade." In a footnote (I, 23, no. 1), Burton defines Burma as "an opprobrious name . . . derived from burmak, 'to twist, to turn.'" Hence, a Burma is one who is not in place, who is out of order. Conversion then is contemptible, while a bogus conversion, an act of fraud and sacrilege, is justified by, even applauded for, its success.

Burton's amassing of information about Meccah serves as the scientist's report and also deflects the intensity of his experience as it confers the "ecstasy of gratified pride." The disguise of pilgrim as well as the scientist's posture serve to maintain the distance from the other, the object observed, which Burton has characterized as English-

ness. Cataloguing and measuring Meccah is to treat it as a commodity, as a museum artifact to be added to the collection of the voyeur. The empirical attitude which informs this view of place, and indeed, of the world, supposes that everything can be systematized and known and sanctions all efforts, including disrespect for the place of the other, to acquire knowledge of and hence possess every place.

The English success of empire in the Orient of the nineteenth century both emanates from and generates this view of place. Burton, the fraudulent pilgrim, succeeds in achieving the goal of his pilgrimage by actually "penetrating" Meccah. The French Nerval, on the other hand, whose goal in a pilgrimage to a maternal source incorporates loss, "fails" at the union he desires. He cannot intimately know Cairo, just as he can neither marry Salèma, nor convert to the Druse faith, his model of syncretism, because "*la plume est brisée*," and evokes France's loss in Egypt. Nerval's frustrated desire for intimacy with the other, and the place of that other, is apparent in his fetishistic rehandling of places seen and texts written by others, and the irrelevancy of his directly experiencing a place to his claiming it. Having lost his own place, Nerval sought to be united with the place of the other, and this obsession generated an attraction for the twisting and turning of the convert so thoroughly despised by Burton,

whose identity of place demanded separation and disassociation from the other.

Burton's disguise as the Oriental, the very other from whom he should maintain a distance, jeopardizes his own identity, as it would jeopardize his life if discovered. The pilgrim disguise requires that he reject the maintenance of distance, imitate the other as a convert, and appear committed to constant society. To visibly demonstrate his Englishness as characterized by acts of distancing is to endanger himself and his project. The thrill such an endangerment provides corresponds to his "real" identity of voyeur, which is further enhanced by his scientist-voyeur poses. The scientist is also obsessed by the possibility of unrestrained observing as a collecting activity which may be conducted at an objectifying distance.

In closing his narrative journey, Burton uses a quotation from Fa-hian (a brother traveller):

I have been exposed to perils, and I have escaped from them; I have traversed the sea, and have not succumbed under the severest fatigues; and my heart is moved with emotions of gratitude, that I have been permitted to effect the objects I had in view. (II, 276)

While many travellers conclude their narratives with feelings of relief upon returning home, Burton's conclusion emphasizes his success in reaching his goal. The use of the conjunction and in place of but indicates an undaunted re-

sponse to any difficulty.

"I have escaped . . . I have not succumbed" demonstrates Burton's sense of not having been affected or changed by his contact with Meccah and Madinah, nor by his incursion within the other in the guise of one of them. Burton's manner is resistant to notions of a Self changed by experience. He has accumulated, not assimilated, his journey. What this conclusion implies is hinted at throughout the narrative: Burton's relation to the place that is his goal is one of two equal entities which come into contact. He does not have a preconceived literary sense of these places to interpose, as Nerval has, nor is he transformed by the experience. He sets out in a scientific manner to know the place by measurement, and he accomplishes the task of "removing that opprobrium" to which he sets himself in the first chapter (I, 1). His is a scientific mission realized in a fairly matter-of-fact manner despite the colorful adventures and exotic atmosphere of the field of research.

The subject of the next chapter, Alexander Kinglake, travelling under openly personal auspices, and undisguised, manages to use his characteristic English distance to deny endangerment and thwart it, rather than, like Burton, to excite it by his flirtation. Kinglake, an Englishman who is in his place wherever he happens to be, combats the

threat to his identity and to his life that being away from home presents, by asserting his Englishness out of a demonstrated conviction of separateness from the other, with whom he never attempts to feign intimacy.

Notes

¹ Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah, 2 vols. (London, 1893; rpt. New York: Dover, 1964), I, 1. Subsequent references will be indicated in the text.

² Yi-Fu Tuan, Space and Place (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 122.

³ Rudolf Arnheim, Visual Thinking (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969), p. 240.

⁴ "A 'scene,' then, in the description of landscape, is something opposite you and enclosed by the limits of your vision in very much the same way as a painting is enclosed within its frame, or, within the painting, the area beyond the foreground is marked off by the coulisse -- the word can mean the wings of a stage. . . . A 'scene' directs attention to itself as a self-contained and separate entity, apart from the rest of the countryside, and apart from the observer." John Barrell, The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 23-24.

⁵ Barrell, The Idea of Landscape, p. 23.

⁶ V. S. Pritchett, The Tale Bearers (New York: Random House, 1980), pp. 185-86.

⁷ John O. Lyons, The Invention of the Self (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1978), p. 13.

⁸ Charles Doughty, Arabia Deserta (New York: Random House, n.d.), pp. 14-15.

IV

CHAPTER THREE

KINGLAKE:

ON BEING OUT-OF-PLACE

IV

The English gentleman Alexander Kinglake undertook a voyage to the Orient in 1834 at the age of twenty-five and wrote an account of this trip, entitled Eothen, published in 1844.¹ This slim volume of youthful impressions had such a success in Victorian England that its author came to be known and addressed by the title of his work. His later turgid account of the Crimean War in its several volumes was never received with an attention that anywhere approached the popularity of Eothen.

While it is surely possible to read Eothen today with a harshly critical view of its "sweeping generalizations about the Orient," its stereotyping, and "racism" as Edward Said has claimed,² Eothen's literary status in nineteenth-century England and its value as a prototype in travel literature do not allow it to be so easily dismissed as an "undeservedly famous and popular work [which] is a pathetic catalogue of pompous ethnocentrism and tiringly nondescript accounts of the Englishman's East."³ Eothen may be readily defended for its descriptive interest while the ethnocentrism and xenophobia may be addressed within the contexts of place and self-identity in travel writing with which

this study deals.

Plague as metaphor

As in the case of many youthful travellers, Kinglake's voyage began with a companion who soon succumbed to the rigors of travel, leaving Kinglake to complete his journey alone. The cause of this rupture was Methley's illness, which occasions Kinglake's reflection on his own somewhat callous response to his friend's situation as well as on the effect of the plague on social usages. Illness is thus presented from the beginning of their voyage as a metaphor for disruption and divisiveness. As Methley's illness separates the two travelling companions, the fear of the plague separates East and West, while the plague itself comes into play as a metaphor for the Orient, its contamination feared by Westerners.

Illness and travel

In various senses, then, illness in travel is place-sickness. A common experience of travel, illness may readily result from the traveller's inability to assimilate the effects of change. The tourist is vulnerable to changes of climate, diet, sleeping conditions, water, or altitude, and an illness that results from such changes of place demonstrates his dependence on the place from which he came,

that is, that anterior place in which he feels at home and is not ill. In a physical sense, he is "home-sick," for he is not in his place, not at home. The Self is threatened by the strange place, the other, and illness is experienced as an attack by the other which, unbounded, is able to surround the traveller and make him ill.

Travel itself may be construed as illness, interrupting as it does the ordered structure of home life. Illness on a grand scale such as the plague interferes with all social structures and assumptions.

Both the normal consular character and Kinglake's own good fellowship are affected by the power of the plague. Kinglake's blunted sensitivity may be viewed as a reaction to his own illness -- that of travel, being out of place, being home-sick.

Before we reached Adrianople, Methley had been seized with we knew not what ailment, and when we had taken up our quarters in the city he was cast to the very earth by sickness. Adrianople enjoyed an English consul and I felt sure that, in Eastern phrase, his house would cease to be his house, and would become the house of my sick comrade. I should have judged rightly under ordinary circumstances, but the levelling plague was abroad, and the dread of it had dominion over the consular mind. (p. 18)

I have a notion that tenderness and pity are affections occasioned in some measure by living within doors; certainly, at the time I speak of, the open-air life which I had been leading, or the wayfaring hardships of the journey, had so strangely blunted me, that I felt intolerant. (p. 19)

Just as illness separated Kinglake and Methley early in the journey, the plague is seen dividing East from West on the first page of Eothen. As Kinglake crosses the border which is the river between Semlin and Belgrade, which two towns hold no communion, he informs us that: "It is the plague, and the dread of the plague, that divides the one people from the other" (p. 1).

The Plague as Oriental

The divisiveness of the plague is one of the powers it demonstrates in being portrayed as an Oriental personage. The plague is a character in Eothen and appears to sum up the Oriental character for the nineteenth-century Western mind. It provides the ambiance of those places where it abides. It is depicted as mysterious, and exciting, with such pomp and majesty as can restore faded splendor. It is God-like -- almighty and unnameable.

All the while that I stayed at Constantinople the plague was prevailing, but not with any violence. Its presence, however, lent a mysterious and exciting, though not very pleasant, interest to my first knowledge of a great oriental city; it gave tone and colour to all I saw and all I felt -- a tone and a colour sombre enough, but true, and well-befitting the dreary monuments of past power and splendour. With all that is most truly oriental in its character the plague is associated: it dwells with the faithful in the holiest quarters of their city. (pp. 23-24)

In its Oriental character, the plague signifies the other. This assumption is made by Kinglake as he contrasts the European belief in contamination and the comfortable terms of fatalism with which Orientals live with the plague. While "[t]he Moslem stalks on serenely, as though he were under the eye of his God, and were 'equal to either fate,'" "[t]he Franks go crouching, and slinking from death, and some (those chiefly of French extraction) will fondly strive to fence out Destiny with shining capes of oilskin!" (p. 25).

Since the plague is Oriental, the Oriental is "at home" with it. So much so, that:

. . . when an Osmanlee dies, one of his dresses is cut up, and a small piece of it is sent to each of his friends as a memorial of the departed -- a fatal present, according to the opinion of the Franks, for it too often forces the living not merely to remember the dead man, but to follow and bear him company. (p. 24)

The Westerner, for whom the plague is clearly the other, attempts to impose barriers between it and himself. The notion of contact suggests compromise. Hence they "will carefully avoid the touch of every human being whom they pass" (p. 25), by crouching and slinking, and by imposing barriers of oilskin.

In its character as other, the plague is amorphous and pervasive; its disintegrative effect must be guarded against

by keeping oneself confined within and the other barricaded out, yet, "It is impossible, however, that your immunity can last for any length of time, if you move about much through the narrow streets and lanes of a crowded city" (p. 25). The Oriental as an amorphous other is similarly depicted in Kinglake's phrase, "one of those coffin-shaped bundles of white linen that implies an Ottoman lady" (p. 26). Coffin-shaped because she is associated with the death-dealing plague, the "Ottoman lady" is as amorphous and undelineated as a bundle of linen imminently coming undone, and indistinct since she is implied rather than being.

In Constantinople, the plague, like the Ottoman bundle of linen, is characterized as softly pervasive: "prevailing but not with any violence," "mysterious and exciting," "lending a tone and colour . . . befitting the dreary monuments of past power and splendour." It evokes the past of a now faded luxury. Its presence is introduced in the second paragraph of the chapter on Constantinople, following a series of exultant praise, heightened by the favorable comparison of Stamboul to Venice. The sea, which in Venice is a "stormy bride," is, in Stamboul, "the bowing slave of the Sultan," and depicted as a bearer, an enticer, a soother of disharmony befitting the atmosphere of this seductive city and the plague which prevailed within it.

Cairo as plague

In the chapter "Cairo and the Plague," the association made in the title is immediately repeated in the opening exclamation, "Cairo and the Plague!" "During the whole time of my stay, the plague was so master of the city, and stared so plain in every street and every alley, that I can't now affect to dissociate the two ideas" (p. 155). In Cairo, the nature of the plague persona is masterful, belligerent and challenging. Its progress in gaining strength provides a framework for the description of Cairene manners, for a contrast between Oriental and European reactions, and for the narrative movement of anecdotal material as each transaction terminates with the death of the cooperating participant.

The Western attitude towards the plague as other, as something requiring confinement away from oneself, is exemplified in Eothen's anecdote about the Levantine banker with whom he transacted some business.

. . . from fear of the plague he had adopted the course usually taken by European residents, and had shut himself up "in strict quarantine," -- that is to say, that he had, as he hoped, cut himself off from all communication with infecting substances.
(pp. 160-61)

It is part of their [European] faith that metals and hempen ropes, and also, I fancy, one or two other substances, will not carry the infection: they likewise believe that the germ of pestilence lying in an infected substance may be destroyed by

submersion in water, or by the action of smoke. They thereby guard the doors of their houses with the utmost care against intrusion, and condemn themselves, with all the members of their family, including European servants, to a strict imprisonment within the walls of their dwelling. Their native attendants are not allowed to enter at all, but they make the necessary purchases of provisions: these are hauled up through one of the windows by means of a rope, and are afterwards soaked in water. (p. 161)

In Eothen's description of these measures, the dominant imagery is that of interment from the other. Included within are all Europeans; excluded are all native elements including contacts with the plague. The contact is a necessary yet tenuous one for provisions hauled up by rope. This is not an attempt at self-sufficiency but an attempt at self-containment. Walls as well as closed doors and windows are the instruments of self-salvation and definition, the weapons against the threat of the outer, opposing other.

Upon his arrival at the banker's residence, Kinglake meets a series of guards and after a delay and an interchange of communications with the interior of "the citadel," is conducted into the apartment. "The room was divided by a good substantial fence of iron bars, and behind these defences the banker had his station" (p. 160). Advancing to the iron fence, Eothen offers his letter of credit, which is received by a pair of tongs.

I placed my letter between the iron fingers: these instantly picked it up as if it were a viper, and conveyed it away to be scorched and purified by fire and smoke. I was disgusted at this reception, and that the idea that anything of mine could carry infection to the poor wretch who stood on the other side of the bars -- pale and trembling, and already meet for death. I looked with something of the Mahometan's feeling upon these little contrivances for eluding fate: and in this instance at least they were vain: a little while and the poor money-changer who had strived to guard the days of his life (as though they were coins) with bolts and bars of iron -- he was seized by the plague, and he died. (p. 161)

"Better fate was mine" (p. 163), boasts Eothen after mockingly declaiming the dreaded anticipation of contamination of a Levantine whose fears and imagination do the work of the plague for him.

By some happy perverseness . . . I took it into my pleasant head that all the European notions about contagion were thoroughly unfounded . . . I therefore determined that the plague should not alter my habits and amusements in any one respect. Though I came to this resolve from impulse, I think that I took the course which was in effect the most prudent, for the cheerfulness of spirits which I was thus enabled to retain discouraged the yellow-winged angel, and prevented him from taking a shot at me. (pp. 163-64)

The French as compromised other

In ridiculing the Levantine whose overwatchfulness had induced the plague, Eothen includes the detail that the afflicted will begin to rave of "people and things once dear. . . . Once more the poor fellow is back at his home in fair

Provence . . ." (p. 163). The European mentality from which Eothen stands apart is treated as French, even as in the opening of the chapter, the person in Turkish dress who accosts him before his entry into Cairo is a Frenchman whose costume superficially "converts" him into an Oriental. "His long flowing beard gave him rather a majestic look, but his briskness of manner and his visible anxiety to accost me seemed strange in an Oriental. The man, in fact, was French, or of French origin" (p. 155).

In a short dialogue this character is portrayed as mildly comical in his hysteria about "LA PESTE -- LA PESTE . . . vous serez -- enfin vous serez COMPROMIS" (p. 155). To each successive acceleration of his warning, Eothen only repeats, "oui, je sais, mais --." "The Frenchman was at last convinced that it was vain to reason with a mere Englishman who could not understand what it was to be 'compromised'" (p. 155).

Kinglake echoes Burton's disdain for the compromised situation of the convert, corroborating the latter's sense of English identity as residing in a normative and imposed separateness from the other which cannot be compromised.

In his way of dealing with the other, Eothen differentiates himself from the French, even as he is conscious of being different from that other himself. "I however so far respected the opinion of the Europeans that I avoided touch-

ing when I could do so without privation or inconvenience" (p. 164). In Eothen, and to an even greater extent in the Algerian Journal, Kinglake is commenting on the differences between his own English character and the European character as exemplified by the French. In this way, he is ever asserting his native place, his English identity, which becomes more apparent in the subtler distinctions between French and English manners than in the grosser dichotomy of East and West.⁴

Kinglake portrays the French stranger who warns him about the plague as a somewhat silly, though well-intentioned character whose obsession with the notion of being COMPROMIS is clearly un-English. He attributes to this character the reasoning that "a mere Englishman" is useless to reason with, especially as he does not participate in the conception of compromise. Eothen's Englishness is steadfast and purposeful, unreasoning but steady and stubborn: "Je sais, mais -- ," yet courteous, for he "thanked him most sincerely for his kindly-meant warning" (p. 155).

The "feminine" manner of the plague in Constantinople, a "compromised" city of "converts," may be aligned with the character of the French as Kinglake perceives it, whereas Cairo's brusque and directly "manly" plague is in his view a more English presence.

In his characterization of the prototypical Levantine

whose hysterical imagination brings the plague upon himself, Kinglake manifests the processes of identification with and subsequent separation from the European, i.e., French, experience of the plague. The series of impressions and conclusions is so specifically drawn that it would seem likely Eothen himself experienced a similar series of fears and deductions:

. . . he watches for the symptoms of plague so carefully that sooner or later they come in truth. The parched mouth is a sign -- his mouth is parched; the throbbing brain -- his brain does throb. . . . There is nothing but the fatal swelling that is wanting . . . immediately he has an odd feel under the arm -- no pain, but a little straining of the skin; he would to God it were his fancy that were strong enough to give him that sensation: this is the worst of all. It now seems to him that he could be happy and contented with his parched mouth, and his throbbing brain, and his rapid pulse, if only he could know that there were no swelling under the left arm . . . (pp. 162-63)

The interiorized perspective of these intensely personal impressions changes to an objective narrative stance with the judgment that "So he does for himself the work of the Plague" (p. 163), and the character comes to be depicted as a Frenchman by a clearly exterior narrator. The distance between narrator and character is reinforced by the final detail that "he becomes the 'life and soul' of some squalling jackal family, who fish him out by the foot from his shallow and sandy grave." The indignity of this last event promotes an objectifying distance as does the

wry humor and imagery indicated by the terms "life and soul," "squalling," "fish . . . out," and "by the foot" (p. 163).

By contrast, the "cheerfulness of spirits" which protected Kinglake acted as a deterrent to the plague and proved "the most prudent." This is his very English character which he retained, a sense of his place which allowed him not to be affected by contact with the other.

In this spirit, despite the raging plague, Eothen moves about the city, and all his contacts, in the anecdotes by which he describes the quality of Cairo, from Osman, the Scotchman born, to the Levantine banker to the hired magician to the Bolognese doctor, successively fall ill and die of the plague. The Englishman in the medical service of the Pasha, whose behavior resembles Kinglake's, is the single character whose recounted history does not end in death from the plague.

