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A Reluctant Observer Between Two Empires? The Travels of the Botanist Carl Haussknecht to the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia (1865 and 1866 – 1869)

The regions of West Asia and North Africa, making up the so-called “Orient” (as a mid-nineteenth century traveler would have called it), have ever since been a destination for European travelers from various backgrounds.¹ Those who traveled the region in this period witnessed the West Asian empires in a period of transition and their travelogues provide us with valuable information on the region’s path to modernity. A particularly interesting decade was the 1860s, a period marked by major developments in the policies of the two main regional powers – the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia. To counter the intensifying European domination, the two empires engaged in several reforms aiming at developing a stronger, more centralized state structure. At the same time, both empires accelerated integration into the globalized world economy, with some regions being better integrated through modern means of transport and a developing export-oriented cash crop economy, and others remaining peripheral.²

It was in exactly this decade that a young German botanist named Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903) (Fig. 1) set out on a botanical expedition leading him through both the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Persia. On his way he observed the empires’ endeavors to negotiate their place in the newly globalized world system, and he might have been reminded of the situation in his homeland, with the German lands also being well on the road towards modernization and nation-statehood. Being a scientist, Haussknecht proved to be a rather unusual type of traveler, crossing the boundaries of disciplines – not just collecting plants but also impressions and snapshots of the places he found himself in. In these foreign countries Haussknecht negotiated his own identity, and the strategies he applied are particularly reflected in his encounters with “otherness,”

1 The present text was written within the framework of the project “The travels of the botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903) into the Ottoman Empire and Persia (1865 and 1866–1869): The commented digital edition of his diaries”, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), grant number 318862275.

2 James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York et al. 2005), pp. 69–71.

which this article will discuss, drawing from the text corpus of his unpublished travel diaries.

Introduction – Carl Haussknecht and his travel diaries in context

Carl Heinrich Haussknecht was born on 30 November 1838 in the remote village of Bennungen in Prussian Saxony, into an upper-middle-class Protestant family.³ Prussia at that time was one of many kingdoms, duchies, and city-states that constituted the territory of present-day Germany. After completing his education, young Haussknecht trained as a pharmacist and set off to Switzerland as a journeyman. There he made a rare botanical discovery, namely he found a plant in an area where it had not been recorded before,⁴ which put him in contact with other famous botanists of his time. In November 1863, the Swiss botanist Edmond Boissier (1810 – 1885) contacted Haussknecht offering to sponsor botanical expeditions to West Asia. Boissier at that time was working on his massive plant encyclopedia *Flora Orientalis* and wanted Haussknecht to collect plants that would enrich the work. Haussknecht accepted the offer but first finished his degree in pharmacy at the University of Breslau (Wrocław). In 1864 he returned to Weimar, completing his travel arrangements before setting off on his first journey to the Ottoman Empire in February 1865. The itinerary led him to areas that today belong to northern Syria and southeastern Turkey, before returning to Geneva in December 1865 and determining the collected plant material. Again, he set out in November 1866 to the Ottoman Empire, continuing to Persia and returning to Germany in March 1869 via Baku and Tiflis.

3 The biography of Haussknecht is already well covered by previous publications, in particular: Friedrich Karl Meyer, Carl HAUSSKNECHT, ein Leben für die Botanik, in *Haussknechtia* 5 (1990), pp. 5–20; Frank H. Hellwig, Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903): Forschungsreisender und Gründer des Herbariums Haussknecht, in Ingrid Kästner and Jürgen Kiefer (eds.), *Botanische Gärten und botanische Forschungsreisen: Beiträge der Tagung vom 7. bis 9. Mai 2010 an der Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt* (Aachen 2011), pp. 393–412; Frank Hellwig, Carl Haussknecht: Ein biographischer Überblick, in Kristin Victor (ed.), *Carl Haussknecht: Ein Leben für die Botanik. Festband anlässlich der Ausstellung zum 175. Geburtstag des Botanikers Carl Haussknecht “Durchs Wilde Kurdistan ... Carl Haussknechts Forschungsreisen in den Orient”* in der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena vom 30.11.2013 bis 1.3.2014 (Jena 2013), pp. 10–13.

4 He identified a plant of the umbellifers family, named *Trochiscanthe* in French (*Radblüte* in German). See e.g. Siegmund Seybold et al., *Der große Zander. Enzyklopädie der Pflanzennamen*, vol. 2: Arten und Sorten (Stuttgart 2008), p. 1795.

After his return, Haussknecht first worked as a pharmacist in Weimar but he soon dedicated his professional life completely to botany, worked as a private scholar, and received the honorary title of professor. In 1873, the Persian monarch Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1831–1896) decorated him with the Imperial Order of the Lion and the Sun during his visit to Germany, an honor for foreigners who had rendered distinguished services to the Persian Empire. Finally, on 18 October 1896, Haussknecht inaugurated his own herbarium in Weimar, which quickly developed into a renowned research center for Oriental botany. After his death on 7 July 1903, his family converted the *Herbarium Haussknecht* into a foundation, and in 1949 it was transferred to the University of Jena.⁵

During his first expedition, Haussknecht collected thousands of plant specimens: in total more than 400 new species have been described based on Haussknecht's findings.⁶ The non-botanical material Haussknecht provides us with is also rich. His travel diaries alone comprise around 1,000 pages neatly written in *Kurrent* (a cursive German handwriting), complemented by notebooks and other material. He also collected *cartes de visite* and carried a friendship book (*album amicorum*) with him in which travel acquaintances would write lines as a keepsake.⁷ Furthermore, he collected a wide variety of items, including, for example, coins, snails, and archaeological finds. Special items among the latter are two clay bricks with cuneiform writing and a clay copy of the *Ganjnama inscription* by Xerxes I (486–465 BCE), taken by Haussknecht himself during his stay in Hamadān.⁸

Haussknecht prepared himself meticulously for his journey, including reading contemporary travelogues as well as works on archaeology and geography, among them Carl Ritter's (1779–1859) monumental *Erdkunde*⁹ (Geography),

5 Hellwig, Carl Haussknecht, pp. 10–13; Hans-Joachim Zündorf, Das Herbarium Haussknecht in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, in Victor (ed.), Carl Haussknecht, pp. 74–81.

