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## A Provincial Imperialist and a *Curious Account of Wallachia*: Ignaz von Born

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Empires conquer peoples and places which they then both investigate and represent. The production of such representations, it is now widely recognized, is not an innocent or incidental preoccupation but integral to the legitimization of authority. The problem has been much discussed, largely in terms of European encounters with the non-European world.<sup>1</sup> This article is about a comparable encounter and its representations, but this time between Europeans.

Imaginations of Eastern European peoples have been related less to ideas of empire than to the establishment of an East–West dichotomy, allegedly a by-product of western cultural dominance. In ‘the Enlightenment era’, it is said, ‘Western travellers’ produced ‘hegemonic discourses’ about ‘Eastern Europe’; apparently, they ‘invented’ it as a category, and Western Europe became identified with ‘civilization’ and Eastern Europe with ‘barbarism’. Such at least is the argument put forward by Larry Wolff in his influential book *Inventing Eastern Europe*.<sup>2</sup>

That certain peoples now called East European were then labelled barbarous is a matter of record. However, Wolff’s account of how, when and why this came about has been questioned on several grounds: the existence of disparaging discourses about the region prior to the Enlightenment, and in non-West European sources; the lack of connection between these discourses and the name ‘Eastern Europe’; the fact that ‘barbarous’ usually meant ‘uneducated’ rather than ‘violent’.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a brief but important earlier study showed that in many eighteenth-century texts, the East–West division was evoked only intermittently.<sup>4</sup>

Others studying images of Balkan peoples have invoked Edward Said’s paradigm of Orientalism (and, implicitly, western imperial interests) to interpret them, but also affirmed ‘Balkanism’’s distinctness, notably with respect to the degree of

otherness attributed to the object.<sup>5</sup> Prefixes like ‘para-’, ‘quasi-post-’ or ‘crypto-’ colonial are deployed; these are formulated to the effect that in Eastern Europe non-colonial discourses mask colonial practices of extraction, or conversely that colonial discourses accompany non-colonial power relations.<sup>6</sup>

Here I treat a case in which an East European people – the Romanians of the Banat of Temesvar, on the Habsburg frontier with the Ottoman Empire – were compared to Indian and American natives and seen to be not so much ‘similar but different’ as ‘similar but similar’. I look at an account of them which is today extremely obscure, but which was reproduced at least a dozen times in four languages in mainstream publications in Leipzig, Frankfurt, London, Venice and Paris between 1774 and 1800. I identify the author and reconstruct the context in which he first wrote his *Account*; then I follow the ways in which it travelled, was translated, transformed, travestied and finally forgotten. The Habsburgs’ conquest, colonization, exploitation and representation of their south-eastern frontier is, I argue, best understood not as part of a process of defining Eastern Europe, nor as a ‘semi-’ or ‘para-’ imperial enterprise, but one that bears legitimate comparison with colonial experiences elsewhere. This proposition can be sustained either by retrospectively interpreting the material history of the region;<sup>7</sup> or by considering the comparative representational framework in which it was seen at the time. Here I pursue the latter approach.

However, although I think studying contemporary conceptions of imperialness can help us understand how images were made and received, my aim is not to formulate a unitary theory of colonial discourse. Many scholars have already questioned the utility of such an enterprise.<sup>8</sup> Instead, I try to take up insights from work on the contemporary diffusion and reception of travel texts,<sup>9</sup> as well as on genre and authority in travel writing,<sup>10</sup> as a means of understanding precisely how the Enlightenment produced and consumed scientific and literary ideas and images of the ‘Wallachian’ other. I reconstruct the purposes for which the *Account* was written and the contexts in which it was published, but also how the text might have been read – as field report, as pen-portrait, and as lurid popular entertainment – by different audiences in late eighteenth-century Europe.

## ***A Curious Account of Wallachia***

The curiosity of Europeans about the south-east of their own continent grew rapidly in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century: at least a hundred first-hand accounts of the region or parts thereof were composed. This was in line with the general rush to know and map territories at this time; but also reflected the specific policies of the Christian states that were starting to win wars against, and

appropriate territory from, the Ottoman Empire. The Habsburgs had taken over Hungary, Transylvania and the Banat of Temesvar by 1718, and even held Serbia and 'Little' (i.e. Western) Wallachia for twenty years, until 1739. Russia annexed parts of Poland in 1772 and the Crimea in 1783, and pushed her southern frontier to the River Dniester by 1792. Austrian and Russian statesmen therefore wanted to know about the contents, human, organic and inert, of these acquired territories, or the acquirable ones beyond them. So did people in other countries, whose interests these changes affected. More texts were therefore produced; quite a few were published. So far, so colonial: the process may be treated as relatively analogous to imperial conquest and investigation by Europeans in any other part of the world during the same period.<sup>11</sup>