The generous fellow, with a good-humored laugh at the terrors of the contagionists, marched straight up to me and forcibly seized my hand, and shook it with manly violence. I felt grateful indeed, and swelled with fresh pride of race, because that my countryman could carry himself so nobly. He soon cured Mysseri, as well as me; and all this he did for no other motives than the pleasure of doing a kindness and the delight of braving a danger.

(p. 176)

The terms of his description of this other Englishman contrast with the terms of shrinking, constraint, narrow-

ness in which he describes the European, i.e., the French attitude. His attitude and the Englishman's are given in terms of largesse: "generous," "good-humored," "marched straight," "manly," "swelled," "nobly."

A similar equanimity of spirit is approved in the Oriental by the English Eothen:

The Orientals, however, have more quiet fortitude than Europeans under afflictions of this sort, and they never allow the plague to interfere with their religious usages . . . the Mahometans take a pride, and a just pride, in allowing their ancient customs undisturbed by the shadow of death. (p. 159)

In his Algerian Journal it is particularly striking that Kinglake is ever making efforts to capture the French colonialist character. His narrative progressed through a series of impressions of the French, more remarked upon than his impressions of the country through which he travels. Through these comments he defines himself in his Englishness as coming from and being situated in a native place. In the entry of September 5, aboard ship he stereotypes his fellow passengers, conscious of being set apart by his Englishness: "Those . . . seem to be as far as I can judge much above the average Frenchman whom a traveller encounters in France. They all seem to be disposed to be civil to me. I am the only Englishman on board."⁵

Once he has arrived and confronts the native other, Kinglake's identification with fellow Westerners, even the

French, provides a distanced perspective from which he may describe the natives as "various races, naturally indolent, now all working hard under French impulsions . . ." (Sept. 8, p. 150). His tone in congratulating the French efficiency is slightly tongue-in-cheek yet approving. On the perfection of the police and army, he condescends to both French and natives in remarking that "France engages a great portion of the natives in her career. . . . Then the French soldier is gay, and there is nothing so good as gaiety for excluding vices" (p. 150).

In this journal, the reactions of the traveller are far more forthright and less refined than in Kinglake's book and are hence difficult to reconcile with the sophisticated and gentlemanly character of Eothen. Numerous comments are open to interpretation and attack on grounds of racism; certainly they are naïve. For example, of the concubine of the captain he meets on September 12, he notes:

She wore the Moorish dress, was very dark, and had features almost negro in character yet the expression of her countenance was rather pleasant than not. She spoke French a little, but the Captain astonished me when he said that this thoroughly African looking creature was the daughter of a woman whose mother was English. (pp. 152-53)

Despite having "almost negro" features, Kinglake's description through terms of double negation portrays her as attractive enough. A French ancestor might have accounted

for her speaking French without astonishing Kinglake as much as the revelation of the English grandmother, since he finds it characteristic of the French to be compromised. On September 14 he records another example of French compromise: "At this place there was a rather nice looking French woman who however in dress and bearing seemed rapidly sinking into the Arab" (p. 155).

Kinglake depicts the nature of the French as essentially silly or trivial by contrast with the practical and manly English, as in his example of an unused road constructed by the French:

Started for Blidak. For some miles the French road is so scientifically directed that nobody uses it.

Saying this I mean that it makes so great sacrifices of directness in order to avoid declivities that the short and steeper paths are followed by every one on horseback and no carriage now runs between Blidak and Medeah . . . I believe it is a defect in a part of the road, and not a failure of traffic that has caused this backsliding of the French civilizers. (Sept. 18, p. 165)

His description of a village encountered on September 13 focuses on the French conception of a village which has been imposed on the Algerian countryside: " . . . this is a rather large collection of thoroughly French looking houses surrounded by a wall: not so formidable for defense as an ordinary garden wall in England, but sufficient for

the purposes of checking any sudden incursion of Arab marauders" (p. 153). While an English garden wall properly walls in the garden, with strength reserved for greater needs, these French walls parallel the French attempts in plague-infested Cairo barely to fence out the other.

The French thus always fall short of the efficiency possible through English directness and openness, of the sort that has protected them from the plague. The Spaniards, a surrogate English in their industriousness and their care for gardens, receive an approving mention, although the observation is made by way of received information: "I am told that the great advantage has accrued to the Colony from the emigration of Spaniards. These men it is said are very industrious and almost all of the gardens in Algeria are cultivated by them" (Sept. 19, p. 166).

Place: nationality and social rank

The natural association of the Englishman and the gentleman is frequently made by Kinglake in his direct equation of the nationality and social place which is his with what is the "good" and true place. In an incident following his gift to the blind Muezzin watcher of the mosque of two or three francs, Kinglake is pleased to observe that:

The gift small as it was being offered in a country where Europe was chiefly represented by Frenchmen produced a great sensation, as I heard the blind

man evidently saying something to the effect of "what manner of man is this and is he surely a Frenchman and yet generous?"

The answer "Ingleiz" solved all the mystery; with no man did the English name ever stand higher than within this little conclave of pious Mahometans. (Sept. 19, p. 167)

Armed with this bit of evidence of the greater reputation and esteem enjoyed by the English in contrast to the French, Kinglake continues to the conclusion that propriety and "correctness" in social behavior are demanded by the observance of one's place, in a manner which recalls Burton's sense of the social order of place.

It appears to me indeed that the rigidly economical habits of modern Frenchmen interfere very much with their influence. A certain carelessness about small sums (a carelessness, totally distinct from extravagance, is necessary to the character so fascinating to the lower classes of all nations -- namely that of a gentleman). (pp. 167-68)

Asserting thereby, not only his Englishness, but his proper rank as a gentleman, Kinglake proceeds to comment in the tone of a nearly parodied "gentleman" with precision and hauteur. For the remainder of this day's entry, the comments and observations are colored by the point of view of the gentleman traveller. The ice brought to him in the "Vestry room" he approves as "the best that was ever frozen for a gentleman" (p. 168). The further comment on the Chief Imaum -- "He is a fine-looking creature -- chosen

partly I should think for his looks" (p. 168) -- exemplifies a certain preciousness in aesthetic consideration which may also fall within the province of a self-conscious gentleman.

On their response to the customs of the Orientals, that is, their adaptability, and hence their maintenance of a true native place, Kinglake judges the French unworthy. He compares them directly with the English, and within the social hierarchy to a "Cockney" -- a degraded sort of English -- out of place, gauche everywhere:

Of all Europeans the Frenchman is perhaps the least capable of understanding the elder world. He is to the world in general just what the now almost exploded "Cockney" was to England, but his very reverence for civilization in the French form makes him the more ready to forbear towards those who walk in darkness when he is told that thus he will best prepare them to receive the light.
(p. 185)

What he is judging is their fear of loss of place by an exposure to the other, hence the weakness of their real commitment to a native place.

Kinglake repeats this commitment to native place through his observations on the French establishment of a home away from home. He is approving although condescending in commenting that:

It is pleasant to see how the skill of the Engineer continues to find, or to make, level grounds through a steep defile like this. I passed the en-

campment of the soldiers engaged in work. By the side of the tents was a cluster of those little huts that the French soldier continues to make for himself so well and so readily. Faggots of dry stems (for there is no wood in this dreary land) were the chief material.

The huts stood together informally, and tho' time had had his part in the grouping, you might almost look for the village spire. (p. 188)

Perhaps it is the spirit of the gentleman-observer which shades the tone of such comments. At any rate, Kinglake would appear to be observing children at play, as he visits the French army and the French colonial villages. He is playing at being the traveller among the French, who are playing at "soldiers" and at "house." They are presented as miniatures in a game. This mode of describing informs the colonial attitude to be found in descriptions of Orientals as others, i.e., as diminutive and childlike, indulging in games and playing at pashas, which is notable in the writing of Burton, among others.

His attitude towards the French is conveyed repeatedly in a delicately mocking tone. They are stereotyped as both childlike and feminine, another attribute frequently imposed upon the Oriental character as other. Of Miliana he says, "It is rather in its infancy at present but is taking as the French say a great development" (Sept. 15, p. 157). He views the French as frivolous or as overinclined towards the aesthetic: "There is a comédie but strange to say no

pharmacie to supply that which seems to be here almost the main condition of life and health -- quinine" (p. 157). Earlier (Sept. 12) he has commented that "no one who does not know France can understand how a description of a meal of many dishes may be consistent with great poverty of feast" (p. 153).

As a gentleman, and an English one at that, Kinglake has no inhibitions about being what a modern would call "ethnocentric"; he is as he is, completely confident of his commitment to place, of his belonging. This is reflected in the following passage with its brittle manner of modification evoking disdain and distance:

These coasting steamers though nominally on the footing of men of war are disgracefully vile and perhaps the vast number of passengers of all degree crowding the decks makes the officers and crew despair of maintaining proper order and neatness. It was sickening to see the duties that one associates with a man of war -- the passing up of hammocks and so forth performed by great gangs (for the crew was immensely numerous) of listless and dirty ragamuffins under the orders of an officer, that an English house dog would bark at, as being perhaps a thief, and at all events a pauper. (Sept. 29, p. 189)

Maintaining the place of a gentleman is Kinglake's way of preserving his separation from the other. In his dealings with the plague hysteria of Europeans, Kinglake's antidote is English cheerfulness, a buoyancy of spirit that places him above the vulgar peril of contamination by the other, by the plague and by the foreign place. He controls

incursions of the other by being on top of things, by miniaturizing the other, and by his humorous observations. Kinglake indulges his English identification while Burton has reason to conceal his.

Kinglake's sense of individuality derives from his identification with his place, as determined within a social context, particularly a class membership. Unlike Burton's brand of rebelliousness and alienation from the English, which is reinforced by his disguise, Kinglake's individualism fulfills the limits of his social identity, and emanates from the solidarity he feels with other Englishmen, particularly those of his class. For Kinglake, Englishness is a club.

Kinglake gives a vivid account of his loss of self at being inelegantly and ineffectually mounted and hence exposed to danger from his lack of presence and the vulnerability he experiences at his loss of dignity.

The difference in my position therefore if I had been well mounted w'd have been imaginary, but not for that unreal. (The confidence one feels in the saddle.)

But now lolling helpless, passive upon the back of a mule like wheat or barley or any other substance innoxious, so useful to man, I felt not only some anxiety as to the channel of an attack but also a kind of shame at my want of means to make my resistance good ag'st even the humblest men of prey.
(p. 173)

Stripped of his own customs, his very humanness is

called into question. He is "helpless, passive," like "wheat or barley or any other substance innoxious, so useful to man," and objectified by the Orientals as "a thing." He feels himself alone "with whole tribes of men madly rating me as a thing of Europe and Christendom" (p. 173).

Here he has included in his description a mounting declamation similar to the French contrast cited above, but rather than the specific allegations against the other who will "take the men women and cattle children of Europe and cut their flesh into slices and burn their limbs in joy-fires" (p. 172), Kinglake assumes a more abstract, masculine "English" tone -- "of men too whose pride is in murder, whose shame is in peace" (p. 173). Here too is an Arabic literary intonation with which he continues the prolongation of mystery and suspense in the following paragraph:

For this is the neighborhood of the Dahra, every step that I took brought me nearer to the famous caves where men chose to die . . . if God w'd not rise and defend them against their enemies. Going West if I were to travel with incessant steps for a thousand days I should still not find the face of man woman or child who w'd not rejoice in tearing my limbs. (pp. 172-73)

The expectation is dark and total in its definition -- "incessant steps for a thousand days," every "face of man woman or child."

This fear extends itself to the fear of loss of the

communal to the individual. Kinglake specifically invokes the English spirit of preservation of individual rights included in the French maxim as an exemplification of the true spirit of place to hold its members.

It is surprising to see the enmity, so to speak with which aggregate France regards the individual Frenchman.

If you broach with Frenchmen the doctrine included in that wisest of political maxims, in French, but acted upon only in England -- the maxim "il ne faut pas trop gouverner" you will draw from almost all of them the utterance of opinion highly unfavourable to the individual character of Frenchmen. (p. 185)

During his stay as a guest of the French army in Algeria, his comments serve again and again to distinguish the French from the English, and to distinguish himself as a gentleman-literary adventurer from the soldier.

It is plain to me that my taste for soldiering makes me as liable to be fascinated by the kindness of a man commanding troops on campaign, just as other people are fascinated by the civility of Kings and Queens. (p. 182)

The men of France shew great pluck in keeping up their spirits against the influence of a forlorn settlement like this. They shew no symptom of languour and every man personally seems to enter into the national object of making and keeping Algérie à jamais française. (p. 183)

Kinglake's respect for the French colonizing army mixes a mild bemusement at their efforts against the wind, in the English plucky style, with the distinctiveness of

the French soldiers whom he observes at close hand. They are thus transformed from that other which is the French nation, who remain irredeemably apart and other. Hence he can be generous towards, almost fond of, these French military since he sees them as a class apart from the French, in a social hierarchy with customs recognizable in their English aspects.

I believe it would be found generally that the French army, and especially that part of it which has had experience, is far from being the most war-loving portion of the French people. (p. 182)

These ventures in Algeria -- by the bye -- the workmen venturers -- seem to me to be the choice men of all France. And the officers too and the soldiers . . . they seem to me . . . to be a noble and dutiful army. In short, as far as the French population is concerned I think Algeria a decided improvement upon France. (p. 156)

Colonel St. Armand is distinguished by and admired for his English and gentlemanly manners:

He was not a mere ordinary wit of the flesh, but a polished man of the world. He had been in England -- had lived a good deal with English people, was fond of them and spoke their language well. We shook hands à la anglaise, exchanging benedictions and parted. (p. 181)

Kinglake's wry manner of poking fun at his own Englishness may perhaps explain certain of these comments, as they virtually parody the young English gentleman traveler. The raised eyebrows and pursed lips of a sort of of-

fended gentleman are suggested in his description of a café chantant where: "The musical performance was all by an indefatigable fellow who incessantly (quite incessantly) strummed a sort of guitar to the one tone which Asia and Africa possess between them" (p. 158). Asia and Africa then are clearly to be lumped together in the poverty of their single note and even more clearly are seen as the other.

The External observer

Kinglake has earlier described himself as "a mere observer of surfaces and outsides," and it is in keeping with this role of traveller that he distances himself from interpreting ("a sort of guitar") but wholeheartedly indulges in commentary and evaluation. Perhaps it is this also which allows him to comment so frequently on the French other which is more like him than the extreme Oriental other in whose midst he finds himself. The surfaces which offer themselves most readily to comment were of the French military impositions -- the colonial overlay. That role directs the hesitant progress of many descriptions of new things: "I am at an odd sort of place here -- an old Moorish house. . . . It seems as far as I can see entirely managed by little Marie . . ." (p. 158).

By remaining on the surface, Kinglake's commentary on

the extreme differences is subdued to a level of observation without comprehension. On Sept. 16 he writes:

Then took place a parley between Ali and the Arabs, and it seemed, by the length to which it extended and the fierce voice of the speakers, to be taking anything but a favourable turn.

This however is the constant effect of discussion carried on in Arabic before one who is ignorant of the language. It always conveys the idea of hostility. At length however it appeared that the Arabs had explained the difficulty . . . and had invited me to pass the night in their camp.
(p. 160)

Kinglake remains clearly external as an observer to whom "it seemed" through the observation of "the length . . . and the fierce voice" to be having an effect completely contrary to its final outcome. From a more experienced point of view, he is able to explain that the Arabic language "always conveys the idea of hostility" when not understood, while he remains nonetheless in external ignorance. What he comes to understand is not the language nor what it signifies, but the role of the outsider or non-speaker.

He learns the role of observer and presents this process as information acquired through experience. On riding across a desert expanse, he learned to observe how his horse "would search the Far East with anxious glance (one knows how his eyes are straining because of his ears set forward . . .)" (p. 164).

The search for an end to the path is carefully observed in the way the repetitive disappointment sets up a distrust in the mind. Kinglake elaborates a metaphor of a swimmer in this section, in keeping with his role of an external observer who understands and conveys his impressions always indirectly. The "distrust in the notion of there being an end" causes him to remember the vastness of Africa as it was conveyed to him in his childhood "by help of a wooden map" (p. 164). He is undergoing the experience directly, but in the role of the traveller, he is always outside the experience and can only "understand" it and relate it by indirect means, by the observation of his horse's behavior, by the memory of the childhood wooden map, by the metaphor of the swimmer.

It is one state and condition of the mind to believe in the geographical fact of a country's immensity, and it is another state and condition of the mind to reach a deep sense of its vastness by toil and straining eyes. . . . And after a while, strange to say, his feeling is that of restraint: the very absence of bounds makes him as it were a prisoner. (p. 164)

Kinglake is more familiar when commenting on the French and, on one occasion, on the Spanish in the Orient than when he comments on the Oriental. In this sense he is not presumptuous, as one is tempted to say of Burton or Lady Hester Stanhope, whose delight is to capture and render the "Oriental mind" as a means of controlling and deal-

ing with that other.

By using a displaced reportage for criticizing the French, Kinglake imposes an air of authority to his evaluations:

If I can trust to the correctness of the impression which my Ali gives there is (and thus is contrary to my notion of the Oriental mind) something of the esprit "moqueur" in the Moors of Algiers. They hate the French it w'd seem very intently, but they can satisfy the cravings of hatred by looking forward to the chance of their expulsion as a result of future events in Europe, and by laughing very heartily at the expense of their conquerors in the meantime. (p. 170)

He places both the Moors and the French as others at a remove from himself in describing one by using the terms of the other. By the example of subscriptions requested for a fête in honor of Marshal Clausel -- "The Moors too are immensely amused by the cunning of the French or rather by the shallowness of it, and the purposes for which it is exercised . . ." (p. 170).

Kinglake is in a position of viewing the French as the other while having some sympathy of identification with them as the Western representatives. His description of the contrast at Tenez of French "civilization" against the natural hardness of the African setting is presented in terms for which English colonialists are often parodied, especially "the pluck and spirit with which [France] clings to her great enterprise" (p. 172).

It is a somewhat melancholy attempt at a French settlement on a part of the African coast quite bare and bald and stern -- repulsive to softhearted men.

On the low ground near the sea are some half-shed half-house buildings with announcements of "bon vin" etc. (p. 171)

Having developed a knowledge and sense of African vastness and looking from the sea upon the desolate ranges of mountains that rise up East and West as far back and away into the infinite South and then comparing against them the rickety "billiards" and coffee shops, estaminets, cafés de l'universe, faded "nouveautés" etc., etc., one passively and almost suddenly receives a deep impression of the pluck and spirit with which France clings to her great enterprise. For those stern mountains and the scarcely less stern plains and vallies that be intervening are not mere solitudes safe and dreary, for they abound with fierce, haggard, bearded men -- the eternal enemies of Europe and Christendom who if for a moment they fancy the Frenchman's promises abated, will rise up and take the men women and cattle children of Europe and cut their flesh into slices and burn their limbs in joyfires. (p. 172)

The inflammatory ending seems to mock the hysteria of the French.