6 Frank Hellwig and Kristin Victor, The Botanist Carl Haussknecht (1838–1903) in the Ottoman Empire and Persia (1865 and 1866–1869): A Biographical Sketch and Itinerary of His Expeditions, in Ines Aščerić-Todd et al. (eds.), Travellers in Ottoman Lands: The Botanical Legacy (Oxford 2018), pp. 147–157, here p. 154.

7 A separate study of Haussknecht's *cartes de visite* in the larger context of nineteenth-century social image practices was done by Matthias Gründig, Der Schah in der Schachtel: Soziale Bildpraktiken im Zeitalter der Carte de visite (Marburg 2016).

8 Hellwig and Victor, The Botanist Carl Haussknecht, p. 153.

9 Carl Ritter, Die Erdkunde im Verhältniß zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und Unterrichts in physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften (1st ed. in 2 vols., Berlin 1817–1818, 2nd substantially enlarged and revised ed. in 19 vols., Berlin 1822–1859), vol. 11 treating upper Mesopotamia was



Fig. 1: Ernst Queck, *Photograph of Carl H. Haussknecht* (Weimar 1892).
Source: © Herbarium Haussknecht, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

from which he noted down extracts of the areas he planned to visit in his itinerary.¹⁰ In addition, Haussknecht also got in touch with botanists who had traveled to the region before and who could provide him with useful information. Among these were Theodor Kotschy (1813–1866), who worked in Vienna and

probably part of Haussknecht's luggage on his first journey, because he occasionally mentions having consulted it (for example on 21 March 1865).

10 Elisabeth Müller and Kristin Victor, *Reisevorbereitungen*, in Victor, Carl Haussknecht, pp. 24–25, here p. 24.

had been to the Ottoman Empire and Persia, and Carl Heinrich Koch (1809–1879), who had traveled across Anatolia and Transcaucasia. The latter advised him in a letter from 1864 that he should introduce himself as a doctor, a *hakim*, looking for medicinal plants on the orders of his sultan, both explanatory categories local people were acquainted with. On his advice, Haussknecht also compiled lists of Turkish vocabulary, but he never set out to study an “Oriental” language seriously.¹¹

We should also note here that the nineteenth century was the peak of travel literature, mainly resulting from two overlapping trends: the aftermath of the so-called “Grand Tour” and exploration outside of Europe. The purpose of the Grand Tour was to round the education of young men; it was both an ideological exercise and social ritual, leading them to the centers of European culture.¹² The era of exploration goes hand in hand with imperialistic ideas; as a result, travel writing was increasingly identified with the interests of European powers and their wish to influence and dominate the non-European world.¹³ This travel trend quickly became institutionalized by scientific societies, the most famous being the Royal Geographic Society that heavily promoted travel. In this effort to imperialize science for the benefit of overseas expansion, travelogues played a crucial role and returning explorers were expected to publish their scientific report to their sponsor society, preferably in the form of a book.¹⁴

Haussknecht, however, against earlier plans, decided not to publish his travel diaries. In these, we do encounter discourses that are characteristic of travelogues from that period, but the differentness of Haussknecht’s travel notes outweighs the similarities with his contemporaries. His undertaking is unusual since, on Boissier’s orders, he did not embark on one of the pre-established itineraries along the caravan routes of West Asia that previous travelers had relied on. What sets his travel notes apart from contemporary travelogues is that they cover both urban and rural areas, depicting not only different geographical but also social landscapes. As a matter of fact, Haussknecht met a variety of people from all backgrounds of the local population. His inability to communicate directly with locals increased his feeling of foreignness, of alterity. Thus, we notice that in his conception of foreignness and closeness, social class becomes the decisive factor of identity. Class equals here Pierre Bourdieu’s definition of “class

¹¹ Hellwig and Victor, *The Botanist Carl Haussknecht*, pp. 149–154.

¹² James Buzard, *The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)*, in Peter Hulme (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge 2002), pp. 37–52, here p. 38.

¹³ Roy Bridges, *Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720–1914)*, in Hulme (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion*, pp. 53–69, here p. 53.

¹⁴ Bridges, *Exploration and Travel*, pp. 53, 60–62.

on paper,” what denotes “a set of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar types of conditioning, have every chance of having similar dispositions and interests, and thus of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances.”¹⁵ Class inequalities have their roots in the hierarchically differentiated nature of taste and preferences, a process that happens below the levels of language and consciousness.¹⁶ Based on his privileged social affiliation, Haussknecht confronts this feeling with a special mindset and various strategies, which we want to show by highlighting his encounters with three major groups that he came across throughout his journeys.

The first group is composed of several communities of “Oriental Christians”, as Christianity is a category Haussknecht knows, that he himself belongs and relates to. The second group of people we would like to focus on comprises the tribes, since they constitute the most “exotic” group for a European traveler and offer an excellent opportunity for ethnographic observation. The last group we have selected includes government officials and people representing the monarchy, because they represent the most privileged group of society and the agents of the modernizing state. Furthermore, the strategies Haussknecht applies might shed a light on his self-perception. The question of whether he identified himself first as “German,” or as “Saxon,” “Prussian,” or “European” remains open, one that his writings and his encounters with “others” might enlighten.

1 The reluctant observer – otherness and closeness

Haussknecht was only twenty-six years old when he set out on his first journey. Although he had certainly traveled in Europe a lot more than most people his age at that time, venturing into the Ottoman Empire and Persia was yet another dimension, where he could no longer rely on his linguistic and cultural skills (like in Switzerland), and had to bridge the gap between preconceived expectations (nurtured from his reading of travel books and correspondence with other travelers) and the “reality” he was exposed to. His first encounter with the “Orient,” when his ship called at the port in Izmir (Smyrna) on 15 February 1865, shows him hesitating: “Smyrna offered a beautiful sight from the ship; the

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge 1991), p. 231.

¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction, critique sociale du jugement* (Oxford 1984), p. 467.

mountains covered with fresh greenery and the cemetery at the right of the city planted with slender cypresses, the slender minarets etc. gave it a picturesque appearance.”¹⁷

Despite these encouraging words, once he set foot on land he did not venture straight into this new strange world, but instead went to the bookshop of “Brother Janson,” and, together with “Friend Kuhn” – freemasons like Haussknecht himself – spent the rainy day in the coffeehouses drinking “beer from Vienna.”¹⁸ The evening was reserved for a performance of the opera *Norma*¹⁹ by a touring Italian company. Haussknecht is very critical of the quality of the performance, comparing it with the opera house in his hometown Weimar.