One of the shortest, strangest and most obscure items in this series of reports and investigations is a text called *A very entertaining, comical and curious account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Wallachia, with a particular description of that country*. It was published in London in 1779 as an annexe to a much more notorious 'wild-man' adventure story called *The life and adventures of Captain Socivizca who was commander of a numerous body of robbers of the race of the Morlackians, commonly called Montenegrins*, which furnished readers with an account of a notorious Balkan brigand of that name. The story of Socivizca, and the wider investigations into the customs of the so-called 'Morlacks' of Istria and Dalmatia, are well known to investigators into stereotypes of noble and other savages in Eastern Europe. First told in print by the Dalmatian writer Giovanni Lovrich in his *Observations on various parts of Abbé Fortis's Travels in Dalmatia, to which is added the Life of Socivizca*, it inspired both philosophers and writers of fiction and drama, and was the subject of much commentary, adaptation and imitation: those who treated the theme included such figures as Goethe, Herder and Madame de Staël, as well as countless less famous contemporaries of theirs. Modern commentators have also been plentiful.<sup>12</sup>

The *Curious Account of Wallachia*, on the other hand, went almost completely unremarked for two hundred years, until it was unearthed by the Romanian scholar Andrei Pippidi. In an article in the *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* of 1979, which was reprinted in a book of his the following year, Pippidi provided a characteristically erudite *tour d'horizon* of the traditions of early Balkan ethnography, and showed the *Account* to be 'a veritable synthesis of the information a Westerner might have about the Romanians, and a brutally clear summary of the prejudices clouding such a representation, although the image seems nonetheless plausible'.<sup>13</sup>

Pippidi also republished the *Account*, which, briefly, treats the following

aspects of Romanian life: their manner of living ('extremely rough and savage'); their agricultural productions and means of subsistence (maize, *rakie*, oats, live-stock and so forth); their clothing ('long white woollen trowsers, as the Hungarians, but wider; soles of raw skin tied about the feet instead of shoes' for the men; for the women, among other things: long shirts, 'an annular bolster stuffed with hair or straw upon their head', 'pieces of money tied round the head and neck'); the age of marriage (very young: 'the man not above fourteen, the wife even not twelve years of age'); characteristic trades (cartwrighting, weaving); their religion ('they have scarce more religion than their domestic animals'; 'the ignorance and superstition of the bonzes cannot possibly be above that of their popes'); their funerals (accompanied with 'dismal shrieks'); their belief in vampires (or 'strolling nocturnal blood-suckers'); practices of blood-brotherhood ('generally a rite previous to robberies'); and various other beliefs and superstitions, including their preference for impaling over hanging (because 'in their idea, a rope ties the neck and forces the soul out of the body downwards') (19–22).

The one question Pippidi did not address in his otherwise comprehensive analysis was that of authorship. He treated it as a scurrilous and anonymous production of the London popular press, printed on bad paper and by a publisher, John Lever, whose rival productions included *The Life, Strange Voyages and Uncommon Adventures of Ambrose Gwinett, Formerly Known to the Public as the Lame Beggar*; *The Strange Voyages and Adventures of Domingo Gonzales to the World of the Moon*; or *The Wonderful, Surprising and Uncommon Voyages and Adventures of Captain Jones to Patagonia*. In this context, the anonymous status of the work seems like an obligatory corollary to its ludicrousness; as well as a bogus guarantee of its objectivity.

In fact, far from being the product of a forgotten Grub Street hack who had never been near Wallachia, the *Curious Account* was extracted from a book written by a native of Transylvania, one of the most distinguished scientists of his time. His name is Ignaz von Born. Who was Ignaz von Born?