Having sketched this vivid situation of nightmarish terror and peril, Kinglake resumes crisply in the light of a realistic daylight perspective -- "I was enough alive to the ludicrous to see the absurdity of my cavalcade when viewed in the light of a defensive force . . ." (p. 174).

Kinglake's self-mocking tone is assisted by his stated self-consciousness about the context of his feelings. When he arrives at the bivouac, his delight is generated by the

romanticism with which he plays his role of the undaunted traveller, so much so that he transforms the French into romantic characters. His awareness of himself in this role and in this process renders himself (Kinglake, the traveller) as other, as much as the discrepancy between the romanticized French and the actual situation, creates an awareness of this otherness.

At the time I was so delighted to be left to the unrestrained enjoyment of a bivouac among French soldiers that I hardly perceived the sad want of hospitality . . . but the soldiers knew not how I loved them as the quasi-descendants of Napoleon's fighting men, and none of them gave me a word. (p. 175)

Using a French-like structure and cadence, Kinglake mocks himself in his role:

. . . these were all my stores. However, by way of having novelty, if I could not have comforts, I changed bread with my Arabs, and managed for a few minutes to have the air of eating and drinking cheerily.

. . . my next business was to have the air of sleeping . . . I did not sleep . . . if sleeping should fail, I had no very long time to wait for the moment of rising. (p. 176)

. . . I quickly stood up and a slight rubbing of the eyes consistent thus with my role of a man sleeping at his bivouac "completed," as truants would say, "my simple toilet." (p. 176)

Kinglake's Englishness, his sense of place, permit him to perceive differences, to distinguish between his place

and the place of others. For him, a European is the other as the Oriental is the other to the European. What he admires of the "Mahometans" is not merely the likeness of their attitude towards the plague to his, but their adherence to traditions which govern their place.

His own sense of belonging to a place means that he knows he is not in his place but in the place of others. He does not enter these other places as Said would have him do⁶ because he understands who he is and that he cannot be at home everywhere. The fact that he finds all things "strange," "queer," or "foreign" attests to the strength of his own place and allows him to perceive naïvely in both of its senses: freshly and dependently. He is secure in his role as traveller-outsider-foreigner and describes from this displaced stance. Thus he attends to the seemingly petty details which concern the traveller, those things which are taken for granted when one is at home, but which stand out in sharp relief when one is travelling. Inconveniences and slight personal accommodations are often the subject matter of his description, for his trip is not one of exploration. His account is of himself while travelling (hence the title of a character) rather than of places he wants to re-create for the reader. His was the conventional tour of a young man of his class, and his account is not meant as a guide or a study but as an extended personal

anecdote based on highly personal observations.

The importance given to the personally observed in Eothen makes the concern of this travel account the place from which he comes, his perspective and point of view. In short, the place which Eothen concerns is Kinglake's home, rather than the places to which he travels. The personal elements, the national chauvinism, and the observation of what is close at hand account for Kinglake's frequent comments on and concern with other travellers rather than with natives. He is particularly engaged in observing the European traveller, perhaps because his own situation is one of displacement and in addressing this issue, he displaces his apparent focus of interest from the place to the stranger in that place. In his role as traveller-observer, Kinglake addresses this situation of displacement as both his subject and his method.

Notes

¹ Alexander Kinglake, Eothen, intro. Harold Spencer (London: J. M. Dent, 1908?). Subsequent references are to this edition and will be indicated in the text.

² Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 193.

³ Said, Orientalism, p. 193.

⁴ Another reason for focusing on the French rather than on the Oriental as other is Eothen's constant perspective as a displaced observer who remains on the surface of his experience. The ramifications of this narrative view are discussed at a later point in this study.

⁵ Alexander Kinglake, "Algerian Journal September 1845," Appendix I in Gerald de Gaury, Travelling Gent: The Life of Alexander Kinglake (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 148. Subsequent references to this journal will be indicated in the text.

⁶ Said, Orientalism, p. 193.

V

CHAPTER FOUR
CHATEAUBRIAND:
CLOSING THE CIRCLE

V

When Chateaubriand set out on his Oriental voyage in 1806, he had already completed a trip to America in 1791 and had published a memoir of that earlier voyage which mixed a real and an imaginary itinerary. Voyage en Amérique was an attempt to fuse his concepts of the past and of literature into a work in which he represented himself as the last historian of the Indian peoples, as well as their spokesman. Fifteen years later, the voyage of Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris was undertaken, with no intention of being written but with the understanding that Chateaubriand would thereby complete a cycle of studies begun with the trip to America.¹ In his preface, Chateaubriand also declares his conviction that he would be the last Frenchman to travel with the idea, object and sentiments of an ancient Christian pilgrim, thereby asserting a) his uniqueness as the ultimate and b) his representativeness as a spokesman as well as a member of a community.

Examining the role of pilgrim taken by Chateaubriand in his Itinéraire, this fourth and final study of a traveller to the Orient analyzes the varieties of secular pilgrimage suggested by analogy to a religious pilgrimage. It

attempts to define Chateaubriand's manipulation of the concept as metaphor for both a quest in a literary archive, leading in his case to an individual identity, and as a nationalistic assertion in history.

Referring to the content of his Itinéraire as an account of the individual, Chateaubriand says: "Je prie donc le lecteur de regarder cet itinéraire, moins comme un Voyage que comme des Mémoires d'une année de ma vie" (p. 701). ". . . Au reste c'est l'homme, beaucoup plus que l'auteur que l'on verra partout; je parle éternellement de moi . . ." (p. 702). At the same time, Chateaubriand entreats the traveller to be a representative of truth or a historian whose first-hand, individual experience is equated with reality:

. . . Un voyageur est une espèce d'historien: son devoir est de raconter fidèlement ce qu'il a vu ou ce qu'il a entendu dire; il ne doit rien inventer, mais aussi il ne doit rien omettre; et, quelles que soient ses opinions particulières, elles ne doivent jamais l'aveugler au point de taire ou de dénaturer la vérité. (p. 702)

This manner of associating the traveller with the historian as individual verifiers and representatives of truth has also been seen in the previous section. Like Burton, too, Chateaubriand is concerned with placing himself in history among other writers and travellers. However, Chateaubriand's use of the structure of a pilgrimage to re-

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count that year of his life employs a concept of place which draws upon its circular and communal aspects engendered by the process of pilgrimage. As the ultimate pilgrim, Chateaubriand is drawn to an abiding place which bestows continuity by virtue of a pilgrim's participation in the communal activity of his pilgrimage. Through this process Chateaubriand expects his accomplishment to reflect upon his individual soul.

For Burton, on the other hand, achievement is equated with the success of his disguise as a pilgrim. He is concerned with place as a social entity, defined by his individual activities in the present moment. While Chateaubriand's relation to place is controlled by a concept of time which emphasizes history and the past in a circular context, Burton's attainments treat place as an attainable goal, hence subject to time which occurs in measurable and discrete units.

In the role of pilgrim, Chateaubriand focuses on his activity as an individual who re-creates the place through his communal act, thereby removing the pilgrimage from its religious context, while retaining the circular and communal structures associated with it which were discussed in the introductory section. In his secular pilgrimage Chateaubriand revalidates place and is validated by it with respect to his identity as a French national and a writer.

Evoking the notion of a Christian pilgrimage at its onset, the Itinéraire is soon seen as most importantly a literary pilgrimage. As a voyage to significant places of literature, the Itinéraire serves also as a pilgrimage in search of self, by socially affirming Chateaubriand's place in the literary archive. In its intimation of the significance of memory and in its consciousness of childhood as the repositories of self, concepts which were to develop more fully later in the century, the Itinéraire also served as an incipient pilgrimage of the Self.

Structures of pilgrimage

Using the structure of the pilgrimage throughout the Itinéraire and the metaphor of pilgrim for an identity, Chateaubriand manipulates the pilgrimage forms in two main ways: he conflates religious and nationalistic issues in a pilgrimage in the history of France and he secularizes the pilgrimage into a literary archaeological expedition.

Forms of spontaneous and normative communitas indicated by Turner as common to pilgrimages are experienced and noted by Chateaubriand throughout his voyage.² As an instant confidant and an ad hoc emissary, he finds himself immersed in a community in the Orient which links him to France by means of an association with compatriots with whom he would otherwise have little contact.

C'est une singulière destinée que celle du voyageur! Le matin il quitte un hôte dans les larmes, le soir, il en trouve un autre dans la joie; il devient le dépositaire de mille secrets. . . .
 Une autre chose me touchait encore beaucoup: c'était la simplicité avec laquelle on me chargeait de diverses commissions pour la France, pour Constantinople, pour l'Egypte. On me demandait des services comme on m'en rendait; mes hôtes . . . étaient devenus mes amis. (p. 913)

a. Pilgrimage in French history

In using the pilgrim as a metaphoric identity, Chateaubriand merits an earned place as the result of his pilgrimage. His sense of loss in the Orient as a Frenchman has already been noted. Throughout his voyage in the Orient he associates the traces of a French presence and past with the goodness and authenticity of the place. Oriental places are seen and rewritten as French places. The Orient is thus an occasion for referring to France. For Chateaubriand travelling is a way of affirming his home. Traveling in the Orient is a way of remaining at home for him, while for Nerval the state of motion which travel represented was the only way of simulating the feeling of being at home.

As a patriotic pilgrim, Chateaubriand traces the history of the French in the Orient, confounding his French chauvinism with several other versions of the pilgrim. When he claims: "Je serai peut-être le dernier Français

sorti de mon pays pour voyager en Terre Sainte, avec les idées, le but et les sentiments d'un ancien pèlerin . . ."

(pp. 769-70), he is stressing his French identity above all, while locating it within an ancient religio-historical tradition: " . . . du moins la foi me reste; à cette marque, je pourrais encore me faire reconnaître des antiques Croisés" (p. 770).

Chateaubriand's place is apprehended as his own home, the place of his birth and his personal past. France thus is given the priority due to place itself as "the first of things." As a place in France's past, the Orient is seen as subordinate to French history. Throughout his voyage there, Chateaubriand's French chauvinism is apparent in his expressions of regret at France's losses as a dominant power, in comparisons that prove the inferiority of the degraded Orient, and in his attacks on the English in the Orient.

In Egypt he made highly unfavorable comparisons between the place visited and his native land. On the Nile he found nothing worthy of the magnificent plains but the memory of "la gloire de ma patrie" as he beheld the remains of the new civilization which the genius of France had installed on the Nile.

Mais il n'est point de beaux pays sans l'indépendance; le ciel le plus serein est odieux si l'on est enchaîné sur la terre. Je ne trouvais digne

de ces plaines magnifiques que les souvenirs de la gloire de ma patrie: je voyais les restes des monuments d'une civilisation nouvelle, apportée par le génie de la France sur les bords du Nil; je songeais en même temps que les lances de nos chevaliers et les baïonnettes de nos soldats avaient renvoyé deux fois la lumière d'un si brillant soleil; avec cette différence que les chevaliers, malheureux à la journée de Massoure, furent vengés par les soldats à la bataille des Pyramides. (p. 1137)

In Cairo the retention of traces of the French presence there, such as the public participation of women, visible signs of liberty, the styles of dress, and the gardens, provides for Chateaubriand the identity of the place.

Elle conserve encore beaucoup de traces du passage des Français: les femmes s'y montrent avec moins de réserve qu'autrefois; on est absolument maître d'aller et d'entrer partout où l'on veut; l'habit européen, loin d'être un objet d'insulte, est un titre de protection. Il y a un jardin assez joli, planté en palmiers avec des allées circulaires, qui sert de promenade publique; c'est l'ouvrage de nos soldats. (p. 1149)

In the Holy Land itself Chateaubriand conflates his nationalism with his religion, supporting the claims of the one by those of the other. His pilgrimage into the common past of Christianity and of France fused by the Crusades converts religious relics into patriotic symbols. Chateaubriand is ever on the lookout for the French trace. At the monuments of Godfrey and Balwin, he reminds himself that: "Ces cendres sont des cendres françaises et les seules qui soient ensevelies à l'ombre du Tombeau de Jésus-Christ.

Quel titre d'honneur pour ma patrie!" (p. 1032).

France's loss of her claim to Oriental colonies is analogous for Chateaubriand to the situation of exile sustained by the religious in the Holy Land. In a convent in Jerusalem Chateaubriand met a monk who was a native of France but whose demeanor during their meeting was curt and cold. Nevertheless, Chateaubriand was moved: "Je n'ai jamais entendu chez l'étranger, le son d'une voix française sans être ému" (p. 991). When asked if he would not like to see France again or write his family, the monk replied: "Qui est-ce qui se souvient encore de moi en France? Sais-je si j'ai encore des frères et des soeurs? J'espère obtenir, par le mérite de la Crèche du Sauveur, la force de mourir sans importuner personne, et sans songer à un pays où je suis oublié" (p. 992). Chateaubriand interprets the man's withdrawal as resulting from the fact that: "... ma présence avait reveillé dans son coeur des sentiments qu'il cherchait à éteindre. Telles sont les destinées humaines: un Français gémit aujourd'hui sur la perte de son pays, aux mêmes bords dont les souvenirs inspirèrent autrefois le plus beau des cantiques sur l'amour de la patrie" (p. 992).

As a pilgrim in the history of France, Chateaubriand is able to find vindication of his country everywhere he travels. The Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem is reported

by the French pilgrim to have assured him that: " . . . l'Asie entière attendait l'arrivée des Français; que s'il paraissait un seul soldat de ma nation dans son pays, le soulèvement serait général" (p. 1068).

As for the Fathers of the Holy Land, Chateaubriand congratulates himself on appearing to them as a redemptive representative of the French nation: "Il faut être dans la position des Pères de Terre Sainte pour comprendre la plaisir que leur causa mon arrivée. Ils se crurent sauvés par la présence d'un seul Français" (p. 982).

France is viewed as having a particular religious mission in defending the monks in Jerusalem against "les inventions les plus bizarres du despotisme oriental" (p. 1100). On examining a catalogue of the register of firmans obtained by the fathers to secure protection, Chateaubriand describes himself as deeply moved to see how frequently the records indicate the protection was obtained on the solicitation of the French ambassador. Chateaubriand exults:

Honneur à un pays qui, du sein de l'Europe, veille jusqu'au fond de l'Asie à la défense du misérable, et protège le faible contre le fort! Jamais ma patrie ne m'a semblé plus belle et plus glorieuse, que lorsque j'ai retrouvé les actes de sa bienfaisance, cachés à Jérusalem dans le registre où sont inscrites les souffrances ignorées et les iniquités inconnues de l'opprimé et de l'opprimeur. (p. 1101)

In this elaborate praise of France as the saviour, Chateau-

briand connects himself to that greatness and glory which constitutes his birthland. Through his perusal of these records, he traces a pilgrimage through France's past in the Orient.

In addition to the conflation of religion and nationalism in which Chateaubriand assumes the superiority of France as the protector of Christianity, there is also an assumption of the primacy of France in Western civilization. Celebrating the French remnant as an indicator of identity of place, Chateaubriand also identifies as French all Western distinctions from the Orient.

The oasis of civilization maintained by Christianity in both the Oriental and the American heathen wilderness parallels for Chateaubriand the civilized oasis to be found wherever the French colonizing influence remains. His stay at Smyrna, while almost "reinstating" him at home by obliging him to assume the appearance of civilization in this "second Paris," affects him as a mirage of home:

Mon séjour à Smyrne me força à une nouvelle métamorphose; je fus obligé de reprendre les airs de la civilisation, de recevoir et de rendre des visites. Les négociants qui me firent l'honneur de me venir voir, étaient riches; et, quand j'allai les saluer à mon tour, je trouvai chez eux des femmes élégantes qui semblaient avoir reçu le matin leurs modes de chez Leroi. Placé entre les ruines d'Athènes et les débris de Jérusalem, cet autre Paris, où j'étais arrivé sur un bateau grec, et d'où j'allais sortir avec une caravane turque, coupait d'une manière piquante les scènes de mon voyage; c'était une

espèce d'oasis civilisée, une Palmyre au milieu des déserts et de la barbarie. (pp. 923-24)

In an attitude which telescopes his Western and Christian identity into a French one, Chateaubriand congratulates himself for being recognizable by his Frankish dress to a group of religious in Syria who greet him with great affection in accepting him as one of them.

Quoique ces Pères fussent Espagnoles et qu'ils parlassent un italien difficile à entendre, nous nous serrâmes la main comme de véritables compatriotes. Je descendis avec eux dans la chaloupe; nous entrâmes dans le port par une ouverture pratiquée entre des rochers, et dangereuse même pour un caïque . . . (p. 964)

Despite their being Spaniards who spoke an incomprehensible Italian, Chateaubriand recognizes them as "real countrymen" in their handshakes. Like Kinglake, Chateaubriand assumes Western civilization is the province of his own native land.

As a Western Christian, Chateaubriand feels himself "at home" with his hosts, and uses this identification to reinforce his feeling of separateness from the "barbarous" other of the Orient. "Mes hôtes me conduisirent d'abord à la chapelle, que je trouvai illuminée, et où ils remercièrent Dieu de leur avoir envoyé un frère: touchantes institutions chrétiennes, par qui le voyageur trouve des amis et des secours dans les pays les plus barbares . . ." (p.

964).

The spirit of nationalism which impels Chateaubriand's pilgrimage into French history as a means of apprehending the Orient is derived from his identification of his own native place with place itself. With this view he purports to understand the abstract significance of a home and a homeland for the human species. When he and Joseph, for whom Smyrna was a second country, perceive that land, Joseph's unrestrained joy grieves his companion. " . . . le plaisir de ce pauvre garçon m'affligeait presque, en me faisant d'abord penser à mon pays; en me montrant ensuite que l'axiome, ubi benè, ibi patria, n'est que trop vrai pour la plupart des hommes" (p. 919).

In another rare example of Chateaubriand's attempted cultural relativity, while aboard a felucca, he notes that the vessel is the property of one family who had created a self-contained home of it. He remarks the micro-cosmic society of this family who have cleaned and decorated their boat "comme une maison chérie," and finds it virtuous that such a family puts "ainsi toute sa fortune dans un vaisseau, changer de climats sans quitter ses foyers, et se soustraire à l'esclavage en menant sur la mer le vie des Scythes" (p. 917). His insistence on the barbarousness of the Orient aborts his relativism as he uses the reflection to comment on the inferiority of the Orient as a homeland

for anyone since it is marked by the servitude of its people. The home which these people have made for themselves takes its locus from the family unit and exists in a state divorced from a national homeland.