Haussknecht’s curiosity was not broad enough to pass the invisible border between the Frankish quarter and the old town of Izmir (Smyrna) with its uncomfortable “narrow alleys”: “The narrow alleys are stifling for us Europeans, so that one spontaneously directs one’s steps into the open outside the city.”²⁰ He keeps this careful and distant attitude for some time, as his diaries show for the rest of the journey towards Aleppo.

17 “Smyrna [Izmir] bot einen sehr schönen Anblick vom Schiff aus dar, die mit frischem Grün bedeckten Berge, rechts von der Stadt der mit schlanken Cypressen bepflanzte Gottesacker, die schlanken Minarets etc. geben ihr ein malerisches Ansehen.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_01_007* (15 February 1865), in Frank H. Hellwig et al. (eds.), *Digitale Edition der Reisetagebücher Carl Haussknechts (1838–1903): Osmanisches Reich und Persien* (since 2017), accessed 4 April 2022, <<http://haussknecht.thulb.uni-jena.de>>. All translations from the travel diaries are the authors’. For a better readability, we omitted line numbers and editorial comments from the citations. In the German citations, names of places and persons are kept in the form Haussknecht wrote them down, with correct spelling, and contemporary place names added in brackets. The English translations use the current English or contemporary place names.

18 It seems that beer from Vienna was a well-known brand by Haussknecht’s time. This fact is linked to innovation in beer brewing during the nineteenth century, particularly the “lager beer” with a better taste that could be stored longer. This facilitated its transport over longer distances. The brewery of Anton Dreher (1810–1863) in Klein-Schwechat near Vienna was particularly successful in this regard. From 1840 onwards he founded a number of breweries all over the Habsburg Empire. One brewery in Trieste allowed the export to the Mediterranean region and beyond. See Christian M. Springer, Wolfgang Ladenbauer, and Alfred Paleczny, *Wiener Bier-Geschichte* (Vienna et al. 2017), pp. 25–26, 187–198.

19 The opera *Norma* by Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835) was premiered on 26 December 1831 at Milan’s La Scala. The melodrama in two acts takes place in Gaul around 50 BCE. See *Norma* von Vincenzo Bellini, in *opernführer. the virtual opera house*, accessed 4 April 2022, <<https://opern-guide.ch/operas/norma/>>.

20 “Die engen Straßen haben etwas sehr beengendes für uns Europäer, unwillkürlich lenkt man seine Schritte nach dem Freien außerhalb der Stadt.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_01_008* (15 February 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

Hausknecht was now traveling in societies that, unlike his native central German lands, were marked by a high degree of social plurality: the people he encountered spoke different languages and considered themselves as belonging to different ethnicities, following different religions and sects, leading a sedentary or nomadic life, or were strangers like himself. Hausknecht was thus perceived by the different people he encountered with different degrees of “strangeness.”

The Ottoman Empire and Persia had developed strategies to accommodate “strangers” into their system. Part of this was a particular legal status (*musta'min*) that provided a “stranger” with a certain security (*amān*) to travel and engage in business and other activities in the country. These procedures included the issuing of documents, such as a *farmān*²¹ or a *buyuruldu*.²² The two empires fostered an image of being “welcoming, open” spaces that considered cultural pluralism an important feature.

2 Popular religion and practices?

2.1 “Oriental” Christianity – Greek-Orthodox baptism in Diyarbakır

Hausknecht was of Protestant Prussian denomination and he was a child of his time. He was also deeply influenced by his social background, belonging to a bourgeois family of large landowners, and his modern secular education. However, Prussian society was shaped by a strong Protestant-Calvinist ethos. The pietism that accompanied it emphasized a lifestyle characterized by thriftiness, self-control, conscientiousness, seriousness, professionalism, and diligence, and thus corresponded to bourgeois virtues.²³ Thus, Hausknecht displays an unfavorable, often arrogant, attitude to what he perceived as superstition, ignorance, lack of education, or irrational behavior in general. One “target” of this criticism was the Christian communities living in the Ottoman Empire and Persia. The

21 A *farmān* is an edict or order issued by the Ottoman sultan bearing his cypher (*tughra*). U. Heyd, *Farmān*, ii. – Ottoman Empire, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Leiden et al. 2012), accessed 4 April 2022, <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/farman-COM_0213#d14272449e1086>.

22 A *buyuruldu* (Turkish for: “it has been ordered”) was a document issued by provincial authorities. In Hausknecht’s case, it was a kind of travel permit.

23 Hans J. Hillerbrand, *Staatliche Tugendlehre und Theologische Ethik im Preußen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 53/1 (2001), pp. 1–17, here p. 10.

most numerous were the Armenian and Orthodox ones, with their respective “Uniate” Catholic branches. Protestant missionaries were active in the cities of Eastern Anatolia, and by the time of Haussknecht’s visit they had established flourishing parishes among the local Armenians.

Most of Haussknecht’s contacts among local Christians were with these two communities. During his visit in Diyarbakır on his first trip, he had the occasion to attend a Greek-Orthodox baptism. He does not explain the circumstances of his presence, but since other foreigners were present as well, his hosts probably belonged to the merchant milieu. We may suppose that most Greek-Orthodox in Diyarbakır at that time belonged to Arab families with links to Aleppo. This is how he describes the occasion:

Here I had occasion to attend a Greek-Orthodox baptism. [...] The baptism happened in the house, all the family gathered in a big room; [...] Godmothers were two Italian ladies, one of them Madame Cooper. Finally, the priest appeared, a little old man with a long grey beard, in a garment whose original color was not recognizable because of the dirt. [...] after he had prepared himself with several rakis, [...] [h]e took an old greasy prayer book, from which he read aloud in Arabic, but so fast that even those speaking Arabic did not understand a word. He also addressed a lot of questions to the two non-Arabic speaking ladies, after each question he did blow²⁴ on each of the godfathers from both sides, likewise he did blow on the four corners of the room, to drive out the devil. [...] Everyone present received two candles, but I gave them to my neighbor, it was too boring for me. [...] [W]hen he took the child and dropped it three times into the basin, I thought the child would drown, which in fact not infrequently happens it seems. [...] Then, he continued to read aloud for some time, during the pauses two choristers sang screaming, all the time swinging incense burners, so that the whole room was full of smoke. Hereupon everything was packed again, he took off his fool’s dress and sat comfortably with the others in the courtyard, where they drank coffee and raki. The whole scene was funny, and I could not hide my laughter.²⁵