## Ignaz von Born

Born was born in Karlsburg in Transylvania (today's Alba Iulia, Romania) in 1742, and educated in his home town; in nearby Hermannstadt (today's Sibiu); and then in Vienna. He spent sixteen months as a novice in the Order of Jesuits (1759–60) before leaving to study law in Prague.<sup>14</sup> After travels in Western Europe, he returned to Prague in 1763 where he published his thesis on the limits of natural law, but then switched fields, choosing to dedicate himself to *Montanistik*, or Mountain Studies, a new and exciting discipline in which the

Empress Maria Theresa had just established the first chair in Europe in that city's university. In 1765 he married the daughter of a Prague merchant, and three years later was ennobled in the Bohemian *Landestafeln*: he later bought an estate at Alt-Sedlitz (today's Staré Sedliště, Czech Republic). In 1770, he undertook a scientific trip to Lower Hungary, Transylvania and the Krajina. He had to cut short his journey when he was appointed Assessor of the Bohemian Mining and Minting Directorate in Prague. His activity in this field soon became controversial: in 1771 he published Poda's treatise on the machinery at Schemnitz (today's Banksá-Štiavnica, Slovakia). This brought him into conflict with his boss, Kolowrat, president of the Imperial Mint and Mining Court Chamber, who forbade the publication of any works relating to mining, considered sensitive intelligence in a time of war and international tension. Frustrated, and even threatened with charges of treason, he resigned in 1772, and dedicated himself instead to playing an active role in promoting the arts and sciences, and public culture generally: he founded one of the first learned reviews in Bohemia, the *Prager gelehrter Nachrichten*, after the model of the Leipzig *Nova acta eruditorum*, and established a *Private Society for Mathematical Undertakings*, from which later emerged the Royal Bohemian Society for the Sciences.

In 1776, he was back in royal favour: the Empress summoned him to Vienna to reorganize her *Naturalienkabinet* and tutor one of her many daughters; he was named Acting Counsellor in matters of numismatics and orography. After 1780, he took up the editorship of the most important Viennese journal of the period, the *Realzeitung der Wissenschaften, Künste und der Commerzien*. Several years later, in 1784, he discovered a new technique for amalgamating silver and gold. He hoped to secure his fortune by selling his discovery to the state, and at the same time summoned what was perhaps the first International Scientific Congress, at Glashütte (today's Skleno, Slovakia), where he laid out extensive proposals to solve problems of communication, data-sharing and professional loyalties in the scientific world. Although his amalgamation method was recommended for use throughout the Empire, and a share of the profits promised to him, the Emperor's money men were still quibbling over the sums in Born's project proposal when he died, heavily burdened with debt, in June 1791.

Like many intellectuals who escaped from the clutches of the Jesuits, Born was also a leading freemason, Master of the *Zur wahren Eintracht* [True Concord] Masonic Lodge in Vienna, frequented by both Haydn and Mozart. In 1785, after Born's discovery of the amalgamation process Mozart composed a piece of music, *Die Maurerfreude* ['The Masons' Joy'], in his honour. Besides a diverse set of writings and treatises on mineralogy, industrial processes, orography, palaeontology and numismatics, Born is also remembered for two other works. One is his

*Physiographia Monachorum*, or *Natural History of Monks*, an anticlerical work satirizing vices of the monastic orders of the Empire, and ranking them according to a Linnaean system of classification. The other is his learned Masonic treatise, *Über die Mysterien der Aegyptier* [On the mysteries of the Egyptians], from which the more abstruse Masonic references in the libretto to the *Magic Flute* are said to have been borrowed.<sup>15</sup>

Born's name is therefore well known to historians of science, of freemasonry, of Mozart's life and particularly to interpreters of the *Magic Flute*.<sup>16</sup> Several more general accounts of Habsburg or Hungarian society in this period cite Born as an instance of the new class of enlighteners with ambitions to attack the inefficient bureaucracy and the obscurantist Roman Catholic Church, and transform the hidebound culture of the Empire in the 1770s and after.<sup>17</sup>

Since he died in debt, many of Born's possessions were sold off, which means we have a detailed auction catalogue of his personal library,<sup>18</sup> but no personal papers and only such private correspondence as has been preserved in archives of those people or institutions with whom he came into contact. It is therefore no easy task to form a clear picture of Born's position within Austrian society. His editorial and Masonic activity is often read as constitutive of an enlightened environment, mediating between public and private spheres independently of the state.<sup>19</sup> However, the general interpretation of freemasonry as an autonomous, progressive force in the European Enlightenment has been much questioned in recent years, and its occasional complicity with rather authoritarian aims noted.<sup>20</sup> Born's loyalties were indeed rather ambiguous; freemasonry's ostensibly cosmopolitan *raison d'être* became compromised as the lodges' popularity made them into sites for advancing the political projects of the Emperor. Apparently, Born initially supported Joseph's attempts to introduce some state control over the plethora of lodges, but soon became disillusioned, and abandoned freemasonry in the autumn of 1786.<sup>21</sup>