Chateaubriand's theorizing on the value of home never transcends the identification of the primacy of his own home. Thus places in the Orient, homes of others, merely serve to validate Chateaubriand's own home, France, by providing the contrast, always uncomplimentary to the Orient and reminding Chateaubriand of his own country. At Kelenbe, the sky was cloudy and cold as in France. The pleasure he derives from the experience is not in the weather or the place itself, but in the power of evocation of his own country:

. . . le ciel était nébuleux, et l'air froid comme en France; c'était la première fois que je remarquais cette espèce de ciel dans l'Orient. Telle est la puissance de la patrie; j'éprouvais un plaisir secret à contempler ce ciel grisâtre et attristé, au lieu de ce ciel pur que j'avais eu si longtemps sur ma tête. (p. 934)

Simultaneously, the degradation of the Orient reflects the past now degraded glory of France in the Orient. Chateaubriand's comments while setting the Orient apart as a barbarous place also evoke a nostalgic identification with France's loss of its place in the Orient. The pilgrimage in French history is a pilgrimage of regret and nostalgia

evoked by Chateaubriand's intention as the ultimate French pilgrim.

A telling anecdote in this regard concerns his response to seeing a group of young Bedouins imitating the French military exercises, preserving, in Chateaubriand's view, the memory of French valor. Chateaubriand uses diminutive terms to describe them as "une troupe de petits Arabes tout nus qui faisaient l'exercices avec des bâtons de palmiers." Chateaubriand's pride in hearing French parroted by this childlike assembly is itself a reflection of the debased condition of the French remnant.

. . . quand on me parle d'un soldat français, le coeur me bat; mais voir de petits Bédouins dans les montagnes de la Judée, imiter nos exercices militaires et garder le souvenir de notre valeur; les entendre prononcer ces mots qui sont, pour ainsi dire, les mots d'ordre de nos armées, et les seuls que sachent nos grenadiers, il y aurait eu de quoi toucher un homme moins moureux que moi, de la gloire de sa patrie. Je ne fus pas si effrayé que Robinson quand il entendit parler son perroquet, mais je ne fus pas moins charmé que ce fameux voyageur. Je donnai quelques médins au petit bataillon, en lui disant: "En avant: Marche!" (p. 979)

By contrast, Kinglake's comments on the French army, whose exception from the French nation was made on the basis of their English aspects, reflected the successful history of England in the Orient.

b. Literary pilgrimage

As we have seen, the Itinéraire is a pilgrimage to the Orient as a place in the history of France, reflecting its history as a Christian and Western nation. Through this pilgrimage Chateaubriand asserts his identity as a Frenchman, a Christian and Westerner. The Itinéraire is also a literary pilgrimage through which Chateaubriand sought his place in literature, retracing the paths of ancient and contemporary travellers and representing these places in a definitive and unique literary account.

In his literary pilgrimage Chateaubriand considered it his duty to preserve the past through the endeavor of literature, rescuing it from a debased present, to represent it. The past as well as the places in which he travelled demanded to be represented, and Chateaubriand's sense of himself as a unique individual endowed him with the priestly role of representing them as a spokesman, their last historian, the last Frenchman and pilgrim. His sense of being the "last" demands and sanctifies his commitment to the past. As the designated representative, Chateaubriand's role as pilgrim suggests a circular structure in the Itinéraire, which itself served as a model to many successors, in secularized pilgrimages which in turn metamorphosed into pilgrimages of the Self, such as that of Nerval.

Chateaubriand's pilgrimage stands firmly entrenched in

literary purposes and usages. The literary communitas reached backward to the past, to traditions which could be reaffirmed by his participation and re-creation of them. In speaking of Spon, Wheler, Fanelli, Chandler and Leroi in the first memoir of an Introduction on Greece, Chateaubriand notes his role in their work: " . . . le tableau tracé par ces savants hommes est bien loin d'être complet . . . en profitant de leurs travaux, je tâcherai de suppléer à ce qu'ils ont omis" (p. 712).

Chateaubriand's tendency to impress upon his reader the vast stores of a library, the imminence of literary pasts upon his experience of travel, has the effect of providing a text of armchair travel. While the authenticity of his experiences has sometimes been suspect, it is subordinate, if not irrelevant, to his ability to provide a literary experience.³ The comparative structure of the Itinéraire in its quest for location, its priorities in ordering his place in the comparative order of literature rather than his experiences, demonstrates learnedness and an a priori depiction of places visited.

Of course, an edited and published work is in this respect no different from a work of fiction: the writer of "real" things -- of autobiography, memoir, travel accounts -- has selected and ordered in advance of his writing. This point seems to me evident and not specifically at is-

sue here. Rather, the impression given by Chateaubriand in presenting a sorted-out comparison of previous literature on a place seems to demonstrate a condition of a history of knowledge or at least of his personal history, which has little of the directly observed about it.

By comparison, the archivist element in Doughty takes its impetus from a scientific sense of classification and accumulation. What he imparts in Arabia Deserta is an account which was left him as a result of his experience. Of course he too has a scholarly past which conditions his experience and a strong sense of his Englishness, his native place. But in contrast with Chateaubriand's brand of scholarship, of comparison, of ordering, Doughty's experience changed him. What he is ordering and classifying is the actual experience of his travels and the accumulations of knowledge he has acquired. Chateaubriand embarked on his voyage to prove or to satisfy what he already knows, perhaps to fill in minor details, to locate himself with a past, to reassure himself of his place in this past, while Doughty set out to learn and is himself proved by his travel.

Literature as the "first of things"

By intention, Chateaubriand's purpose in making the pilgrimage is embedded in literary purposes -- to finish

the description of places involved in Les Martyrs because: "j'ai besoin de suppléer à ce qui me manque par toutes sortes de travaux" (p. 769). He would thus complete "le cercle des études que je m'étais toujours promis d'achever. . . . Je voulais aussi accomplir le pèlerinage de Jérusalem" (p. 769).

In the preface to the first edition, Chateaubriand claims, "Je n'ai point fait un voyage pour l'écrire. . . . J'allais chercher des images; voilà tout" (p. 701). However, because it is impossible to see Sparta, Athens, Jerusalem without making reflections upon them, he has kept these in a travel diary which has been published as the Itinéraire. It should be viewed by the reader "moins comme un Voyage que comme des Mémoires d'une année de ma vie" (p. 701). The pain, research, and hardship this work has cost him ensure that "j'ai scrupuleusement rempli mes devoirs d'écrivain." Had he done nothing more than describe in detail the ruins of Lacedaemon, discover a new tomb at Mycenae, and determine the ports of Carthage, "je mériterais encore la bienveillance des voyageurs" (pp. 701-2).

These comments demonstrate Chateaubriand's primary involvement with literature and his engagement as a literary pilgrim who will undergo a ritual of initiation, voluntarily taken but infused by obligations inherent in its structure as a communal enterprise.⁴ His consciousness of the circu-

larity of the endeavor and the sacramental nature of his achievement are also indicated.

The literary perspective is consistently argued, as evidenced in his comments on the good fortune of ancient travellers in finding religion among their readers and on the necessity of seeing a country with its traditions and recollections. It is, in fact, with the Bible in hand that a traveller ought to visit the Holy Land, as he should travel to Greece and Italy accompanied by Homer and Vergil.

Les premiers voyageurs étaient bien heureux; ils n'étaient point obligés d'entrer dans toutes ces critiques: premièrement, parce qu'ils trouvaient dans leurs lecteurs la religion qui ne dispute jamais avec la vérité; secondement, parce que tout le monde était persuadé que le seul moyen de voir un pays tel qu'il est, c'est de le voir avec ses traditions et ses souvenirs. C'est en effet la Bible et l'Evangile à la main que l'on doit parcourir la Terre Sainte. Si l'on veut y porter un esprit de contention et de chicane, la Judée ne vaut pas la peine qu'on l'aille chercher si loin. Que dirait-on d'un homme qui, parcourant la Grèce et l'Italie, ne s'occuperait qu'à contredire Homère et Virgile?
(p. 1031)

The primacy of literary tradition and the literary place is insisted upon. Since truth resides in literary tradition, Chateaubriand refers his reader to others within this tradition when it is appropriate:

L'auteur des Lettres de quelques Juifs portugais, est un des ces hommes dont les cabales littéraires ont étouffé la renommée durant sa vie, mais dont la réputation croîtra dans la postérité. Je renvoie

le lecteur curieux à ces excellents Mémoires; il les trouvera aisément, puisqu'ils viennent d'être publiés, et qu'ils existent dans une collection qui n'est pas rare. Je n'ai point la prétention de surpasser les maîtres; je sais jeter au feu le fruit de mes études, et reconnaître qu'on a fait mieux que moi. (p. 1062)

Chateaubriand's experience of places is deferred to pre-existing literature. The use of a well-known literary reference allows for a shorthand description of common scenes such as the color, movement and confusion of a caravan. Chateaubriand condenses that scene into an abstraction whereas Burton's caravan scene was stereotyped and reproduced.

Tous ces objets, tantôt distincts et vivement éclairés, tantôt confus et plongés dans une demi-ombre, selon la couleur et le mouvement des feux, offraient une véritable scène des Mille et Une Nuits. Il n'y manquait que le calife Aroun al Raschild, le visir Giaggar, et Mesrour, chef des eunuques. (p. 925)

While viewing the event in progress previously known to Chateaubriand in a literary work, he reincarnates the literary image through his unique perspective of distance, light and shade.

Chateaubriand's task as literary pilgrim is to re-vivify literary places. In his "Préface de l'itinéraire pour l'édition des oeuvres complètes" (p. 695), he takes pride in his successful re-creation and reaffirmation, given that Jerusalem in 1806 when he set out on his voyage was nearly

forgotten and seemed to be at the end of the world, beset by grave peril and countless obstacles.

J'ai donc eu le très petit mérite d'ouvrir la carrière, et le très grand plaisir de voir qu'elle a été suivie après moi. En effet mon Itinéraire fut à peine publié, qu'il servit de guide à une foule de voyageurs. Rien ne le recommande au public que son exactitude; c'est le livre de postes des ruines: j'y marque scrupuleusement les chemins, les habitacles et les stations de la gloire.
(p. 695)

Finding Constantinople a disagreeable place of residence, Chateaubriand felt his sense of pilgrimage to those places with literary significance confirmed: "Le séjour de Constantinople me pesait. Je n'aime à visiter que les lieux embellis par les vertus ou par les arts, et je ne trouvais dans cette patrie des Phocas et des Bajazet ni les unes ni les autres" (pp. 944-45).

Using the Orient as a blank page, Chateaubriand projected his literary concerns and dreams upon it, earning his place in the literary tradition. The Itinéraire, based on his voyage in 1805-06, followed the publication of Génie du Christianisme, and proceeded from the premises and conclusions of that work. The correspondence between the Itinéraire and Les Martyrs is claimed by the author at the beginning of "Voyage de la Grèce":

J'avais arrêté le plan des Martyrs: la plupart des livres de cet ouvrage étaient ébauchés; je ne crus pas devoir mettre la dernière main avant d'avoir vu

les pays où ma scène était placée: d'autres ont leurs ressources en eux mêmes; moi j'ai besoin de suppléer à ce qui me manque par toutes sortes de travaux. Ainsi, quand on ne trouvera pas dans cet Itinéraire la description de tels ou tels lieux célèbres, il faudra la chercher dans Les Martyrs.
(p. 769)

Hence the Oriental voyage and its place descriptions served the purpose of his earlier treatise. Given this intention, the Orient was a literary place which served as background to Chateaubriand's own literary creation, imagined through preconceived use in his writing rather than from a pragmatic experience or as an independent entity outside his imagination.

Chateaubriand's concerns in his literary pilgrimage are threefold: the communion with other writers, past, present, and future, the duty to his readers whom he represents, and the expression of his unique place as an individual and a writer within the archives of literature. The interaction of these concerns is particularly heightened in his description of the Holy Sepulchre, as he first presents a critique of the description of a French writer, then outlines the reasons for his choice of Deshayes as the most acceptable guide. Viewing the footprint of Christ in the rock, Chateaubriand stands apart from, while respecting, the community by whom it has been concluded that the print is authentic:

Je me tais, par respect, sans pourtant être convaincu, devant des autorités considérables: saint Augustin, saint Jérôme, saint Paulin, Sulpice Sévère, le vénérable Bède, la tradition, tous les voyageurs anciens et modernes, assurent que cette trace marque un pas de Jésus-Christ. (p. 1044)

It is a literary faith to which Chateaubriand enjoins his reader. He proposes to his fellow traveller in terms of "if we" and "what should we say." The reader included in the first person plural is warned not to contradict or be skeptical. In this, Chateaubriand's concern seems to betray a certain anxiety of falling into similar paths. As ritual initiate he undergoes temptations which must be resisted. For this reason perhaps, the communal "we" is strongly asserted. Putting aside the temptation, Chateaubriand reflects that, "Voilà pourtant comme on voyage aujourd'hui . . ." and in a warning to himself as well, says it is an "effet sensible de notre amour-propre qui veut nous faire passer pour habiles, en nous rendant dédaigneux" (p. 1031).

Mindful of his duty, Chateaubriand at the Holy Sepulchre remembers that "Les lecteurs chrétiens demanderont peut-être à présent quels furent les sentiments que j'éprouvai en entrant dans ce lieu redoutable; je ne puis réellement le dire" (p. 1031). Only by confessing his fixation upon the stone, where he stands as an individual, feeling nothing but his own weakness, is he able to repre-

sent his experience. In this individual and personal way, he, the accepting victim, is like Christ himself, alone in his passion while representing mankind: " . . . je ne sentis que ma faiblesse." That is, he felt himself as an individual ego.

On his approach to Constantinople, Chateaubriand takes stock of his ritual passage as pilgrim: "Il y avait deux mois, jour pour jour et presque heure pour heure, que j'étais sorti de la capitale des peuples barbares. Que de choses n'avais-je point vues dans ce court espace de temps! Combien ces deux mois m'avaient vieilli!" (p. 940)..

a. Literary community

Chateaubriand's enthusiasm for Tasso's description of Jerusalem remarks the correspondence of the geography with the description. The trip to Jerusalem, Tasso in hand, serves to re-create his work.

. . . j'ouvris la Jérusalem Délivrée, et je fus sur-le-champ frappé de la vérité de l'exposition du Tasse . . . (p. 1103)

Rien de plus net, de plus clair, de plus précis, que cette description; elle eût été faite sur les lieux qu'elle ne serait pas plus exacte. La forêt, placée à six milles du camp, du côté de l'Arabie, n'est point une invention du poète: Guillaume de Tyr parle du bois où le Tasse fait naître tant de merveilles. Godefroy y trouva des poutres et des solives pour la construction de ses machines de guerre. On verra combien le Tasse avait étudié les originaux, quand je traduirai les historiens des Croisades. . . . (p. 1104)

On est absolument sur les lieux. . . . Le terrain entre la ville et le camp est tel que le Tasse l'a représenté, assez uni et propre à devenir un champ de bataille au pied des murs de Solime.
(p. 1104)

Tasso's poetic license is sanctioned and his decisions of setting are sought. Chateaubriand does not seek geographical and historical congruence; he seeks to determine Tasso's intention, to revivify the literature. When Tasso is criticized, it is for his negligence in adhering to Scriptural record.

Il n'est pas aussi aisé de déterminer le lieu où la fugitive Herminie rencontre le pasteur au bord du fleuve: cependant, comme il n'y a qu'un fleuve dans le pays, qu'Herminie est sortie de Jérusalem par la porte d'orient, il est probable que le Tasse a voulu placer cette scène charmante au bord du Jourdain. Il est inconcevable, j'en conviens, qu'il n'ait pas nommé ce fleuve; mais il est certain que ce grand poète ne s'est pas assez attaché au souvenirs de l'Écriture, dont Milton a tiré tant de beautés. (p. 1107)

Chateaubriand finds it necessary to point out an error but is as quick to point out that "Le poète a confondu ou s'est plu à confondre la tour de David avec la tour Antonia" (p. 1108). Approvingly, he perceives that

tous les poètes épiques ont été des hommes très instruits; surtout ils étaient nourris des ouvrages de ceux qui les avaient précédés dans la carrière de l'épopée: Virgile traduit Homère; le Tasse imite à chaque strophe quelque passage d'Homère, de Virgile, de Lucain, de Stace; Milton prend partout, et joint à ses propres trésors les trésors de ses devanciers. (p. 1111)

Thus these writers correspond to his discernment of a com-
munitas of literati who study their predecessors or borrow
and enlarge on them.

When Chateaubriand deems another source satisfactory
he concedes that he ought to abstain. At Jericho, Chateau-
briand relates:

L'abbé Mariti a très bien recueilli les faits
historiques touchant cette ville célèbre; il a
aussi parlé des productions de Jéricho, de la ma-
nière d'extraire l'huile de Zaccon, etc.: il serait
donc inutile de le répéter, à moins de faire, comme
tant d'autres, un Voyage avec des Voyages. (p. 1010)

At other times, he finds it necessary to explain his
decision to repeat, with all his hesitations and rational-
ization:

Tous les voyageurs ont décrit cette église, la
plus vénérable de la terre, soit que l'on pense en
philosophe ou en Chrétien. Ici j'éprouve un véri-
table embarras. Dois-je offrir la peinture exacte
des Lieux Saints? Mais alors je ne puis que répéter
ce que l'on a dit avant moi: jamais sujet ne fut
peut-être moins connu des lecteurs modernes, et
toutefois jamais sujet ne fut plus complètement
épuisé. Dois-je omettre le tableau de ces lieux
sacrés? Mais ne sera-ce pas enlever la partie la
plus essentielle de mon voyage et en faire dis-
paraître ce qui en est et la fin et le but? Après
avoir balancé longtemps, je me suis déterminé à
décrire les principales Stations de Jérusalem, par
les considérations suivantes:

1^o Personne ne lit aujourd'hui les anciens
pèlerinages à Jérusalem; et ce qui est très usé
paraîtra vraisemblablement tout neuf à la plupart
des lecteurs;

2° L'église du Saint-Sépulcre n'existe plus; elle a été incendiée de fond en comble depuis mon retour de Judée; je suis, pour ainsi dire, le dernier voyageur qui l'ait vue; et j'en serai, par cette raison même, le dernier historien.

Mais comme je n'ai point la prétention de refaire un tableau déjà très bien fait, je profiterai des travaux de mes devanciers, prenant soin seulement de les éclaircir par des observations. (pp. 1017-18)

Chateaubriand's mission as a literary pilgrim is emphasized by his seizing upon the opportunity to revivify for the contemporary reader the ancients whom no one reads and to give them rebirth by completing the circle -- what is old is new.

Another mode of expressing his unique role within the literary communitas is seen in his sense of being a surrogate pilgrim for his reader. An obligation to a community of readers for whom Chateaubriand is endeavoring and writing the pilgrimage is variously alluded to. Chateaubriand stresses his duty to his readership by virtue of being the last traveller and thus the last historian of places like the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (p. 1018). This obligation is often met by typically tourist-guide spurts with a prefatory justification, supported by a use of the first person plural and the second person to heighten the process of seeing which is to be vicariously observed by the reader. In reviewing details of private life in Jerusalem, Chateaubriand passes over certain places around the city:

Comme ils n'ont rien de remarquable, excepté les noms qu'ils portent, ce n'est pas la peine d'en entretenir le lecteur.