24 It is uncertain, if he did only blow air, or if this remark alludes to the use of incense in the ceremony.

25 “Hier hatte ich auch Gelegenheit, einer griechisch-orthodoxen Taufe beizuwohnen. [...] Die Taufe geschah im Hause. In einem großen Zimmer versammelten sich alle Angehörigen; [...] Pathen waren 2 Italienerinnen, die eine Mad. Cooper. Endlich erschien der Priester, ein alter kleiner Mann mit langen grauen Barte, in einem Gewande, dessen ursprüngliche Farbe vor Schmutz nicht mehr zu erkennen war. Er war gefolgt von einem Diener, der ein großes Paquet auf der Schulter trug; nachdem er sich erst mit einigen Raki’s zum Werke vorbereitet hatte, [...] [e]r nahm dann ein altes schmiriges Gebetbuch, aus dem er lange Zeit in arabischer Sprache vorlas, aber so rasch, daß selbst die arabisch redenden kein Wort verstanden. Auch richtete er eine Menge Fragen an die beiden nicht arabisch redenden Damen, worauf er nach jeder Frage jede der Pathen von beiden Seiten anblies; ebenso blies er auch die 4 Gegenden des Zimmers an, um den Teufel auszutreiben. [...] Jeder der Anwesenden erhielt 2 brennende Wachslichter in die Hand, ich gab sie aber meinem Nachbar, es war mir zu langweilig. [...] [A]ls er das nackte Kind nahm und 3mal im Kessel untertauchte; so daß ich glaubte, das Kind müsse ertrinken,

Despite his display of superiority vis-à-vis the spectacle he attended, his observations are characterized by a lack of understanding of the particular ritual and the relation between the priest and the community, mainly due to the absence of communication. Haussknecht probably did not inquire about the spectacle. This distanced attitude was characteristic of the first months of his first journey, as we have already mentioned. However, he does not treat all local Christians alike. The efforts of the American missionaries receive positive comments, since “these missions are the first cornerstone towards civilization of the completely neglected people.”²⁶

2.2 “Oriental” Christianity – Armenian wedding in Isfahan

Haussknecht’s itinerary in Persia relied heavily on the transportation system of the mounted couriers (*chāpārs*) and, while on the road, he spent most nights in relay stations (*chāpār-khānahs*) and caravansaries. Işfahān was the only city on his route in which he took up quarters in a Catholic monastery in Julfā, the Christian quarter south of the Zāyandah Rūd river. It was here that he had the opportunity to join an Armenian wedding, which seems to have been rather traumatizing, concluding his grotesque description in his diary entry of 22 February 1868:

Various musicians on drums, whistles, and cither [*santūr*]²⁷ made such an infernal noise that my ears hurt, while the wild screaming of the drunken men did not make a very good impression, drinking and making noise was all. Finally, a tall person wrapped in white cloth came in dancing with a rack, then lay down on the floor while others lay over her in the most immoral way. The women were all very quiet in the other half of the room. [...] On their heads they had wrapped colored cloths that also covered the neck. Almost everyone had the white cloth in front of their mouths. A lot of sweets and roasted salted peas were presented, and finally a big bowl of henna mash to color the nails. Shooting and fireworks in the yard. Around midnight we set off for the groom’s

was wirklich auch nicht selten vorkommen soll. [...] Er las dann noch eine Zeit lang; zwischen den Pausen 2 Chorknaben schreiend sangen, die die ganze Zeit über Räuhergefäße schwangen, so daß das ganze Zimmer von Rauch erfüllt war. Hierauf wurde alles wieder eingepackt, er zog seine Narrenkleider wieder aus und setzte sich dann mit den Andern ganz gemüthlich in den Hof, wo sie Kaffe und Raki tranken. Diese ganze Scene war natürlich zum Lachen, was ich mir auch nicht verbergen konnte.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_04_055/56* (early November 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

²⁶ Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_02_004* (25 March 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

²⁷ The *santūr* is a trapezoidal instrument that is strung with seventy-two strings. These are struck with two thin wooden hammers called *mīzrab*, which are held with three fingers of each hand.

house, where it was the same as in the other house, only here the men were predominant, therefore much more noise, despite the presence of the two Armenian priests. I soon got bored with this, so I left around 2 o'clock, but the others stayed until daybreak, when the ceremony took place. It goes on like this for three nights. What a difference between civilized and barbaric peoples!²⁸

Wedding ceremonies belong to the most indigenous rites of a society and they offer a precious source for cultural observations, but Haussknecht is just disgusted and backs off. In this situation, in which he is unable to communicate and therefore participate, he succumbs to the taste of his class, and that is incompatible with what he observes. As a reaction, Haussknecht devaluates the ceremony, like the one before in Diyarbakır, and takes over the role of the reluctant observer. The unrestrained behavior of the guests and the groom becomes a quality that creates a split between him and the others, whom he regards as a homogeneous mass. The episode illustrates how deeply Haussknecht identifies with the values of his class and how this mindset prevents him from communication with the locals.