His account of the Wallachians has escaped serious critical attention. For this we have to turn to his first book, namely *Briefe über mineralogische Gegenstände, auf seiner Reise durch das Temeswarer Bannat, Siebenbürgen, Ober- und Nieder-Hungarn geschrieben* [Letters on mineralogical matters, written on his journey through the Banat of Temesvar, Transylvania, Upper and Lower Hungary]. It is hardly an obscure work: first published in Leipzig in 1774, it was translated into English, Italian and French within six years. Geologists still cite it today as the first scientific account of ore deposits in the Southern Carpathians.<sup>22</sup> Historians, anthropologists or literary scholars have done it far less justice: standard works on foreign travellers in Romanian lands, and on German images of Romanians, do not even mention Born's book.<sup>23</sup> This is unfortunate, not just

because it provides us with the original source for the text of our 1779 London pamphlet, but because it can tell us a lot generally about how Romanians were represented in the European media; by whom, to whom and where.

## The Context of Born's Travels and their Publication

When Born made his journey in May 1770, the province of Wallachia proper, to the east of the Banat, was under occupation by a Russian army, and would remain so until 1774, when the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca was signed. We have too little information about Born's journey to know whether it also bore a hidden strategic purpose, or whether it was connected in any way with the little-known journey undertaken by the Emperor Joseph II to the Banat a mere month previously. Joseph had first visited the province in 1768; so, according to his own testimony, had Born.<sup>24</sup> In his request for leave to travel, dated 2 May 1770 and preserved in the *Hofkammerarchiv für das Münz- und Bergwesen*, Born mentioned a desire to visit the goldmine at Nagyag, as well as a need to put his father's possessions in order.<sup>25</sup> However, the investigation of the material and human content of the region was of such major interest at this time that it is difficult, even without evidence, not to speculate about a political interest. If so, it would not be the only Austrian politico-territorial description in the period to be published later under a more 'literary' guise.<sup>26</sup> But no hint that Born was part of an official project is produced in the text, which is presented as being ostensibly motivated by the friendship of two scientists and their common interest in nature.

Two other works appeared in Leipzig in the same year, which clearly sought to meet the increased interest, generated by the recent conflict, in the Empire's southern and eastern frontiers. The first, Swedish scholar Johann Erich Thunmann's *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker* [Researches on the history of the Eastern European peoples], was a rather abstruse dissertation dedicated to exploring the linguistic similarities between Romanian and Albanian. It was to become a key point of reference in discussions over the origins and homelands of both these peoples.<sup>27</sup> The other was a completely fabricated fantasy narrative entitled *Sehr merckwürdige Begebenheiten eines Teutsche nicht nur auf seinen Reisen sondern vornemlich Was im in der türkischen Slaverey und ungarischen Feldzeugen begegnet* [Most remarkable adventures of a German, not only in the course of his travels, but also what he encountered in Turkish slavery and the Hungarian campaigns], which purported to reproduce a diary of some military escapades from the beginning of the century.<sup>28</sup> These works followed closely on from the publication three years before



of a German translation of the illustrious Prince Dimitrie Cantemir's description of Moldavia, originally compiled in about 1715 at the behest of Peter the Great, and of Nicolaus Kleemann's account of his exploratory voyage down the Danube to the Black Sea and the Aegean.<sup>29</sup>

Like many works of scientific exegesis, Born's *Letters*, although seriously concerned to document the discoveries made, are framed by a series of stylistic and rhetorical devices. The most obvious of these is the epistolary form: the travels are written up as letters addressed to a learned correspondent, Professor Ferber of the University of Leipzig. Born had already participated in this common form of publication, as addressee and editor of Ferber's letters dispatched from his geological travels in Italy.<sup>30</sup> He was also to receive the various reports despatched by Balthasar Hacquet, Joseph Mueller and Tobias Gruber from their exploratory travels in the Tyrol, Carniola, Croatia and Slavonia.<sup>31</sup> His significance as a catalyser of scientific travel in fact went far beyond the confines of Austria: the first systematic geological descriptions of North America were addressed to and published by him, as were the path-breaking South American reports of the Czech traveller Thaddaeus Haenke.<sup>32</sup>