Je viens donc à ces petits détails qui piquent la curiosité, en raison de la grandeur des lieux dont on parle. On ne se peut figurer qu'on vive à Athènes et à Sparte comme chez soi. Jérusalem surtout . . . il semble que tout doive être extraordinaire dans cette ville extraordinaire. Voyons ce qu'il en est, et commençons la description du couvent des Pères latins.

On y pénètre par une rue voûtée. . . . Au bout de cette voûte, on rencontre une cour formée par le bûcher. . . . On aperçoit à droite, dans cette cour, un escalier . . . (p. 1088)

b. Literary pilgrim as representative

In the role of literary pilgrim, Chateaubriand is committed to personal goals as an individual writer as well as to duties demanded by the literary communitas, which includes other writers and his readers. The obligation of literary pilgrim to his reader is dutifully to represent the voyage so that the reader may vicariously undertake it also. The writer is bound to put the reader in his place. That duty to reader is apparent in his anxiety to include everything judged worthwhile. Chateaubriand's constant justification of his judgments and decisions calls attention throughout the Itinéraire to a highly self-conscious awareness and practice of this obligation. The direct address to his reader similarly recalls that duty, as does

the use of a description in the second person, step by step, intended to "place" the reader in that very spot.

The travel-writer's authority is invoked while the reader's rights are maintained through scrupulous attention to detail and self-conscious justification such as that found in Chateaubriand's description of Jaffa. He informs the reader that, inasmuch as Jaffa was examined on the return from Jerusalem, he ought to defer his description till that point in his narrative, but he has chosen to do so out of consideration for the orderliness of his literary work as well as for the benefit of the reader, whose attention might be lost were Jaffa to follow the holy places in the narrative.

Je passai cinq jours à Jaffa, à mon retour de Jérusalem, et je l'examinai dans le plus grand détail; je ne devrais donc en parler qu'à cette époque; mais, pour suivre l'ordre de ma marche, je placerai ici mes observations: d'ailleurs, après la description des Saints Lieux, il est probable que les lecteurs ne prendraient pas un grand intérêt à celle de Jaffa. (p. 969)

The reader must endure vicariously the correct order of the voyage because he is a fellow traveller and not permitted to arrive without having travelled.

Hence ensues a discussion of Jaffa in terms of orthography, its history "Selon Pococke, Shaw et peut-être d'Anville" (p. 970), a reference of the reader to Volney on modern times -- "On peut voir dans M. de Volney ce qui con-

cerne la moderne Jaffa" (p. 972) -- with the addition of some of his own first-hand observations, for example on the fresh water along the sea coast on the way towards Gaza. These remarks emphasize Chateaubriand's documented first-hand experience and draw the reader into his experience by a direct suggestion which invites duplication:

il suffit de creuser avec la main dans le sable pour faire sourdre au bord même de la vague une eau fraîche: j'ai fait moi-même, avec M. Contesini, cette curieuse expérience, depuis l'angle méridional de la ville, jusqu'à la demeure d'un santón, que l'on voit à quelque distance sur la côte. (p. 973)

c. Unique place in literature

Chateaubriand's vision of himself as the last French pilgrim is reiterated on the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where he rededicates himself to his pilgrimage as the last traveller to have seen the site and hence as its last historian. Seeing himself as the last of a species, the sole survivor of a changing world, identifies him with the noble savage, whom he memorialized in his Voyage en Amérique, while it also makes him recognizable to the ancient Crusaders. Hence Chateaubriand sees himself as special, as the designated individual linking his own time with that of the Crusaders.

The particular order of place which is seen in Cha-

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teaubriand's emphasis on linking, filling in the space between places, is a principle apparent also in the literary archaeology which the writer defines in his own endeavor. The dual emphases on individual uniqueness and immersion within a tradition provide the significant energy in this work of forging his place within a literary configuration and generates archaeologies which refer to archives of travel writing, and to literature itself.

By way of placing himself in literature, he acknowledges his participation in the Romantic tradition, while asserting his more classical leanings by reference to Rousseau, who:

. . . dit quelque part qu'il eût voulu être exilé dans une des îles de l'Archipel. L'éloquent sophiste se fût bientôt repenté de son choix. Séparé de ses admirateurs, relégué au milieu de quelques Grecs grossiers et perfides, il n'aurait trouvé dans des vallons brûlés par le soleil, ni fleurs, ni ruisseaux, ni ombrages; il n'aurait vu autour de lui que des bouquets d'oliviers, des rochers rougeâtres, tapissés de sauges et de baumes sauvages: je doute qu'il eût désiré longtemps continuer ses promenades au bruit du vent et de la mer, le long d'un côte inhabitée. (p. 917)

Chateaubriand's sensibility is a classical one which perceives severe objects such as clumps of olive trees, reddish rocks covered with wild sage and balm, the whistling of the wind and the roaring of the sea on an uninhabitable coast.⁵ His places are comprised of absences and hardness.⁶ Most of his numerous references are to classi-

cal writers or to travellers who have gone and written before him, and the latter are compared scrupulously to his own efforts.

Early on, he has staked a claim of hope in his just reception by the readership which his closing reiterates:

Je ne prétends point faire valoir mes travaux, qui sont très peu de chose; mais j'espère cependant que quand on me verra m'arracher à mon pays et à mes amis, supporter la fièvre et les fatigues, traverser les mers de la Grèce dans de petits bateaux, recevoir les coups de fusil des Bédouins, et tout cela par respect pour le public, et pour donner à ce public un ouvrage moins imparfait que le Génie du christianisme; j'espère, dis-je, qu'on me saura quelque gré de mes efforts. (p. 916)

. . . je sais que les lettres, dont le commerce est si doux quand il est secret, ne nous attirent au-dehors que des orages: dans tous les cas, j'ai assez écrit, si mon nom doit vivre; beaucoup trop, s'il doit mourir. (p. 1214)

d. Filling the gap

Just as Nerval's sense of personal displacement generated a technique of displacement in his writing, Chateaubriand's sense of himself as a link is reiterated in his methods of describing places, using metaphors for completion, linking, and filling in. A place such as the monastery of St. Saba is perceived by the quality of absence -- "Je doute que les couvents de Scete soient placés dans les lieux plus tristes et plus désolés que le couvent de Saint-Saba" (p. 996).

Chateaubriand fills in the gap by symbolizing the blue pigeons, who are present as if to remind you by their sighs of the saints who used to inhabit those cliffs: " . . . Des colombes bleues nichent aujourd'hui dans ces grottes, comme pour rappeler parleurs par leurs gémissements, leur innocence et leur douceur, les saints qui peuplaient autrefois ces roches" (p. 996). The abandoned place of the convents must be represented metaphorically by those things which stand in place of the place -- the pigeons, for example, and a single palm tree which link the reader, Chateaubriand, other travellers, and the original inhabitants.

. . . Je ne dois point oublier un palmier qui croît dans un mur sur une des terrasses du couvent; je suis persuadé que tous les voyageurs le remarqueront comme moi: il faut être environné d'une stérilité aussi affreuse pour sentir le prix d'une touffe de verdure. (p. 996)

Chateaubriand himself is conscious of his role of standing in place of the reader in the place of the ancients, and this duty is expressed above in terms of obligation and communion with all other travellers who have noticed the same palm tree. The individualism of that tree echoes Chateaubriand's individualism as the link to a community, and the contrast it provides to the dreary sterility of the place allows it to represent the sense of that place so the place may be described.

Similarly the Dead Sea is described metaphorically, by

contrast and resort to senses other than the visual. Following descriptions of the Dead Sea which focus on an analysis of its water and the history of experiment with it, the place is evoked most personally through an identity romanticized by Chateaubriand.

. . . Un bruit lugubre sortit de ce lac du mort, comme les clameurs étouffées du peuple abîmé dans ses eaux.

L'aurore parut sur la montagne d'Arabie en face de nous. La mer Morte et la vallée du Jourdain se teignirent d'une couleur admirable; mais une si riche apparence ne servait qu'à mieux faire paraître la désolation du fond. (p. 1002)

In Jerusalem, one of the termini of his itinerary, Chateaubriand's insistence on completion through linking permits conclusions about the relevance of these places, such as the proximity of the reservoir where the apostles composed a profession of faith to the ruins of a chapel wherein, according to "an invariable tradition," Christ recited the Lord's Prayer. "Ainsi furent composées presque au même lieu la profession de foi de tous les hommes et la prière de tous les hommes" (p. 1044).

ii. Identity

Chateaubriand's travel, like Kinglake's, reinforces his social identity. As inchoate quests of self, both voyages serve to validate the identities of the travellers

without risk to their prescribed social membership. Unlike the cases of Burton and Nerval, Chateaubriand's journey never demanded a disguise nor sought an individual experiencing self cast off from his social identity. The social memberships which are most apparent in Chateaubriand's pilgrimage are his patriotic and religious identities, which are frequently conflated, and his literary identity. As signifiers of identity, these memberships are all oriented to a fading past, with Chateaubriand as the last of the line. It is through the nostalgic evocation of his childhood that Chateaubriand comes closest to using the travel narrative as a means of uncovering a uniquely individual self in the modern psychological manner. This is not done by the other three travellers discussed in this study and makes Chateaubriand the man perhaps a more nearly unique self within his narrative.

As we have seen, Chateaubriand's sense of communitas extended backward in time, focusing on tradition and the past, which were reaffirmed by his participation in and recreation of them. His identity as a French national and a Catholic are linked to his identity as a writer, and the sense of communitas he experiences unites these three social contexts into a strongly individual figure. The fusive strength of this perspective is attested to by critical views such as that given by Said and Stendhal on the

Itinéraire:

Its many hundreds of pages bear witness to its author's admission that "je parle éternellement de moi," so much so that Stendhal, no self-abnegating writer himself, could find Chateaubriand's failure as a knowledgeable traveller to be the result of his "stinking egotism." He brought a very heavy load of personal objectives and suppositions to the Orient, unloaded them there, and proceeded thereafter to push people, places, and ideas around in the Orient as if nothing could resist his imperious imagination. Chateaubriand came to the Orient as a constructed figure, not as a true self.⁸

Chateaubriand's full-blown self-image is alluded to when he thinks of friends at home thinking of him. He represents them representing him, producing an image of himself he would encourage, despite the fact that his being able to divert himself with less fatigue and peril than imagined suggests the strength of his place and his identity which is not threatened by being away from home.

Une idée me faisait rire: je me représentais mes amis occupés de moi en France; je les voyais me suivre en pensée, s'exagérer mes fatigues, s'inquiéter de mes périls: ils auraient été bien surpris, s'il m'eussent aperçu tout à coup, le visage à demi brûlé, assistant dans une des Cyclades à une noce de village, applaudissant aux chansons de mesdemoiselles Pengali, qui chantaient en grec . . . (p. 915)

His concern with his self-image is similarly reflected when he proposes that his Itinéraire be deemed worthy of his efforts in undertaking the voyage, as he is seen in the midst of them through his own creation of himself as pro-

tagonist:

j'espère cependant que quand on me verra m'arracher à mon pays et à mes amis, supporter la fièvre et les fatigues, traverser les mers de la Grèce dans de petits bateaux, recevoir les coups de fusil des Bédouins, et tout cela par respect pour le public, et pour donner à ce public un ouvrage moins imparfait que le Génie du christianisme; j'espère, dis-je, qu'on me saura quelque gré de mes efforts.
(p. 916)

Like Kinglake, who also makes his being out of place fully evident, Chateaubriand made no attempt to disguise his French identity nor to adapt his appearance to the host country. His sense of self is so strong that he can be amused, like Burton, at having his social station mistaken, even though he hasn't Burton's disguise as a reason for feeling smug about the error.

Il se passa là une scène assez plaisante: mon domestique était vêtu d'une redingote blanchâtre; le blanc étant la couleur de distinction chez les Arabes, ils jugèrent que mon domestique était le scheik. Ils se saisirent de lui, et l'emportèrent en triomphe malgré ses protestations, tandis que, grâce à mon habit bleu, je me sauvais obscurément sur le dos d'un mendiant déguenillé. (p. 964)

Chateaubriand asserts his identity and his original place, like Kinglake, as a means to distinguish and protect himself from the other as a menace. As if confronting the plague, Chateaubriand puts himself in direct contact with alien danger in an anecdote concerning a complaint he had over a dishonest guide. When the Aga's slaves insist that

he leave his boots, whip and arms at the door as was customary during an audience, unlike Burton and other travelers who might have done as the Romans do in Rome, Chateaubriand commands the dragoman to announce the presence of a Frenchman. With the aristocratic hauteur appropriate to the successful English colonizer, Chateaubriand declares "qu'un Français suivait partout les usages de son pays."

Je m'avançai brusquement dans la chambre . . .
 j'allais m'asseoir à côté de l'aga. . . . Je lui
 dis que ce n'était que par respect pour lui que je
 n'avais pas tué son janissaire; qu'il devait sa-
 voir que les Français étaient les premiers et les
 plus fidèles alliés du Grand Seigneur; que la
 gloire de leur armes était assez répandue dans
 l'Orient, pour qu'on apprît à respecter leurs cha-
 peux, de même qu'ils honoraient les turbans sans
 les craindre; que j'avais bu le café avec des
 pachas, qui m'avaient traité comme leur fils; que
 je n'étais pas venu à Kircagach pour qu'un esclave
 m'apprît à vivre, et fût assez téméraire pour
 toucher la basque de mon habit. (p. 931)

Chateaubriand's conception of himself as a unique individual who is also representative by virtue of his role as a pilgrim is closely related to his concept of place as his native home, as an earned position in a hierarchy, and as a paradigm of identity as sameness. Regarding himself as a pilgrim of France, Western Christianity, and a literary past, Chateaubriand equates place with all that serves to identify him, and confuses the particularity of place with his identity.

The voyage itself provided little by way of Chateau-

briand's discovering or creating an identity. Being out of place simply heightened his sense of homeplace and allowed him to indulge his identity as Frenchman, Christian, Westerner, and writer all the more freely. Chateaubriand essentially seeks the familiar in the strange, converting the alien other into the familiar same in his missionary's mentality.

Through a contrast with a hostile environment -- the Orient -- the hospitality accorded him by the fathers and designated as Christian helps him to forge an identity and a sense of self in a place rendered "home" by its continuity with the past (in that land where Christianity and charity arose, in a place where the first of the apostles preached the doctrines) and through its spatial extension to the same cordiality found in the wilds of America. The hospitality of the Christian fathers in Jerusalem as well as those New World missionaries provided a familiar, home-like shelter in the two wildernesses.

Self-consciously, Chateaubriand admits his premise that absence strengthens the bonds of home: "Les hommes sont encore plus sensibles à la reputation de leur pays hors de leur pays, que sous le toit paternel; et l'on a vu les émigrés français réclamer leur part des victoires qui semblaient les condamner à un exil éternel" (p. 569).

His own place within the literary archive which is his

pilgrimage is the goal of the voyage, and neither the Orient nor any place not his home is the object of his endeavor. Rather, the interest of incorporating these places in a literary endeavor which is a memoir is his essential concern.

Memory and identity

Chateaubriand's pilgrimage into religious, French and literary history becomes also a pilgrimage into his personal past -- his youth and childhood -- which in turn, connotes a return to home. His longing for home is synonymous with his regret of youth past. On New Year's Day, 1807, while at anchor; at rest from wind and waves, he mourns the loss of his days of infancy when he used to receive paternal blessings and gifts:

Sous combien d'astres, et dans combien de fortunes diverses, j'avais déjà vu se renouveler pour moi les années qui passent si vite ou qui sont si longues! Qu'ils étaient loin de moi ces temps de mon enfance où je recevais, avec un coeur palpitant de joie, la bénédiction et les présents paternels! Comme ce premier jour de l'année était attendu! Et maintenant, sur un vaisseau étranger, au milieu de la mer, à la vue d'une terre barbare, ce premier jour s'envolait pour moi, sans témoins, sans plaisirs, sans les embrassements de la famille, sans ces tendres souhaits de bonheur qu'une mère forme pour son fils avec tant de sincérité! Ce jour, né du sein des tempêtes, ne laissait tomber sur mon front que des soucis, des regrets et des cheveux blancs. (p. 1161)

The past was home, youth, and France. After celebrating the day nonetheless "out of regard for an old acquaintance," all drank success to France, and Chateaubriand piously notes that although they were close to the island of Lotaphagi, where Ulysses' companions forgot their country, he himself knew of no fruit delicious enough to make him forget his.

On égorgéa le reste des poulets, à l'exception d'un brave coq, notre horloge fidèle, qui n'avait cessé de veiller et de chanter au milieu des plus grands périls. Le rabbin, le Barbaresque et les deux Maures sorti rent de la cale du vaisseau, et vinrent recevoir leurs étrennes à notre banquet. C'était là mon repas de famille! Nous bûmes à la France: nous n'étions pas loin de l'île des Lotophage, où les compagnons d'Ulysse oublièrent leur patrie: je ne connais point de fruit assez doux pour me faire oublier le mienne. (p. 1161)

Reminiscence itself is viewed by Chateaubriand as a journey, and the symbol of the bird in flight is used to convey him into the past. The image of the swallow who "boards" the boat is reinforced elsewhere by the image of a wind-tossed barque, associated in their elemental immersion in wind and air which give them freedom of movement, and the power of a Proustian madeleine to conduct the author on a voyage through his consciousness to his childhood.⁹

Nous reçûmes à bord trois nouveaux passagers: deux bergeronnettes et une hirondelle. Je ne sais ce qui avait pu engager les premières à quitter les troupeaux; quant à la dernière, elle allait peut-être en Syrie, et elle venait peut-être de France.

J'étais bien tenté de lui demander des nouvelles de ce toit paternel que j'avais quitté depuis si longtemps. Je me rappelle que dans mon enfance je passais des heures entières, à voir, avec je ne sais quel plaisir triste, voltiger les hirondelles en automne; un secret instinct me disait que je serais voyageur comme ces oiseaux. Ils se réunissaient à la fin du mois de septembre, dans les joncs d'un grand étang: là, poussant des cris et exécutant mille évolutions sur les eaux, ils semblaient essayer leurs ailes et en se préparer à de long pèlerinages. Pourquoi, de tous les souvenirs de l'existence, préférons-nous ceux qui remontent vers notre berceau? Les jouissances de l'amour-propre, les illusions de la jeunesse ne se présentent point avec charme à la mémoire; nous y trouvons au contraire de l'aridité ou de l'amertume; mais les plus petites circonstances réveillent au fond du coeur les émotions du premier âge, et toujours avec un attrait nouveau. Au bord des lacs de l'Amérique, dans un désert inconnu qui ne raconte rien au voyageur, dans une terre qui n'a pour elle que la grandeur de sa solitude, une hirondelle suffisait pour me retracer les scènes des premiers jours de ma vie, comme elle me les a rappelées sur la mer de Syrie, à la vue d'une terre antique, retentissante de la voix des siècles et des de l'histoire. (p. 959-60)

Throughout the Itinéraire his comments and descriptions of Oriental places take on a reminiscent tone -- back to better days for France, previous travels, days of childhood, ancient history and its antiquities.