2.3 Popular religion and practices – the Islamic side

This perception of religion is not only reserved for Christians, but also for the – very infrequent we have to say – descriptions of Muslim rituals. Here we should take into consideration that before his travels he did not have any firsthand experience of the Muslim religion. What he might have known certainly stemmed

²⁸ “Verschiedene Musikanten auf Trommeln, Pfeifen und Schlagcither machten einen solchen Höllenlärm, daß mir die Ohren weh thaten, dabei das wüste Geschrei der betrunkenen Männer machen keinen vortheilhaften Eindruck, Trinken und Lärm machen war alles. Endlich kam eine hohe in weißes Tuch eingehüllte Person mit einem Gestell tanzend herein, legte sich dann auf den Boden, während andre sich darüber legten in der unsittlichsten Weise. Die Frauen verhielten sich alle sehr ruhig, in der andern Hälfte des Zimmers. [...] Auf dem Kopf hatten sie farbige Tücher geschlungen, die den Hals zugleich einwickelten. Das weiße Tuch hatten fast alle vor dem Munde. Eine Menge Süßigkeiten und gebrannte Salz-Erbsen wurden präsentirt, endlich auch eine große Schüssel voll Hennabrei zum Färben der Nägel. Schießen und Feuerwerk im Hofe. Gegen Mitternacht brachen wir zum Hause des Bräutigams auf, wo es ebenso zugeht, wie im andern Hause, nur waren hier die Männer überwiegend, daher noch viel mehr Lärm, trotz der Gegenwart der 2 armenischen Priester. [...] Mir wurde diese Sache bald langweilig und zog mich daher gegen 2 Uhr zurück, doch die andern blieben bis zum Tagesanbruch, wann die Ceremonie statt fand. So geht es 3 Nächte hindurch. Welch Unterschied zwischen civilisirten und barbarischen Völkern!” Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_07_014/015 (22 February 1868), accessed 3 April 2022.

from other travelogues that he consulted to prepare for his trip. One aspect, however, of performed Islamic religion, was often addressed in travelogues: Sufism. This form of Islamic mysticism, particularly the institutionalized versions of Dervish orders, attracted foreign observers. This might be the reason why Haussknecht relates in detail a ceremony that he observed in Viranşehir, situated halfway between the cities of Şanlıurfa and Mardin:

A dervish from Bagdad on pilgrimage to Mecca, who introduced himself as an important sheikh, sang the whole evening religious hymns to Muhammad, and when he almost could not sing anymore, he suddenly jumped up, grabbed his scourging instrument (a sharp one-foot long iron with a big iron button and attached chains) and made a gesture as if thrusting it deep into the stomach, whereupon he fell down with a big howl and a dull sound, and – he wanted to make us believe – he rolled on the ground in pain and then suffered an apparent fit, uttering ‘Allah’ duly from time to time. Soon he recovered and smoked his chibouk contentedly.²⁹

What he describes is a ritual called *ḍarb al-shīsh* in Arabic, the penetration of the body with sharp instruments (Fig. 2), until today widely performed in Syria and neighboring countries, mostly in rural settings, often by communities associated with the Rifā’iyya dervish order. Here again, Haussknecht is a reluctant observer, interested enough to document his observations, but lacking curiosity or attention to detail.

3 Tribes

3.1 Bedouin hospitality

Haussknecht does turn into an involved observer on occasion, for example when he comes into contact with tribes, particularly Bedouins, but also Kurdish tribes in the Ottoman Empire. He describes their hospitality, manners, etc., rather pos-

²⁹ “Ein auf der Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka begriffener Derwisch von Bagdad, der sich aber für einen großen Schech ausgab, sang fast den ganzen Abend religiöse Lieder von Muhammed, und als er fast nicht mehr konnte, sprang er plötzlich in großer Aufregung auf, ergriff sein Geisel-instrument (ein spitzes, fußlanges Eisen mit großen Eisenknopf, an dem Ketten hingen) und machte die Gebarde, als stieß er sich dasselbe tief in den Bauch, worauf er mit großen Geheul und dumpfen Tönen niederstürzte und sich, wie er wollte glauben machen, vor Schmerz auf dem Boden wälzte und dann in eine Schein Ohnmacht verfiel, von Zeit zu Zeit dumpfe Töne Allah ausstoßend. Bald kam er aber wieder zu sich und rauchte ganz gemüthlich seine Tschibuk.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_2_01_090* (29 March 1867), accessed 4 April 2022.



Fig. 2: Dervish *shish* (pike), Aleppo, probably early twentieth century. Source: Photograph and © Stefan Knost, 2020 (Rahden, Germany).

itively. In addition, and this illustrates again the importance of reciprocity, he is treated with great respect. Despite the general rules of Bedouin hospitality, to which Haussknecht refers in the diary, this treatment is due to his special status as a *ḥakīm*. Interestingly, this contrasts with most of his descriptions of small villages, where he often spends the night and complains of dirt, vermin, and inhospitality.

We may also identify a certain fascination with the strange and unfamiliar tribal “lifestyle” of the nomadic societies he encounters, as shown in the following passage:

The Beni Said Arabs, who have been here for a long time, had pitched their black tents around the large ruins. Manbij. We ride through the ruins and arrive finally at the big tent of Sheikh Damur ibn Fachal el Chalil [Shaykh Damūr ibn Fakhr al-Khalīl], [...]. Arriving at the tent, the Sheikh came out straightaway and addressed to me his ‘*marḥaba*’ and ‘*tafaḍḍal*,’ cushions and mattress were prepared for me, so I had to sit down immediately, because the Arabs consider it important that someone sits down to rest at once. Immediately a huge fire fumed [...] a negro roasted coffee in front of us, pounded it in a big wooden mortar with a coarse wooden club. When the water boiled, he did put a quantity of coffee into it, let it boil several times then rest, whereupon he poured the coffee into a second pot, boiled again and added fresh coffee, he repeated that several times with a third pot, that the coffee prepared in this way is not weak (*Blümchenkaffee*) is easy to guess. The main persons were now assembled in a circle around us, I lay down on a mattress with silk cushions at my back and the sides, next to me Shaykh Damūr, a strong tall man of c. forty-eight years, black beard and brown complexion, wearing the ordinary Arab dress, with a red ‘*abā*’ over that. [...] All were wearing the keffiyes, you did not see the fez. An old Arab told stories from the old Manbij, and when I replied to the Sheikh that I really like it here, he replied proudly: ‘Yes, I surely believe so, that is Manbij.’ His son had not even traveled as far as Bab.³⁰