As Said has pointed out, Chateaubriand went to the Orient as a previously constructed self.¹⁰ For this reason, Chateaubriand's Itinéraire follows the structure of a memoir, as it looks back from a privileged perspective. Its quest, if any, is to assert and validate his place in literary history. The self of which he "eternally" speaks has no task of constitution; it is fully forged as French,

as literary, as Chateaubriand, the man of letters.

In seeking images, Chateaubriand exemplifies the voyager as voyeur, who refuses to participate in the event of his voyage. As he never really leaves home, never travels within the other place, his self is never subjected to the fragmentation, dissociation, or pain associated with change conceived as growth or as educational by modern writers.

Writing from the privileged perspective of the memoir, Chateaubriand also travelled with the perspective of the older man, for whom places have already acquired significance in the past. They no longer serve to create him, nor he them. Instead, his travels and his writings are secondary texts, literary criticism of place.

Chateaubriand's identification with these birds, in particular with the swallow, is made explicit when he speaks of his instinct that he would be a traveller like the swallows he used to watch during childhood. His anecdote keeps the metaphor of the birds as voyagers consistent by references to them as passengers aboard the boat, with itineraries. Of the swallow, Chateaubriand claims to be tempted to inquire after news of their common home -- "ce toit paternel que j'avais quitté." In childhood, he had observed them preparing their pilgrimages and the sight of a single one suffices to convey him on a personal pilgrimage through his childhood, retracing his American experi-

ence and pointing to the present moment on the Syrian sea which recalls its own history.

This passage is significant in its Romantic insistence on childhood's innocence and allure, and in its prescient concern for and example of nineteenth-century interest in the psychology of memory. Within this reverie provoked by the sight of a swallow on the Syrian sea, Chateaubriand travels on its wings in a circle from his present moment on the boat to France and his childhood, to America and back to ancient Syria.

On other occasions as well, images of birds and water are used to convey the traveller through places in his past. On a Turkish vessel sailing to Constantinople, the river behind formed a canal by means of which the past is evoked:

A mesure que nous approchions de la mer, la rivière formait derrière nous un long canal au fond duquel on apercevait les hauteurs d'où nous sortions, et dont les plans inclinés étaient colorés par un soleil couchant qu'on ne voyait pas. Des cygnes voguaient devant nous, et des hérons allaient chercher à terre leur retraite accoutumée. Cela me rappelait assez bien les fleuves et les scènes de l'Amérique, lorsque le soir je quittais mon canot d'écorce, et que j'allumais du feu sur un rivage inconnu. (p. 939)

Like the swallow in the air, the sailor is the image of man here below. The life of the sailor appeals to man, says Chateaubriand, in its adventure and constant change

which keep the imagination alert.

Ce passage continuel du calme à l'orage, ce changement rapide des terres et des cieux, tiennent éveillée l'imagination du navigateur. Il est lui-même, dans ses destinées, l'image de l'homme ici-bas: toujours se promettant de rester au port, et toujours déployant ses voiles; cherchant des îles enchantées où il n'arrive presque jamais, et dans lesquelles il s'ennuie s'il y touche; ne parlant que de repos, et n'aimant que les tempêtes; périssant au milieu d'un naufrage, ou mourant vieux nocher sur la rive, inconnu des jeunes navigateurs dont il regrette de ne pouvoir suivre le vaisseau.
(p. 1133)

This imagination which poses the good of home, of staying in a port while simultaneously seeking change and homelessness is the problematic voyaging instinct that Chateaubriand recognized in himself as a child watching swallows, and that evokes the melancholic sense of loss and failure expressed throughout the Itinéraire, and quite explicitly in the conflict suggested in the promenades taken at Alexandria with M. Drouetti. Within his aviary, a place where the flight of birds is contained, their talks of France concluded with the agreement that both ought to waste no time in seeking a modest retreat in their native land. This agreement signifies a desire to return to a homeland, as well as to a mythical home (a humble retreat), which itself signifies going back, retreating, and is ironically an interment of hope -- a death in life.

After one of these discussions on the subject of re-

pose, Chateaubriand tells us that he turned towards the sea and pointed to the ship in which he was scheduled, not to return, but to embark, and that the ship was battered by the wind. The image of this vessel, like that of the swallow, evoked a sense of the destiny of motion and intangibility. The imagined object (repose, retreat, home) is posed against the immediate option, and the seemingly humblest goal -- "la chaumière" -- is set against the complexity of attainment:

M. Drouetti avait fait bâtir, sur la plateforme de sa maison, une volière en forme de tente, où il nourrissait des cailles et des perdrix de diverses espèces. Nous passions les heures à nous promener dans cette volière, et à parler de la France. La conclusion de tous nos discours, était qu'il fallait chercher au plus tôt quelque petite retraite dans notre patrie, pour y renfermer nos longues espérances. Un jour, après un grand raisonnement sur le repos, je me tournai vers la mer, et je montrai à mon hôte le vaisseau battu du vent sur lequel j'allais bientôt m'embarquer. Ce n'est pas, après tout, que le désir du repos ne soit naturel à l'homme; mais le but qui nous paraît le moins élevé, n'est pas toujours le plus facile à atteindre, et souvent la chaumière fuit devant nos vœux comme le palais. (p. 1154)

In the hamlet of Stamoalia he reflects that there are people who have never been away from their native land and never heard of "our" revolutions. Asking himself if he would have wished for their felicity of home, that felicity to which he and M. Drouetti have agreed upon as the highest of all good, he recognizes that he is finally just "un

vieux pilote . . . dont les songes sont enfants des vents et des tempêtes" (p. 1159).¹¹

In this meta-literary posture, Chateaubriand may be redeemed or preserved. Similarly, on the New Year spent aboard ship in a situation of anxious passivity, while Chateaubriand reminisces about the birds in flight which lead him back to the swallows he observed in his childhood, the cock is exempt from the slaughter of poultry for the feast, because he is the faithful timekeeper. Unable to fly as well as the observer of quotidian time, this bird serves as a counter-metaphor to the birds in flight and suggests Chateaubriand's own posture and endeavor as the writer of the Itinéraire.

Notes

¹ Chateaubriand, Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris, in Oeuvres Complètes, Vol. II. Ed. Maurice Regard. (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1969). Subsequent references are to this edition and will be indicated in the text.

² Turner's distinction, first made in The Ritual Process, is summarized as follows: "spontaneous communitas, the direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities which tends to make those experiencing it think of mankind as a homogeneous, unstructured, and free community," and "normative communitas, where, under the influence of time, the need to mobilize and organize resources to keep the members of a group alive and thriving, and the necessity for social control among those members in pursuance of these and other collective goals, the original existential communitas is organized into a perduring social system" The third type, ideological communitas, is not applicable in the examples used in this study. Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1974), p. 169.

³ "America, as Chateaubriand portrayed it, was much more a product of his reading and his imagination than of his actual visit." Richard Switzer, introd., Travels in America, by Chateaubriand (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1969), p. xvi.

⁴ See Turner's discussion of pilgrimage as obligation as well as voluntary act, pp. 173-78.

⁵ For discussions relating Chateaubriand's psychology with his production of images, see Jean-Pierre Richard, Paysage de Chateaubriand (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967); George D. Painter, Chateaubriand: The Longed for Tempests, Vol. I (New York: Knopf, 1978).

⁶ Poulet uses Chateaubriand as an example of a "dead duration . . . negative time composed of destruction and absence, an existence finished." Georges Poulet, Studies in Human Time, trans. Elliott Coleman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), p. 28.

⁷ Chateaubriand, "Essai sur la littérature anglaise," Oeuvres, XII, p. 282.

⁸ Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 171.

⁹ "When he would dream in his solitude, the child knew an existence without bounds. His reverie was not simply a reverie of escape. It was a reverie of flight." Gaston Bachelard, The Poetics of Reverie, trans. Daniel Russell (Boston: Beacon, 1969), p. 100.

¹⁰ Said, Orientalism, p. 171.

¹¹ "The being of reverie crosses all the ages of man from childhood to old age without growing old. And that is why one feels a sort of redoubling or reverie late in life when he tries to bring the reveries of childhood back to life." Bachelard, p. 102.

VI

CHAPTER FIVE
PLACELESSNESS:
THE DESERT AS ANTI-PLACE

VI

In the foregoing sections we have analyzed the attitudes towards original place and the respective ways of recreating literary places of four writers who travelled to the Orient in the nineteenth century, in secular voyages modelled upon the structure of a pilgrimage in its focus upon places. Having treated the Orient as a paradigmatically "other" place, conceived as alien to the Western traveller-writer, our intention here is to consider the conceptions and literary treatments these writers employed in dealing with the desert as one of the significant places within the Orient, and as an eternally "other" or alien place with respect to human civilization. In doing so, we will not offer a full-fledged counterpart to the opening section on place as home, but rather sketch out in a brief and suggestive outline the application of notions of placelessness and anti-place to the desert as "other" place.

Following a brief discussion of some of the levels of meaning the desert as wilderness has held historically as a polarized place, antithetical to civilization, we proceed to the analogies of the ocean and the mirage as means of describing the desert by close analyses of a desert descrip-

tion by Kinglake and its mirage image in a text by Burton. Following these analyses, Chateaubriand's purely metaphorical understanding of the desert is discussed and its negative imagery compared to the finally positive potential of the desert for an individual realization of self through a decisive confrontation with the force of the other. Such analyses cannot of course be as extensive as in the foregoing chapters, but are intended to suggest the necessary implications of the polarities previously discussed and to point out certain contrasts in the work of the four writers under consideration.

Desert as anti-place

The fluid, unstable and ageless characters of the desert evoke the image of a place which readily transforms itself into its opposite image of placelessness.¹ In this character, the desert is thought of as analogous to the ocean. Although it is generally confined within recognized geographic parameters, dramatically separated by bodies of water and somewhat less clearly defined by topographical variations, the desert is perceived, like the ocean, as unstable and fluid, so that it can be conceived of as a unified entity on the earth's surface. While deserts in different geographical locations may be identified by distinguishing names, e.g., the Gobi Desert, the Sahara, such

names are used to signify the desert in its generic sense rather than as a series of distinct places.

Another treatment of the desert as placelessness views it, like the Orient, as a paradigmatically other or alien place, forever removed from the rooted city-polis which provides an identity for its inhabitants as it "civilizes" them. In this view, the desert is synonymous with wilderness as the polar opposite of civilization.²

As a polarized "other" place, strange, inhuman, barbaric, the desert as wilderness is an essentially negative paradigm. Herodotus reported the coalescence of values in the Egyptian language wherein the color "reddish brown" denoted sandhills and foreign country, meaning "despised," while the hieroglyph for "desert" also served for "foreign country." The desert or wilderness has been traditionally viewed as a place where there is nothing, except for the devils who dwell there because they are despised by God, and where nothing is produced but hardship. As a place for outcasts, it is also the theater for Christ's temptation and the place to which Adam and Eve were banished. "Their lands become a wilderness . . . because of [Yaweh's] wrath" (Jer. 25:38).

In an exchange of values, resulting from socially determined physical changes as well as the growth of the city and an encroachment on wild nature, the meaning of "wilder-

ness" has been modified so that it signifies "as much a state of mind as a description of nature," which is generated by "the Biblical meaning of awe and threat and the sense of a sublimity far greater than the world of man and unencompassable by him. . . . As a state of mind, true wilderness exists only in the great sprawling cities."³

While the dominant meaning of the wilderness is a negative one, the concept of nothingness associated with the desert as a place of absences suggests too the reverse of a profane place. As a tabula rasa, the desert offers the possibility of a purification experience for the individual or group exiled to the wilderness, as the desert provides an opportunity through the endurance of hardship and deprivation for a Christian's purity of being. The desert facilitates his escape from the encumbrances of the world to a closer vision of the Divine and as such may serve as a prototypical place of pilgrimage. The nothingness of the desert also permits peace and rest from the rigors of the city, which has taken on the negative significance of the desert wilderness. "Come ye yourselves apart into a desert place, and rest awhile" (Mark 6:31). In Revelation 17:3, the desert is presented as a receptive place where the Christian learner is enabled to see more clearly, to arrive at a state of enlightenment through the negation of a former unholy state. As an uninhabited and uncultivated place,

the desert wilderness is free of social constraints and may function as a refuge or sanctuary, or even a liberating place. Three different, yet in some ways overlapping or complementary attitudes present in man's concept of the use of the desert include the desert as a place of desolation or nothingness, as a tabula rasa offering possibilities of cleansing and renewal, and finally, as a refuge or sanctuary, all of which are less obviously applied to the ocean analogy.

In Alexander Kinglake's Eothen, these three views are called into play. The presentation of the desert closely adheres to the metaphor of the desert as an ocean, and elaborates on this metaphor by reference to Kinglake's prior conception of the desert as a place in which he can be transformed. In chapter seventeen, "The Desert," images of water are the predominant reference. This calls attention to its absence, and the paradigm of nothingness which is one of Kinglake's expectations. He claims to have been disappointed by those parts of the desert where "the land, freshened by the rains of the last week, was covered with rich verdure, and thickly jewelled with meadow-flowers so bright and fragrant that I began to grow almost uneasy."⁴

Other references to water (and/or its absence) include both the ceremonial service of tea in the desert which symbolizes the making of a home, and the appearance of a mi-

rage which is explained as the evaporation of salt water. The end of the desert trip and the chapter is signalled by sensations of the floating, bathing, diving and quenching uses of water.

The journey across the desert is likened to an ocean voyage, and the sand, like water, provides no particular point to arrest one's attention. Like the ocean, the desert is difficult to perceive as a place, given one of the definitions of place as "whatever stable object catches our attention. As we look at a panoramic scene our eyes pause at points of interest. Each pause is time enough to create an image of place."⁵

At the beginning of this chapter, Kinglake imposes the characteristic metaphor: "Gaza stands upon the verge of the Desert, and bears toward it the same kind of relation as a seaport bears to the sea. It is there that you charter your camels ('the ships of the Desert') and lay in your stores for the voyage" (p. 134).

Since there are no places "between," the ship of the desert must be supplied entirely, including fuel, water, food, and crew, to be a self-sufficient, microcosmic society, as is a ship. Offering the analogy of islands, oases are an exception.

The metaphor of the camel as a ship is variously used. Describing the loading of the camel, Kinglake attributes

those qualities to it that are frequently associated with ships. The camel is considered female⁶ as she remonstrates, "with the sigh of a patient wife," and is lovable for "her gentle and womanish ways" (p. 137). Like a ship, "her pace, therefore, is an odd, disjointed, and disjoining sort of movement that is rather disagreeable at first, but you soon grow reconciled to it" (p. 137). Again, like a ship, a camel protects you from the element in which you voyage: "The height to which you are raised is of great advantage to you in passing the burning sands of the Desert, for the air at such a distance from the ground is much cooler and more lively than that which circulates beneath" (pp. 137-38).

Mirage

The mirage (illusion-delusion) plays an important role in the preconceptions and perception of the desert. A mirage is in a certain sense a composite; it is also a creation, assisted by natural causes (the evaporation/absence of water, the presence of sun/light, and the deprivation and overburden of the senses) and by the imagination. The mirage alludes to the primary metaphor of water in an inversion. Kinglake's preconception of a desert trip as "a long-desired adventure of passing its 'burning sands'" is initially disappointed. He is afflicted with a growing un-

ease and begins "to fancy that the very Desert was receding before me" and that his expectations would "end in a mere ride across a field" (p. 217).

The presence of vegetation and fragrant flowers, instead of the burning sands Kinglake expects in the "real" desert, seems to obstruct and oppose the reality of the desert so that his preconception of the desert is similar to a mirage. However, as he advanced, his preconception is justified, for "the true character of the country began to display itself with sufficient clearness to dispel my apprehensions."

The preconception cannot admit a multiple experience of the desert -- the greenery isn't incorporated as a part of the variety of the place, but is viewed as inauthentic to his experience (to his pre-image). Because this other part of the desert corresponds to his expectations, Kinglake felt gratified to find that he "was surrounded on all sides by a tract of real sand" and "had nothing at all to complain of except that there peeped forth at intervals a few isolated blades of grass . . ." (p. 138).

About midway across the desert, Kinglake actually encounters a mirage. Equipped in advance with the knowledge of such phenomena, Kinglake introduces the event with the detail that he "saw the likeness of a fresh-water lake." He details the sight with care for its status as "appear-

ance": "I saw, as it seemed . . ." "Though I knew of the cheat, it was not till the spongy foot of my camel had almost trodden in the seeming lake, that I could undeceive my eyes . . . I soon saw the cause of the phantasm" (p. 151).

Kinglake is prepared to understand the desert as a place of delusion and disappointment, yet his English rationality was ever intent on imposing upon the place in a rational manner. The mirage is presented as a scientifically verifiable phenomenon. Kinglake makes it clear that such "cheats" are known in advance and he is careful to describe what he sees as "the likeness . . . as it seemed" and to analyze immediately the causes of the otherwise "quite true and natural" sight.

Like the "mirage" of his preconceived desert of "burning sands" which he fancied was receding before him, this second "authentic" mirage is described as "stretching far . . . stretching deep." What is close at hand, verifiable, is alone real; when his camel sets foot in the "seeming lake," and when he finds himself "surrounded on all sides by a tract of real sand" -- he is sure of the place where he is. His foreknowledge of the desert nonetheless determinedly succeeds over direct impressions, and they are made to corroborate it. The desert is exactly as Kinglake had known it to be before he went there -- a place of barren-

ness, given to illusion. In Kinglake's version of the Desert, order has been imposed within his idea of it; the order inherent in nature, or the nothingness of the tabula rasa which can give rise to a new order, is not apparent. His experience of the desert is given less credence than the paradigm.

Just as the absence of water and the powerful presence of the sun have produced a visual mirage, they are viewed as responsible for another form of a delusion of the senses, which, starved by an absence, produce the illusion of a presence.

In a passage which once again evokes a sea voyage, Kinglake describes hearing old Marlen bells:

On the fifth day of my journey the air above lay dead, and all the whole earth that I could reach with my utmost sight and keenest listening was still and lifeless, as some dispeopled and forgotten world that rolls round and round in the heavens through wasted floods of light. The sun, growing fiercer and fiercer, shone down more mightily now than ever on me he shone before, and as I drooped my head under his fire, and closed my eyes against the glare that surrounded me, I slowly fell asleep -- for how many minutes or moments, I cannot tell; but after a while I was gently awakened by a peal of church bells -- my native bells -- the innocent bells of Marlen, that never before sent forth their music beyond the Blaygon hills!
(p. 152)

As in dealing with the mirage of the lake, Kinglake scientifically proceeds to measure the effect and analyze the causes. "My first idea naturally was that I still remained

fast under the power of a dream. I roused myself, and drew aside the silk that covered my eyes, and plunged my bare face into the light" (p. 152). As if to see better, Kinglake attempts in full light to deal with the sound he hears, although it seems to have resulted from the intensity of the sun "growing fiercer and fiercer." His act further exemplifies the notion of the desert as a place in which inversions occur -- the light of the sun, supposed to enlighten, deludes and betrays. Such is the temptation of this place of devils.

Awakening completely, Kinglake finds that the bells continue sounding outside of his dream, and he attempts to measure the length of time of the occurrence. Through intermittent entries in his journal, Kinglake tried also to determine what time it would have been at home in Marlen: ". . . I found that the day was Sunday, and, roughly allowing for the difference of longitude, I concluded that at the moment of my hearing that strange peal, the church-going bells of Marlen must have been actually calling the prim congregation of the parish to morning prayer" (p. 153). Kinglake is far more interested in dispelling the "illusion" than in recording the event of the experience.

I attributed the effect to the great heat of the sun, the perfect dryness of the clear air through which I moved, and the deep stillness of all around me. It seemed to me that these causes, by occasioning a great tension, and consequent susceptibil-

ity of the hearing organs, had rendered them liable to tingle under the passing touch of some mere memory that must have swept across my brain in a moment of sleep. (p. 152)

As for the coincidence of the bell's tolling at the hour of Sunday prayer, Kinglake was faintly amused, "but I could not allow myself a hope that the effect I had experienced was anything other than an illusion -- an illusion liable to be explained (as every illusion is in these days) by some of the philosophers who guess at Nature's riddles" (p. 153). He allows that his fancy "was too weak to carry a faith" that his mother had succeeded in a pious enchantment and that indeed the people of Marlen "are wholly unaddicted to the practice of magical arts" (p. 153).

Placing the occurrence of this phenomenon within the context of an ocean voyage, Kinglake presents the event as similar to being caught in a becalmed sea and notes that after his return to England he was informed that sailors too hear the chimes of their village churches "becalmed under a vertical sun in the midst of the wide ocean" (p. 153).

The dual nature of the desert which allows it to be viewed as a place closer to the divine is also apparent in Kinglake's presentation. Water imagery associated with absence is augmented by the powerful presence of the sun and images of light. The experience of confrontation and struggle with the sun's heat is portrayed as a ritual suf-

fering (Christ's agony in the desert) from which the individual emerges purified and enlightened.

Among the similarities of the desert voyage to an ocean voyage, Kinglake points to the endlessness of sand: "and the hills and the valleys are sand, sand, sand, still sand, and only sand, and sand, and sand again" (p. 143).⁷ Here one finds no place as a point of reference: "there was no valley nor hollow, no hill, no mound, no shadow of hill nor of mound, by which I could mark the way I was making" (p. 153). One's attention is therefore forced to the sun as cause and master.

Richard Burton's description of a sea voyage from Tur on the way to Yambu echoes this passage in Kinglake. As Burton explicitly marks place in terms of time evidenced by the passage of the sun, so does Kinglake recount the stages of the sun's passage through a day oriented to heaven:

The earth is so samely that your eyes turn towards heaven -- towards heaven, I mean, in sense of sky. You look to the sun, for he is your taskmaster, and by him you know the measure of the work that you have done and the measure of the work that remains for you to do. (p. 143)

While Burton's description of the sun makes lavish use of colors and metaphors of ornament which are tied to the sense of sight, Kinglake's sun is so oppressive a taskmaster that one's dealings with it are humbling and negate one's vision. One knows its presence with relation to the

tasks of the day:

He comes when you strike your tent in the early morning, and then, for the first hour of the day, as you move forward on your camel, he stands at your side, and makes you know that the whole day's toil is before you; then for a while, and a long while, you see him no more for you are veiled and shrouded, and dare not look upon the greatness of his glory, but you know where he strides overhead, by the touch of his flaming sword. (p. 143)

The power of the sun -- "the greatness of his glory" -- weighs upon one and cannot be seen nor dare be looked at, but is felt "by the touch of his flaming sword." "No words are spoken, but your Arabs moan, your camels sigh, your skin glows, your shoulders ache, and for sights you see the pattern and the web of the silk that veils your eyes, and the glare of the outer light" (p. 143). Your senses are overpowered by the sun, you are rendered nearly senseless, your faculties return to primitive, pre-speech, and near-animal states. Yet once you have completed your day's tasks, and the sun his compass, the veil you wear is taken by the sun to cover his power with his beauty so you may once again look upon him. You return to yourself, to all your faculties and are able to perceive colors -- "the redness of roses," while gentle nature is once more attracted to him: "the fair wavy cloud that fled in the morning now comes to his sight once more -- comes blushing, yet still comes on -- comes burning with blushes, yet comes

and clings to his side" (p. 144).

The desert is depicted as a testing-ground by presenting the sun as a personal adversary, nature against the individual man. Experiencing this physical combat endured by the senses is an individualizing process, and in his description of his desert ordeal, Kinglake portrays himself as a lone man, an individual personally redeemed by mortification of his particular flesh or physical being.

As the passage of the sun is marked by toil and rest in the text above, after the fifth day of the journey, the passage of the sun itself was unmarked and no break, not even sunset, is mentioned until the eighth day. The all-abiding sun is seen as an opponent to Kinglake's "poor, pale, solitary self" (p. 154) as Kinglake has reached "a dead level -- a dead level bed of sand, quite hard, and studded with small shining pebbles" (p. 153). In this place of absence (deadness), all that exists is sensed in its harshness and light (the sun). The monotony is stressed by the repetition of negatives which increase in emphasis: "no valley nor hollow, no hill, no mound, no shadow of hill nor of mound" and the repetition of sameness: "Hour by hour I advanced, and saw no change . . . hour by hour I advanced, and still there was the same, and the same, and the same -- the same circle of flaming sky -- the same circle of sand still glaring with light and fire" (p. 153). In

this place of sameness and nothingness, only two things are present -- the sun and the man experiencing it: "I was still the very centre of a round horizon."

From pole to pole, and from the east to the west, he brandished his fiery sceptre as though he had usurped all heaven and earth. As he bid the soft Persian in ancient times, so now, and fiercely too, he bid me bow down and worship him; so now in his pride he seemed to command me, and say, "Thou shalt have none other god but me." I was all alone before him. There were these two pitted together, and face to face; the mighty sun for one -- and for the other, this poor, pale, solitary self of mine that I always carry about with me. (p. 154)

When respite from the monotonous and powerful sun comes on the eighth day, it is described as the appearance of "a dark line upon the edge of the forward horizon" (p. 154).

The encounter and struggle between Kinglake and the sun is set in a context of a spiritual task -- Kinglake's endurance is being tested, just as the "soft Persians in ancient times" were commanded to worship the sun. But before Kinglake has "turned away from Jahwah for the glittering god of the Persians" he succeeds: "There then before me were the gardens and the minarets of Egypt, and the mighty works of the Nile, and I (the eternal Ego that I am!) -- I had lived to see, and I saw them" (p. 154).

The implications of his choice of allusions in this contest situate him as a Christian being tested against an

Eastern religion. It resembles the initiation rites described by Nerval in the Pyramids. The tone and style are Biblical, as Burton's descriptions are often rendered in the cadences of Arabic poetry. It is in the desert that Kinglake's Westernness is tested and prevails. Subjected to the same temptations as the Persian, he proves to be less soft than they.

This is in part because his Western rationality and scientific manner of inquiry are also in his service to control the illusions of the desert, its mirages and the call of the bells. The bells, disguised as a message from home, might have persuaded him, but his rationality relies upon the rationality of his home and its village and villagers to dispel any supernatural causes. If the bells are a message from home to fortify him in the desert, the message they bring is a warning to doubt their reality. Having once dealt with this phenomenon, caused, it seems, by the nothingness in the desert apart from the sun, the following days of assault by these forces can be endured.

The dead level of his spiritual test begins as "a dead level bed of sand, quite hard, and studded with small shining pebbles" (p. 153). The test is won when "there appeared a dark line . . . and soon the line deepened into a delicate fringe that sparkled here and there as though it were sown with diamonds" (p. 154). The bed of sand has be-

come a delicate fringe; the small shining pebbles, diamonds.

The victory of Kinglake, the Westerner and Christian, is the victory of the individual -- "(the eternal Ego that I am)." This Christian Western Ego is supreme. The acolyte has become a prince, and after his ordeal, alone against the sun, he is once more attended by (his) Arabs, one of whom travels "to the border of the living world" and returns with the token of a fresh ear of rice. As a victor:

The next day I entered upon Egypt, and floated along (for the delight was as the delight of bathing) through the green wavy fields of rice, and pastures fresh and plentiful, and dived into the cold verdure of groves and gardens, and quenched my hot eyes in shade, as though in a bed of deep waters.
(p. 154)

This sentence, using Biblical allusions and the images of water, ends the section on the desert and repeats the metaphor of water as the inverse of the desert. One observes Kinglake's images: "floated along"; "bathing"; "wavy" fields; "dived into the cold verdure"; "quenched" his eyes "as though in a bed of deep waters."

The Desert as a "non-place," that feature of it which links its sands to the waters of the ocean, makes it particularly difficult to describe within the convention of landscape description established by the mid-nineteenth century. Physically, a desert is even more barren a place

than, for example, a prairie:

where, in short, there would be for the landscape painter no commanding feature, no natural or artificial accessory to intercept the eye, and, for the fictional landscapist, no landmark which he could utilize as a base of operations, so to speak, and with reference to which he could order spatially his sequence of pursuits, escapes . . .⁸

The potential of the desert as a place which serves as an empty ground(s) for a man's confrontation with the Divine provides a similar testing ground for the secularized confrontation with one's Self. Paul Zweig, in Journeys: An Automythology, bases his journey on this thoroughly modern version of identity and place: "I think I decided on the desert because it was the easiest place for me to go. My idea of the Sahara corresponded to an inner dryness."⁹

In Eothen, Kinglake's confrontation with the sun results in the personal victory of the individual, yet the metaphors he employs are set in a network of religious imagery. A similar description by Richard Burton of self-confrontation in the desert is produced through the more secular images of a science of perception.

The capacity of the native, in his place, to distinguish variety and difference in a "barren" landscape has been documented in much recent anthropological study, as for example, of Eskimo linguistic distinctions with reference to a desert of ice and snow. Rapaport addresses this

capacity of a native:

Many Europeans have spoken of the uniformity and featurelessness of the Australian landscape. The aborigines, however, see the landscape in a totally different way. Every feature of the landscape is known and has meaning -- they then perceive differences which the Europeans cannot see. These differences may be in terms of detail or in terms of a magical and invisible landscape, the symbolic landscape being even more varied than the perceived physical space. . . . Every tree, every stain, hole and fissure has meaning. Thus what to a European is an empty land may be full of noticeable differences to the aborigines and hence rich and complex.¹⁰

Burton, remarking this ability among desert dwellers, presents a theory for making such distinctions which demonstrates his scientific approach to place.

The ingenuity shown by the Badawin in distinguishing between localities the most similar, is the result of a high organization of the perceptive faculties, perfected by the practice of observing a recurrence of landscape feature few in number and varying but little amongst themselves.¹¹

Burton's own compulsion for organization and categorizing is linked to the scientist's interest in recurrence in experiment. The fewer the objects, the more acute the observation and results can be. On the journey from Cairo to Suez, Burton writes of travelling "through the wilderness without ennui." His view of a desert-wilderness is one of a place endowed with an inherent order which the observer can train himself to observe. This view emphasizes the

paradigm of the desert as a positive wilderness -- the orderly character of nature.

Burton's psychology of perception proposes the mind as an active agent aroused by an absence of objects, stimulated by an environment whose order appeals to the future.

It is strange how the mind can be amused by scenery that presents so few objects to occupy it. But in such a country every slight modification of form or colour rivets observation: the senses are sharpened, and the perceptive faculties, prone to sleep over a confused mass of natural objects, act vigorously when excited by the capability of embracing each detail. (I, 148)

While Burton's desert is also involved with its negative vision, the place of devils is transformed into a place of secular danger, and its appeal psychologized:

In the Desert, even more than upon the ocean, there is present death: hardship is there, and piracies, and shipwreck, solitary, not in crowds, where, as the Persians say, "Death is a Festival"; -- and this sense of danger, never absent, invests the scene of travel with an interest not its own.
(I, 149)

Understanding that the desert is a place without the visual prominence often understood by the concept of place as a locus of interest in time,¹² Burton amplifies this notion of place as he experiences it viscerally. He even theorizes as it were on the psychology of place, comparing how the desert can be perceived with the ways afforded by other places, such as a sea, a glacier or a prairie. The

visceral knowledge of a place such as the desert depends first on the senses, then on the imagination. In their suggestiveness, the desert views "appeal to the Future, not to the Past: they arouse because they are by no means memorial" (I, 149). Because it is unknown -- is so inherently changeable by dint of shifting sands and wind, as well as so vast as to be familiar only with great difficulty -- the desert wilderness appeals to the imagination, a future notion, and to the threat of danger which will require the imagination to cope with any possibility in this strange place.

The desert acts upon the mind: it "amuses," "rivets observation," "sharpens" the senses, "excite(s)," "suggests," "appeal(s)," "arouse(s)," "stimulate(s)." It actively produces its visceral effect: "the Samun caresses you like a lion with flaming breath," as the elements of fire, wind, and earth war upon one another, and consequently on the man in that place.

The metaphorical use of the ocean to describe the desert, seen in Eothen, can be reversed, as it is by Burton, to describe a voyage on water. The essential features of "placelessness" and exposure in these places emphasize man as the measure and "creator" of a place, and provide the possibility for an enlarged perspective -- a view of the universe as a place. The structures of time are imposed so

that the place is measured temporally and viscerally rather than spatially.

An explicit reference to the structure imposed by time upon place is made at the beginning of Chapter XI, "To Yam-bu," when Burton decides to pass the time "in making . . . meteorological remarks" in view of "the unpleasant certainty of not touching ground for thirty-six hours" (I, 207). The description which follows, governed by the movement of the sun, would seem to be a description of the desert; however, it takes place on the water, making an implicit comparison between the ocean and the desert. By its emphasis upon the sun, "a fierce enemy, a foe that will force every one to crouch before him," it demonstrates nature in opposition to man -- "The morning beams oppress you with a feeling of sickness . . . a fiery ordeal" (I, 208) -- and refers the definition of the place to the auspices of Time.

The elements are so strong and the human reactions to them so violent that the sense of place is greatly diminished. Time becomes the significant dimension in which one is located, rather than space: "You now become a monomaniac, you do nothing but count the slow hours that must 'minute by' before you can be relieved" (I, 208). "Those 36 hours were a trial even to the hard-headed Badawin" (I, 209).

The place perceived is markedly removed from cultural

associations and symbolic systems. It is simply earth, as the place of man, which is experienced. When night falls, it is not an event in itself, but felt as the event of the sun's departure: "At this hour . . . the planets look down upon you. . . . In communion with them your hours pass swiftly by. . . . And with one look at a certain little star in the north, under which lies all that makes life living through . . ." (I, 209).

The effect of the full sun not only opposes man to nature, thereby making man insensible to his immediate surroundings ("blinds your eyes, blisters your skin, and parches your mouth") (I, 208), it also reduces the colors of the landscape by its sheer light, making "the atmosphere . . . so clear that now and then a planet is visible." It thus emphasizes the sense of place as the planet earth, while also reducing the closer points of reference by which one may locate himself, using an impressionistic technique of subdued colors, "so lovely Morning soon fades" and with it: "thick mist . . . down the valleys along the sea, and a haze like mother-o'-pearl. . . . The distant rocks . . . a sea of amethyst . . . summits almost transparent . . . jasper tints of the sky" (I, 207). The sun:

dyes the sky orange, and the sea "incarnadine"
 . . . and he mercilessly puts to flight the mists
 and haze and the little agate-coloured masses of
 cloud that were before floating in the firmament.
 (I, 207)

All colour melts away with the candescence from above. The sky is a dead milk-white, and the mirror-like sea so reflects the tint that you can scarcely distinguish the line of the horizon . . . there is a deep stillness. . . . Men are not so much sleeping as half-senseless; they feel as if a few more degrees of heat would be death. (I, 208)

The sun removes man's power of seeing and feeling as it reduces the perceptible qualities from the place. The same is true during night. The absence of light removes the possibility of locating, diminishes the sense of particularized place and generalizes the place as earth, the planet of man. Night "restores the scene to what it was" (I, 208-9) for a quarter of an hour, as "Again the grey hills and the grim rocks become rosy or golden, the palms green, the sands saffron, and the sea wears a lilac surface of dimpling waves." The departure of the full sun allows these elements of the landscape to be distinguished and to be painted in verdant colors. "The horizon is all darkness, and the sea reflects the white visage of the night-sun as in a mirror of steel. In the air we see giant columns of pallid light . . . standing with their heads lost in endless space" (I, 209).

The particular place of the narrator is impossible to determine; however, "The stars glitter with exceeding brilliance," indicating a distant point of reference. The passages come close to being placeless; in fact, however, they give man the comforting assurance of his place on earth

through their cosmic reference vis à vis the universe, implying darkness and the ocean as realms alien to man.

While Burton's description of the ocean as desert discards the particulars of his location in order to focus on man's place in the universe, his rendering of what he experiences from a temporal perspective is primarily visual and occurs as an instance of landscape "painting" with reference to a fixed perspective, a sense of composition ordered by passages of time, and attention to the process of light and color. Colors are an intrinsic part of the description, applied to paint the objects made visible in light, with a natural intensification in the section "Sunset."

The prospect in this landscape of the universe is enhanced by being in such places as the desert or the ocean, which expose man to the elements, diminish him, placing him in relation to a universe which nonetheless relies on his perspective in order to be represented. The common humanity expressed in the subject "you" is used in conjunction with the grand dimensions of the universe to link man and the gods. Unlike Kinglake's particular ego confronting a unified deity in the sun, Burton's scene is painted by a representative of mankind who places himself in an organized universe that includes secular deities represented by astral bodies. Even the sun as foe participates in the or-

der of this view.

Burton's choice of images points to the universal, god-like dimensions of his landscape and links man to the gods/planets in a kind of communion: "You feel the 'sweet' influence of the Pleiades. You are bound by the bond of Orion" (I, 209). The sunset imagery is regal and divine, and the orderly spheres of geometry and architecture provide the compositional structure upon which colors are hung. There is:

a canopy of gigantic rainbow which covers half the face of heaven . . . an arch of tawny orange . . . another of the brightest gold . . . a semi-circle of tender sea-green . . . blends with a score of delicate gradations into the sapphire sky . . . giant wheel-spokes tinged with a beautiful pink . . . mantled with a purple flush. (I, 208)

Burton's sense of communion in a universal order wherein man has his place further differs from Kinglake's sense of an individual test undertaken in a confrontation with the desert and its sun in the outcomes of their desert experiences. While Burton's ordeals recur and permit him to strike out anew in search of other experiences, Kinglake returns to the domesticity and safety of home, even as he is constantly redefining some temporarily familiar spot in the desert as "home" -- for example, the place where tea is served.