30 “Rings um die große Trümmerstätte hatten die Beni Said-Araber [Banī Sa’īd] ihre schwarzen Zelte aufgeschlagen, die hier seit langer Zeit schon ihren Aufenthalt haben. Membidsch [Manbij]. Wir durchreiten die Trümmer und kommen endlich zum großen Zelte des Schech Damur ibn Fachal el Chalil [Shaykh Damūr ibn Fakhr al-Khalīl], [...]. Vor dem Zelte angelangt, kam der Schech sogleich heraus und rief mir sein Merhawa [*marḥaba*, Arabic for: “welcome”] und dfatal [*tafaḍḍal*, Arabic for: “please, come in, sit down”] entgegen, Kissen und Matratze waren gleich für mich zurecht gelegt, und so mußte ich gleich Platz nehmen, denn die Araber halten viel darauf, daß man sich gleich niederlasse zum Ausruhen. Augenblicklich dampfte ein mächtiges Feuer [...] vor uns auf; ein Neger röstete gleich Kaffee vor unsern Augen, stampfte ihn dann in einem großen hölzernen Mörser mit grober Holzkeule. Als das Wasser kochte, schüttete er eine Portion Kaffee hinein, ließ es einige Male aufkochen und dann absetzen, worauf er den Kaffee in eine 2te Kanne goß, aufkochte und wieder frischen Kaffee zufügte, dis wiederholte er noch einmal mit einer 3ten Kanne; daß der Kaffee auf diese Art kein Blümchenkaffee zum Vorschein kam, ist leicht zu errathen. Bald waren die Hauptpersonen im Kreise um uns versammelt; ich lag auf einer Matratze mit seidnen Rücken- und Seitenpolstern, neben mir Schech Damur, ein großer

3.2 The Lurs in Persia

Due to the *chāpār* system, Haussknecht's contact with locals decreased when traveling in Persia. In Qal'ah-yi Galbūr, close to Tasūj in the Zāgrus Mountains, he pays an official visit to the governor, Sulṭān Uvays Mirzā (1839–1892)³¹, who then invites the German *ḥakīm* to join him and his entourage on a hunting trip. A local leader of the Lurs accompanies the group and it is here that Haussknecht spends time with a tribe, but still his description of the tribe is rather short and unromantic, as this representative diary entry from 21 July 1868 shows:

The Lurs are brave and intrepid warriors; they go to war naked, without shoes, only with a cloth wrapped around their loins, the shotgun hanging over their backs, the wooden powder horn hanging from the leather belt. In the previous year, when Qashqā'ī people had arrived in the Kūh Kilūya territory, 1,000 Lurs chased away 8,000 Qashqā'ī. At the back they never cut their hair, which usually curls down; their beards black, usually curly; every fourteen days they wash their hair with sour milk.³²

He continues describing the Lurs' wedding traditions, but in a rather unemotional and respectful manner. Again, he is unable to communicate with the locals, at least not without his translator, but he does not fall back into disgust, as previously in Julfā. The reason for this might be due to two factors: first, as tribes they constitute a group outside of his hierarchical class perception, and second, the tribes are not a group he is meeting for the first time, therefore he has lost his initial fascination for them. Hence, in the different stages of “otherness,” the

starker Mann von ca. 48 Jahren, schwarzer Bart und braune Gesichtsfarbe; er trug die gewöhnliche arabische Kleidung, mit einem rothen Abbas [probably an *abā*, a traditional cloak] darüber. [...] Alle trugen die Keffiyes, den Fez sah man gar nicht. Ein alter Araber erzählte Geschichten von dem alten Membidsch, und als ich dem Schech erwiderte, daß es mir hier sehr gut gefiele, erwiderte er stolz: 'Ja, das glaube ich wohl, das ist auch Membidsch.' Sein Sohn war noch nicht einmal nach Bab [al-Bāb] gekommen." Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_01_048 (12 March 1867), accessed 4 April 2022. (The city of al-Bāb is located about 50 km to the southwest of Manbij, authors' note).

31 Sulṭān Uvays Mirzā Iḥtishām al-Dawlah was appointed to the governorship of Fārs in 1887 before he had been vice-governor of Kurdistān and Hamadān. Karīm Sulaymānī, *Alqāb-i rijāl-i dawra-yi Qājāriyya* [Titles of Men in the Qajar Period] (Tehran 2000), p. 26.

32 “Die Luren sind tüchtige unerschrockne Krieger; sie gehen in den Krieg ganz nackt, ohne Schuhe, nur um die Lenden ein Tuch geschlagen, die Flinte über dem Rücken, das hölzerne Pulverhorn am Ledergürtel herabhängend. Im vorigen Jahre, als Gaschgai in das Gebiet des Kuh Gelu gekommen waren, jagten 1000 Luren gegen 8000 Gaschgai fort. Nach hinten beschneiden sie nie ihre Haare, die meist gelockt herabhängen; ihre Bärte schwarz, meist kraus; alle 14 Tage waschen sie die Haare mit Sauermilch.” Carl Haussknecht, Tagebuch_2_09_026 (21 July 1868), accessed 4 April 2022.

tribes constitute a middle group: as the feeling of alterity decreases, Haussknecht's attitude towards becomes them less judgmental.

4 Government officials

4.1 Ottoman bureaucrats

Haussknecht's first experience with Ottoman bureaucrats took place in Aleppo, where he stayed a few days into his first trip in March 1865 trying to plan his further journeys towards the east and northeast. He observed signs of "modernity" such as European dress, education, language skills, and efficient administration, when meeting the Ottoman governor of Aleppo Süreyya Pasha (d. 1879), who had reorganized the province of Aleppo and pacified the Syrian steppe around the city of Dayr al-Zūr on the Euphrates river:

Visit to the Pasha accompanied by the Prussian Consul Raphael de Picciotto [...] He received us in a friendly manner. When we entered he got up from his chair, Picciotto introduced me, I took a seat, pipe and coffee were served. He was all in European clothes, except the red fez. Friendly appearance, big full black beard. Conversation in Arabic language, although he speaks French, but does not like speaking it. He had already been informed of our visit; I presented my Firman to him; when I made my wish to go to Deir known to him, he was very pleased, especially when I complimented him, that it was he who made the formerly impassable roads there safer and how much everyone should be grateful to him.³³

Not only in the important urban centers, but also in smaller cities, or on the road, he encounters Ottoman officials that receive very positive comments:

[T]he big black tent of Colonel Islama from Şanlıurfa, who recruits soldiers, is located in a pasture outside the place. He takes fifty men from here; [...] [u]nder the tent sat the entire

33 "Besuch beim Pascha in Begleitung des preußischen Consuls Raph. de Piciotto [Raphael de Picciotto] [...] Er empfing uns sehr freundlich. Bei unserm Eintritt stand er von seinem Stuhle auf, ich wurde von Piciotto vorgestellt, ich nahm eben Platz, Pfeife und Kaffee wurden gleich servirt. Er war ganz in europäischer Kleidung, nur das rothe Fes. Freundliches Äußere, großer voller schwarzer Bart. Unterhaltung in arabischer Sprache, obgleich er französisch spricht, thut es aber nicht gern. Er war von unsrem Besuch schon unterrichtet; ich präsentirte ihm meinen Firman; Als ich ihm den Wunsch zu erkennen gab, nach Deir [Dayr al-Zūr] zu gehen, war er sehr erfreut, namtlich als ich ihm Elogen machte, daß er es sei, der die früher nicht passirbaren Wege dahin sicher gemacht habe und wie sehr ihm daher Alle dankbar sein müßten." Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_01_023* (13 March 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

Turkish imperial authorities, who got up respectfully and urged me to sit down next to them. He had a black translator with him, who was fluent in French and med. doc. at the same time. My Bujuruldu and Firman were then read aloud and the sultan's monogram kissed.³⁴

The “closeness” Haussknecht already articulates in the description of the first meeting with Colonel Islama again proves his esteem for the reformist Ottoman officials. The general conscription into the Ottoman army that he observed in Nizip had only been introduced a few years earlier. “I made some visits in the afternoon: [...] to the Turk Absa, where I wrote a letter to Nizib to Colonel Islama so he should not take a man from Belkis as a soldier[.]”³⁵ There is no further information in the diary about the man on whose behalf Haussknecht intervenes. It is probably the person who offered him hospitality when he stayed overnight in that village during his first trip. He might have felt obliged to show gratitude and so he decided to help him. Interestingly, he assumed his role as a privileged foreigner traveling with an imperial *farmān* rather early in his trip, certainly encouraged by his social position at home. Writing this letter represented an important effort. Did he ask someone to translate it into Turkish? Did he write it in French, because he knew that Colonel Islama had a French-speaking translator? The short note in his diary does not reveal any of this.

But on the second journey, when calling at customs in Birecik on the Euphrates a few kilometers east of Nizip, he met this man again: “At the customs a man pats me on the shoulder and greets me with joy; it was an old acquaintance from Nizib, whose son I had saved from the military.”³⁶ This second meeting gives us some insight into his interaction with “ordinary” local people that are usually not given much attention in his diary. In this case, he is far more than

34 “[...] [A]uf einem Weideplatze vor dem Orte befand sich das große schwarze Zelt des Colonel Islama von Orfa [Şanlıurfa], der Soldatenrecrutierung abhielt; er nahm 50 Männer von hier; [...] [u]nter dem Zelte saßen die ganzen türkischen Hof Behörden, die bei meinem Ankommen ehrerbietig aufstanden und mit Bujurun [*buyurun*, Turkish for: “please”] mich zum Sitzen [anbei ihnen?] nöthigten. Er hatte einen schwarzen Dollmetscher mit, der sehr [geläufig?] französisch war und Dr. med. dazu. Mein Bujuruldu und Firman wurde dann laut vorgelesen und der Sultannamenszug [*tughra*] geküsst.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_01_048* (30 April 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

35 “Nachmittag machte ich einige Besuche: [...] bei dem Türken Absa, bei dem ich einen Brief schrieb nach Nisib [Nizip] an Colonel Islama, damit er einen Mann von Balkys [Belkis] nicht zum Soldat nehmen sollte[.]” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_1_01_056* (3 May 1865), accessed 4 April 2022.

36 “Bei der Duane klopft mich ein Mann auf die Schulter und begrüßt mich ganz freudig; es war ein alter Bekannter von Nisib [Nizip], dessen Sohn ich vom Militär errettet hatte.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_2_01_055* (15 May 1867), accessed 4 April 2022.

the “reluctant observer” that only displays vague curiosity, alongside arrogance and superiority, towards the people he encounters. It also reveals his interaction with the officer, Colonel Islama, that lasted longer than their encounter and was obviously important enough to create a privileged relationship that enabled Haussknecht to ask for the aforementioned favor.

Within the group of Ottoman bureaucrats and officers, he encountered people towards whom he certainly felt even more familiar. At the beginning of his second journey he stopped in Beirut and stayed a few days in that cosmopolitan port city. There, he met the renegade Omar Pasha, alias Baron Albert von Gersdorff, who in 1865, around the time of Haussknecht’s first stay in Aleppo, participated in the pacification of the Dayr al-Zūr region. Omar Pascha was married to Doris Mordtmann (1841–after 1913), the daughter of Andreas David Mordtmann (1811–1879), who stayed for most his life in Constantinople and was, among other positions, consul of the German Hanseatic cities:³⁷ “I made the acquaintance of Omar Beg from Courland, named Baron von Schröder, married to a daughter of Mordtmann from Constantinople, but living here as Turk; he was at the time of Süreyya Pasha of Aleppo in Deir to subdue the Arab tribes. He is a tall man the Arabs could have respect for.”³⁸ This brief contact with Omar Pascha, despite everything, did not seem to be very close, since he obviously was mistaken about the pasha’s correct German name. But he does notice his body stature that earned him the nickname *al-Ṭawīl* (Arabic for “the tall”). Omar Pascha was involved in one of the key projects of the modernizing Ottoman state – extending the “boundaries of the state” into tribal-controlled territories.

4.2 Officials in Persia

As before in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia Haussknecht was also dependent on recommendations from government officials, which enabled him to travel

37 Tobias Völker, *Vom Johanneum an die Hohe Pforte: Das Leben und Wirken des Hamburger Orientalisten und Diplomaten Andreas David Mordtmann d. Ä.*, in Yavuz Köse (ed.), *Osmanen in Hamburg: Eine Beziehungsgeschichte zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Hamburg 2016), pp. 25–44, here p. 42.