. . . I used to walk away towards the East, confident in the print of my foot as a guide for my return. Apart from the cheering voices of my attendants I could better know and feel the loneliness of the Desert. The influence of such scenes, however, was not of a softening kind, but filled me rather with a sort of childish exultation in the self-sufficiency which enabled me to stand thus alone in the wideness of Asia -- a short-lived pride, for wherever man wanders, he still remains tethered by the chain that links him to his kind; and so when the night closed round me, I began to return -- to return, as it were, to my own gate.
(p. 144)

While moving into the universalized and secular human realm found in Burton, through the nationalistic and individualistic one in Kinglake, the paradigms in use for the desert are rooted in the ascetic traditions of Christianity and related to the function of hardship and suffering demanded by the pilgrimage crisis structure of their travel. As a traveller insistent on his identity as a Christian and an aristocrat, Chateaubriand held an essentially negative view of the desert, focusing on its nihilistic feature of disorder and chaos while projecting a modern notion of the desert that could be symbolically applied to the city.

Unlike Burton and Kinglake, Chateaubriand did not cross the desert. His itinerary took him on successive sea voyages, touring the Mediterranean "sans accidents graves, retrouvant Sparte, passant à Athènes, saluant Jérusalem,

admirant Alexandrie, signalant Carthage, and me reposant du spectacle de tant de ruines dans les ruines de l'Alhambra" (II, 695). Chateaubriand's approach to his travels in the Orient emphasizes place names of cities occurring in history and literature which are ordered as an itinerary or list of places. His concern with places is variously reflected, as for example in the division of his introduction into two memoirs, one concerning the history of Sparta and Athens, the second examining the authenticity of religious traditions at Jerusalem, through the certitude "des lieux ou des localités" (II, 748).

In the first part of his travels (Greece) Chateaubriand presents his motive for travelling to the East as the completion of a cycle of studies, which, having already attended to the nomuments of nature in the deserts of America, was yet lacking the monuments of man. Here is established an essential opposition between places of nature (the wilderness or desert) and places of man (ruins of cities or wastelands) which Chateaubriand maintains throughout this work. Desert places are never fully presented since Chateaubriand is never fully in them. He refers frequently to the desert as it is necessarily "at his door," but his view of it is always clearly contained and constructed by the city. Desert in the Orient comes to be viewed in a quite modern sense as a frame of mind. In his chauvinism, Cha-

teaubriand finds a wilderness in those places where Napoleon has failed, that is, where the heathen are. Such cities are deserts.

Hence for Chateaubriand all Egypt, if not the entire Orient, is a desert. The literary pilgrim finds in Egypt nothing left to describe and resorts to an iteration of his journal:

On ne s'attend point sans doute à me voir décrire l'Égypte: j'ai parlé avec quelque étendue des ruines d'Athènes, parce qu'après tout, elles ne sont bien connues que des amateurs des arts: je me suis livré à de grands détails sur Jérusalem, parce que Jérusalem était l'objet principal de mon voyage. Mais que dirais-je de l'Égypte? Qui ne l'a point vue aujourd'hui? Le Voyage de M. de Volney en Égypte est un véritable chef-d'oeuvre dans tout ce qui n'est pas érudition: . . . Je me bornerai donc à suivre, sans m'arrêter, les simples dates de mon journal. (II, 1136)

Moreover, as the pilgrimage has been completed by the visit to Jerusalem, the principal object of his tour, Egypt lies outside the central concern of his itinerary, as a wilderness or desert when juxtaposed with Jerusalem. Nonetheless, the importance of Egypt is such that Chateaubriand must allude to it in his passage returning from Jerusalem. He grants it a primacy and uses its degraded modern condition to reflect upon the profanity of the place. This degradation is closely tied to Napoleon's defeat in Egypt where Chateaubriand reflects that the best things there are those left by the French soldiers.

Egypt is utilized in the itinerary symbolically, in synechdoche. Similarly, parts serve to describe Egypt: "Le soir même, nous eûmes, comme disent les marins . . . quelques palmiers . . . une masse noirâtre et confuse . . . arbres isolés . . . les ruines d'un village, triste enseigne des destinées de l'Égypte" (II, 1133-34). Chateaubriand excuses his incomplete description of Egypt by claiming that he has already said all he has to say about Egypt elsewhere: " . . . j'ai moi-même dit ailleurs tout ce que j'avais à dire sur l'Égypte. Le livre des Martyrs, ou j'ai parlé de cette vieille terre, est plus complet touchant l'antiquité, que les autres livres du même ouvrage" (II, 1136). Because Egypt is located for Chateaubriand in antiquity, he has no cause to examine the present state of the country. Its ruins or traces serve to signify it, and his representation and interpretation of them suffice to symbolize it as a desert place, both peripheral and degraded.

Thus the actual desert occurs in Chateaubriand's Itinéraire as a marginal place, bordering the places of primary interest. As such, the desert is conceived as secondary, and as a left-over area associated with waste and ruin. Those places which are desert to Chateaubriand have been lost by France and by Christianity, to be irremediably alien, unconverted and uncolonized.

From his prospect within Western, i.e., French and Christian, civilization looking out at the waste border which is the desert, the latter is seen as merely a landscape, a non-entity which simply provides a backdrop for the French trace and the ruins of ancient cities.

As a setting for the Pyramids, the desert is viewed as analogous to the ocean, anchored by islands in its essentially inhospitable midst. With a radically different attitude from that of Burton, Chateaubriand doesn't need to experience the Pyramids first-hand. He is content to view them from a distance as entities within their desert landscape setting, and only requests that a friend trace his name on them on a future expedition. The literary significance of his journey is thereby emphasized as he manages to write his name in the desert without being there, imprinting himself through literature.

In his treatment of the desert as a landscape setting for the Pyramids, Nerval's view of the desert resembles that of Chateaubriand. However, while Chateaubriand's conception of the desert is a negative one signifying waste and peripheral interest -- a true wasteland where nothing exists but ruins and wrecks sabotaged by the unconvertible heathen, Nerval's desert setting is a fecund one, holding beneath and within its shifting sands an archival wealth of opportunities for the discovery, transformation, and reali-

zation of his true self. For Nerval, the desert setting is a full vessel rather than the empty frame or container it seems to Chateaubriand. While Nerval claims to have ascended the Pyramids, and while his ritualistic pilgrimage there provides the focus of his voyage of self-discovery, his account of them "copies" almost verbatim other literary sources, displacing his experience, like Chateaubriand's, to a voyage in literature. While someone else is entrusted to write Chateaubriand's name on the Pyramids, Nerval entrusts the description of his experience to other writers. In displacing the significant place of his pilgrimage from Jerusalem to Cairo, Nerval seems to be the writer who fulfills Chateaubriand's request.

Both differ from Kinglake and Burton in viewing the desert as essentially a non-place, and as a mere setting for places, e.g., the Pyramids, Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, within it. While Chateaubriand and Nerval orient themselves to a conception of the desert which emphasizes its past and communal aspects, both Kinglake and Burton actively deal with the desert's future and individualizing potential. For the two Englishmen, the desert is a forceful entity -- an anti-place -- which serves to challenge their senses of their original places in a process which entitles them to their individual places in the universe.

Notes

¹ Edward Relph, Place and Placelessness (London: Pion, 1976). In his final chapter, Relph discusses placelessness as "a weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike but feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience," thus attributing the production of sameness and monotony to intensified human activities such as mass communication, mass culture, tourism, futurization, and central authority. In classifying the characteristics of a placeless landscape, Relph includes in his list of five manifestations of placelessness "uniformity," "formlessness and lack of human scale and order," "place destruction," and "impermanence and instability of places," all applied exclusively to man-made places, without reference to the occurrence of such characteristics in such natural places as the desert or the ocean.

² Yi-Fu Tuan's discussion in Topophilia (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974) and Space and Place (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1977) of the socio-historical significance of the desert as a wilderness ideal is valuable for relating our present concerns with the desert as placelessness and the role of place and suffering in pilgrimage. The pertinent arguments of his historical overview are summarized below, and have been adapted to the subsequent explications of some desert descriptions.

Tuan proposes that the country is best seen as a "middle landscape," Edenic in character, whereas the city and the wilderness have become profane places. According to Tuan, this "Jeffersonian ideal," current from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, shifted with the expansion of both city and middle landscape, as they both began to encroach upon the wilderness, and came to be viewed as having similar characters. As the middle landscape acquires the order of the city, it comes, with the wilderness, which has shifted to being a possible place for recreation with an esteem for nature's order, to be viewed as Edenic in opposition to the profane and amorphous city.

• See diagram 4, Topophilia, p. 105.

E. Allen McCormick takes issue with Tuan's overly polarized view, indicating that city and country did not "encroach" so much as they were involved in a process of domestication to suit man.

³ Tuan, Topophilia, p. 112.

⁴ Alexander Kinglake, Eothen, introd. Harold Spencer (London: J. M. Dent, 1908?), p. 138. Subsequent references are to this edition and will be indicated in the text.

⁵ Tuan, Space and Place, p. 161.

⁶ T. E. Lawrence details in Seven Pillars of Wisdom (London: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 216, the comparative efficiency of female and male camels.

⁷ One is reminded by the incremental repetition as well as the perspective of the becalmed sea -- a desert of water -- in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner": "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink."

⁸ Blake Nevius, Cooper's Landscapes: An Essay on the Picturesque Vision (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), pp. 14-15.

⁹ Paul Zweig, Journeys: An Automythology (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 49.

¹⁰ A. Rapaport, "Australian aborigines and the definition of place," in Environmental Design: Research and Practice, ed. W. J. Mitchell (Los Angeles: EDRA Conference, 1972), pp. 3-3-1, cited in Relph, p. 15.

¹¹ Richard Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Madinah and Meccah (London, 1893; rpt. New York: Dover, 1964), p. 148.

¹² Tuan, Space and Place, p. 179.

VII

EPILOGUE

VII

In its focus on four literary travellers -- Nerval, Burton, Kinglake, and Chateaubriand -- this study has attempted to deal with the concept of place and the kinds of voyaging that paradigms of place evoke. In an analysis of the relationships among these four authors, perhaps the most dominant axis of comparison which emerges is their French and English identities. As major competitors in the Orient of their time, each nationality was highly critical of the other. The French, who were the losers, were nostalgic and dreamed of the past while the English marched vigorously forward, labelling places while they gathered them up. This generalized distinction in their characters is attributed by Bronowski and Mazlish to the dominance of rational inquiry in French science which undervalued experiment up to the time of the French Revolution, and the predominantly practical and empirical bias in science resulting from the decay of the Royal Society in eighteenth-century England and the subsequent loss of interest in rational inquiry.¹

In the textual explications of each author's work, the voyages of Chateaubriand and Nerval have been closely re-

lated as a pair, with Nerval subterraneously following Chateaubriand's path, as Butor has suggested. They are further related, by contrast to Burton and Kinglake, in their dedication to literature in its poetic and imaginative evocation. They share a propensity to invent and to incorporate other literary materials into their own work, thus setting the literary imagination above the directly experienced. While Chateaubriand sent another traveller to carve his name on the Pyramids, Nerval used another's descriptions to describe his experience. The common Englishness of Burton and Kinglake can be observed in their empirical methods and scientifically detached attitudes.

On another axis of comparison, it is Chateaubriand and Kinglake who share the point of view of nationalists in contrast with Burton and Nerval's identities as Orientalists. Additionally, both Chateaubriand and Kinglake can be seen to have approached their voyages frontally as fully determined and integrated selves, comfortable within their social skins, whereas Burton and Nerval embarked on their voyages in deflected fashions, as spiritually and physically disguised characters, unfixed and on the look-out for constantly shifting perspectives and unique experiences.

In yet another dimension, the similarities between Chateaubriand and Burton bond them as classicists, as they measure themselves with thoroughness and erudition against

a body of history. Both tend to include every detail garnered, comparing it to every extant source. Both have willful characters and multifaceted identities, Chateaubriand as traveller, man of letters, statesman and Burton as military man, linguist, explorer, writer, translator, anthropologist. As explicitly stated pilgrims, they announce their sense of obligation to a community of scholarship as a primary feature of their pilgrimages. Both are obsessed with their places in history and with the public recognition of their lives as great men.

With respect to the above, Nerval and Kinglake may be contrasted to Burton and Chateaubriand as a pair whose personal selves take precedence over their public reputations or their professional concerns. They are less aware of being spokesmen who have a reputation to protect and enhance than with their private missions of a personal recovery of place and a self-education. Both carefully shape their material around a private vision of their self-focused quests. Both individuals travelled without claiming service to their governments, the edification of others, or the intention of accruing professional honors, but merely on their own. With Nerval and Kinglake, the pilgrimage structure is overtly secularized as curative and educational travel with an emphasis on their voluntary self-enhancement. Their respective versions of playing house exemplified by Kinglake's

tea in the desert and Nerval's practical search for a wife emphasize their domestic versions of place as home.

Their narrative attitudes are similarly oriented to the present moment of their travels, to the intensity of sensations in the instant of their experience. While there are moments in Burton's Narrative and in Chateaubriand's Itinéraire in which an "intensity of sensation ensures the instant," their usual temporal stances involve the arrangement of a "multiplicity of sensation" which is evoked by remembering and permits duration.² While Kinglake and Nerval come closer to a cosmic self-awareness, Chateaubriand and Burton are obsessively self-aware of their historicity.

This analysis of the relatedness of the four writers has focused on the ways in which a pilgrimage structure is reflected in all four travel accounts through the underlying metaphor of life as a voyage. The paradigms of place held by each of the travellers similarly reflect their distinct "places" in life's voyage and have determined to a large degree the order in which each of the writers has been treated.

Nerval's childhood separation from and loss of his mother was instrumental in creating a paradigm of place as a maternal source that was inherently disillusioning. His pilgrimage to the Orient as source is re-created by displacements and engaged with the expectation of disappoint-

ment. Nerval's childhood loss fashioned his conception of a home as a desired place (the mother) with which he sought to be united but whose elusive distance was an integral part of the conception.

Nerval's attempts at disguise suggest a childlike interest in dressing up, in wearing a costume which the child dons to make-believe. In his obsessive rehandling of the Pyramids, of Cythera, with the veiled women of Cairo, with Salêma, whom he is not able to marry, with the echoing incest in the tales of Adoniram and the Queen of Morning, he approaches places in the manner of a fetishist, i.e., handling places as fetishes.

The Nervalian preservation of distance within the place he perceives as the goal of his pilgrimage in search of a lost mother-source is paralleled in our analysis of Burton as the maintenance of detachment required by his scientific perspective. Burton's adolescent adventurism is justified by the scientific pose which serves as his real disguise, to which the pilgrim ruse is subordinate. A trained linguist, Burton perfects his pilgrim disguise by his skill at imitation and manipulation of anthropological "data" in order to see at first-hand places he would be unable to visit undisguised (as himself). The disguise of the scientist gives Burton the license to do anything or go anywhere, to violate a place as a means of acquiring knowl-

edge. However, the novelty and uniqueness of Burton's spectacularly individual feat serve to glamorize Burton as an adventurer and to personally gratify Burton as an individual far more than his achievement serves a corpus of knowledge.

The voyeuristic ethos of science justifies Burton's personal voyeurism. The thrill of the voyeur is in almost getting caught -- he is also the exhibitionist who watches the reactions of others. Much of Burton's pride is aroused by being able to report his observations of how he is viewed by others, for in disguise he is clearly in control (within the play of a pilgrimage),³ just as the Darwaysh controls others by observing no limits upon his public behavior. Disguised as a pilgrim, Burton uses the exhibitionistic license of that role partially to expose his own exhibitionistic and obsessive temperament, while observing and recording the responses and near discoveries (close calls) his pilgrim provokes. Thus it is that Burton's primary disguise is that of the scientist-observer, who camouflages while complementing the adolescent disdain of limits and a personal rebellion.

The respect for limits and the carefully planned overcoming of obstacles, which are considered characteristics of the adult, can be seen in Alexander Kinglake's measured volume, Eothen. Kinglake's self-confidence about not con-

tracting the plague and not falling ill when away from home results from the self-limits he observes and the subsequent distance at which he holds the other. He never becomes intimate with the place (Cairo) or with the plague that symbolizes Cairo, and hence he remains intact and self-possessed, at home wherever he may be. The distancing tactic of humor by which he holds others at bay, and which he often turns upon himself, allows him to voyage as through an obstacle course undaunted. His conception of voyaging and place reflects the ritual overcoming of obstacles with the resultant self-enhancement of the pilgrim. His pilgrimage is secularized as educational and broadening travel appropriate to his class and years.

In Chateaubriand's Itinéraire one finds the older "man of letters," the writer who fulfills the destiny he has created as a linking force within this work itself. His posture of the grand écrivain in the process of writing a memoir provides the element of disguise which justifies his re-creation of the voyage, and gives it a context. The voyage fulfills his formulations of himself and allows him to be his own documentation.

The voyage recounted in the Itinéraire and the work itself are secondary texts. Chateaubriand's voyage is clearly a voyage in literature and the places he uses are texts which he has already written, as in Génie du Chris-

tianisme. Chateaubriand's nostalgia and deference to the past, particularly the literary past, encompasses his own place as a writer in the archive which is literature. "To renew the old world -- that is the collector's deepest desire," claims Walter Benjamin.⁴ As literary critic, Chateaubriand is doing his own textual criticism, his own literary analysis. His perspective is that of the book collector amplified by Benjamin: "Of all the ways of acquiring books, writing them oneself is regarded as the most praiseworthy method. . . . Writers are really people who write books . . . because they are dissatisfied with the books which they could buy but do not like."⁵ Chateaubriand's Itinéraire is a personal library, a dwelling of books which he owns in a relationship of intimacy permitting him to live in them.⁶

Completing the circular movement which figures as the structure of the Itinéraire, in whose subterranean path Nerval is later to voyage and to write, and which Michel Butor is to transform into a spiral with Niagara, Chateaubriand reflects the solitude of old age off the submerged solitudes of childhood and adolescence to project himself in his maturity into the endlessly changing being of the modern, to write himself endlessly.⁷

"je descendrai . . . dans l'éternité."⁸

Notes

¹ Bronowski and Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 492-93.

² George Poulet, Studies in Human Time, trans. Elliott Coleman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), p. 21.

³ Mary Frosch has pointed to a parallel in Hamlet's situation wherein Hamlet, trained in philosophy, cannot act directly and proposes to use the ruse of disguise -- the play as decoy -- to discover what he already knows. See also her dissertation, "Narcissus: The Negative Double," City University of New York, 1976.

⁴ Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," in Illuminations, ed. and intro. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 61.

⁵ Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," p. 61.

⁶ " . . . for a collector . . . ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them. So I have erected one of his dwellings, with books as the building stones, before you, and now he is going to disappear inside, as is only fitting." Benjamin, p. 67.

⁷ Poulet, quoting Bergson: "To exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to create oneself endlessly," p. 35. Also see Bachelard, The Poetics of Reverie, trans. Daniel Russell (New York: Orion Press, 1969), pp. 107-8: "It is often late in life that we discover our childhood and adolescent solitudes in their depths. In the last quarter of life one understands the solitudes of the first quarter by reflecting the solitude of old age off the forgotten solitudes of childhood."

⁸ Chateaubriand's closing in Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe, Vol. III (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1951), p. 682.

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