38 “Ich machte Bekanntschaft von Omar Beg, ein Kurländer namens Baron von Schröder, mit einer Tochter Mordtmanns aus Konstantinopel verheirathet, aber hier türkisch lebend; er war zur Zeit Sureja Pascha’s von Aleppo in Deir zur Unterwerfung der Araberstämme. Er ist ein großer Mann, vor dem die Araber wohl Respect haben konnten.” Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_2_01_014* (18 December 1866), accessed 4 April 2022.

smoothly. These dignitaries include governors, who were often members of the royal family, as well as local dignitaries (*kad-khudās*) and tribal leaders. As before in the Ottoman part of the diaries, his descriptions of the meetings are plain and unemotional, but he was always fully aware of his status and expected appropriate treatment. His appreciation of a person depended heavily on their grade of Westernization; as a result, he perceived the local *kad-khudās* as simple-minded, whereas he felt comfortable with the Qajar officials who had received a higher education and often had knowledge of French or English. Haussknecht himself was a freemason and although he knew that the Persian definition of freemasonry did not necessarily correspond to the European one, he felt a connection to these individuals.

A special feature of his stay in Persia was that he had the unique opportunity to meet a ruler in person. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh had heard of the German *hakīm* through his French court physician, Dr. Joseph Désiré Tholozan (1820–1897)³⁹, and they arranged a meeting at the shah's hunting castle in Dawshan Tapah, north of Tehran, which Haussknecht recounts in his diary entry of 29 October 1868:

Immediately he asked in Persian about how many years and where I had travelled, how I had found his country, whereupon I told him about the Lurs and Bakhtiari, not forgetting to give the best praise for Owais Mirsa [Iḥtishām al-Dawlah]; 'so he rules well?', 'Excellently, your Royal Highness.' He was mainly interested in the two lakes of Malamir [Īzza], of which he knew nothing, as he knew nothing of the whole country. I showed him my map, which interested him very much, especially when I was talking about the breakthrough of the Rang mountain [Rang Kūh], whereupon he immediately broke out in French: *combien coute?* [French for: 'How much does it cost?'], to which I gave him the answer: if the work were to be done in its entirety and the bill were done appropriately, we would be able to do it for 70,000 ducats, whereas here 220,000 ducats were demanded. After a quarter of an hour had passed in this manner and, evening approached, he suddenly left and got into the carriage to return to Yauschantepe [Dawshan Tapah] [...].⁴⁰

39 Joseph Désiré Tholozan (1820–1897) was appointed as private physician to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1860 following the Austrian physician Dr. Jacob Polak (1818–1891). Tholozan stayed forty years in Persia during which he popularized Western medicine and initiated major reforms in public health services. Shireen Mahdavi, *Shahs, Doctors, Diplomats and Missionaries in 19th Century Iran*, in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32/2 (2005), pp. 169–191, here p. 176.

40 "Sogleich frug er auf persisch: wieviel Jahre und wo ich überall umhergereist sei, wie ich sein Land gefunden habe, worauf ich ihm von den Luren und Bachtieren erzählte, auch nicht vergaß, über Owais Mirsa das beste Lob auszusprechen; 'also er regirt gut', Vortrefflich, Königliche Majestät. Hauptsächlich interessirten ihn die 2 Seen von Malamir, von denen er, wie überhaupt vom ganzen dortigen Lande, nichts wußte. Ich zeigte ihm dann meine Karte, die ihn lebhaft interessirte, namtlich auch als ich über die Durchbrechung des Kuh rengk sprach, worauf er sogleich auf französisch schnell hervorbrach: *combien coute?* worauf ich ihm die Antwort gab: wenn die

This episode is remarkable because it is the first time in Persia that Haussknecht meets someone from the local hierarchy whose higher status he acknowledges. Before this, Haussknecht often used the discourse of the Oriental despot ruling his country by nepotism, but after discussing the shah's rule with foreign officials who knew the monarch personally, he changes his mind and acknowledges his endeavors to modernize the country. Now, when meeting the monarch in person, he finds himself faced with a representative of a higher class and quickly falls back into the natural behavior of his social class, where feeling of "alterity" loses its relevance.

Conclusions

Observing or interacting? Reluctant or engaging? A traveler cannot fairly be reduced to the status of observer only. Although Haussknecht's observations naturally occupy the largest part of his travel accounts, his engagement with locals can often only be deduced from minor hints in the written text. The example from Belkıs, where he saved his host's son from the military, shows that in some cases Haussknecht even changed the fate of his interlocutors and left an imprint on the society he visited. However, a traveler can change as well. At the beginning of his first trip, we observe his origins – a young Prussian Protestant of upper social status – dictating his stance. Hesitating, he initially behaved like a tourist, searched for contacts with people he was familiar with: Germans, other foreigners, missionaries. Among the locals, he related positively to the modern bureaucrats and people of the elite class, such as the governor of Aleppo, with whom he shared European dress and a good education, and – quite mundanely – the use of "chairs" in his office.

Haussknecht's class affiliation and class awareness influenced his perception of closeness and otherness. Ottoman reformist bureaucrats and the Qajar elite share not only this affiliation, but the same ideals of modernity and education. Haussknecht's lack of understanding and communication led to his perception of alterity and "otherness," for example when attending Oriental Christian and Sufi rituals.

Arbeit in Gänze zu thun wäre und man die Rechnung gut macht, so würden wir es mit 70 000 Dukaten thun können, während man hier 220 000 Dukaten verlangte. Nach dem so ¼ Stunde vergangen war und der Abend herankam, ging er plötzlich weg und stieg in den Wagen, um nach Yauschantepe zurückzukehren [...]" Carl Haussknecht, *Tagebuch_2_09_140/141* (29 October 1868), accessed 4 April 2022.

With time, particularly when comparing his first and second journeys, we observe Haussknecht's agenda changing: the early emphasis on describing architecture, archeological sites, or landscapes makes room for ethnographic observations and an interactive role with his interlocutors, culminating in Persia in contact with the ruling elite that shall remain important after his return to Europe.

Haussknecht experienced the "cultural pluralism" of local societies in his contact with Ottoman authorities, in villages where he enjoyed hospitality, or when being honored with a special reception in a Bedouin tent. However, in certain situations, his "strangeness" (being a European foreigner who was asking questions about village names, drawing maps, etc.) induced suspicions that could mostly, but not entirely, be cleared by his constructed identity – a doctor searching for medicinal plants.

One question remains, and further research on Haussknecht and his travel diaries might answer it, about the degree to which Haussknecht's own identity is reflected in his descriptions of "otherness," and to what extent this identity evolves in contact with the "Orient."