In Letter Two of his own book, after describing the geographical and administrative situation of the Banat, Born goes on to discuss the regiments of so-called 'national troops' recently established in the Military Frontier bordering on the Ottoman Empire, and the gaol in Temesvar (today's Timișoara, Romania) where he saw a famous robber, formerly a rich merchant in Serbia. He is, however, detained in the city for longer than he would wish by the business of his travelling companion, an unnamed Court Commissar; an experience which causes him to compare his situation with that of the Roman poet Ovid who had been exiled by the Emperor Augustus to the shores of the Black Sea. 'If you be happy,' he wrote to Ferber in Leipzig, 'remember your friend in Pontus'.<sup>33</sup> It is at this point that Born offers his detailed survey of the manners and customs of the Romanians of the Banat. He took pains to justify his digression on several grounds: that he had already travelled to the Banat two years previously; that he was a native Transylvanian; and that, in the absence of data pertaining to the field of Natural History, his account 'may, if not please you, at least entertain you' (7). At the end of his account, Born promised to return in his next letter to matters 'more in our field' (17).

Elsewhere, strictly technical questions prevailed. Letter Ten came with two long appendices, amounting to almost a seventh of the whole book: a *Proposal* for the softening of copper, by Delius, Assessor of the Banat Mining Directorate; and some *Observations* by Mr Koczian on gold-washing techniques in the province (62–93). But Born did not restrict himself completely to mines and metals. Almost

every chapter contains little asides about the usual traveller's concerns, such as itineraries, or the weather, or the possible dangers of the road. On the frontier between the Banat and Transylvania he reflects on the ambiguity of the public exposure of impaled criminals, identified as an Ottoman practice, which helps reduce the incidence of highway robbery but may also be considered intolerably cruel (94). Letter Fourteen opens with a brief rustic interlude in a Transylvanian village in which, 'hungry, thirsty, and tired', Born accepts the hospitality of a cheerful Romanian boatman, of whom Born writes that 'I would have wished for such a boy as my own son' and who serves them an improvised repast on an upturned tun under a straw awning, in the company of farm dogs and sparrows. The company try to mark the birthday of Born's distant correspondent Ferber by toasting his health, but the country wine proves so sour that Born toasts Ferber with water instead. At the end of the meal, the tun is transformed from dining table into writing table, and Born continues with his mineralogical observations (131–3). The passage's fate in fact contrasts starkly with that of the more famous 'curious account' of the Wallachians of the Banat, with which we are principally concerned here: it was omitted from all subsequent translations.

Born's was not the first text to treat Romanian cultural and spiritual life (or the lack of it) in such a critical manner: negative appraisals of their mores can be found in travel texts dating at least from the sixteenth century, if not even earlier,<sup>34</sup> and were given contour and specificity, notably through the observations of Catholic missionaries, in the seventeenth.<sup>35</sup> Austrian administrative reports on the Banat very frequently adopted a similar tone.<sup>36</sup> But few of these had found their way into print. The 1770s was a very important period for the development of a critical public discourse of travel in the German-speaking world. Scholars have noted an emphasis on the personal and the verifiable; use of the epistolary form; a turn towards domestic travel; and a general rise in publications, as well as attempts to exploit the political stakes of describing territories.<sup>37</sup>

Specifically in this context, Joseph was unhappy with the administrative situation in the Banat and had accepted the resignation of the Governor, Clary, at the beginning of the year.<sup>38</sup> Another writer in Austrian service, inspector Johann Jakob Ehrler, had focused on the condition of the region's inhabitants and the need to improve their lot, publishing in 1771 a brief account of the Romanians' origin and present state in a local newspaper, the short-lived *Temeswarer Nachrichten*. This appears to have been expanded into a much more detailed – but unpublished – report during the course of 1774, as a prelude to substantial reforms.<sup>39</sup> But there were limits to what could be put before a wider readership.

## Reviewing Ruritania

Born's work was reviewed at least four times in German publications. The *Zugabe zu den Göttingischen Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen* [*Supplement to the Göttingen Notices of Learned Matters*] complemented the author for treating

one of the richest and most remarkable mines in Europe with the greatest attentiveness; all that adds to our knowledge of minerals and mountains is described with great care: nor are other circumstances, such as customs, diet, and so forth, neglected.<sup>40</sup>

The most important German paper, the Berlin-published *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, was also broadly favourable, and remarked dryly on the importance of Born's observations:

Would the parlour philosophers believe that in today's Europe there might be found people so outlandish that they take a solar eclipse to represent the struggle of the Devil in hell with the sun? Herr von Born has found them in the Bannat of Temeswar.<sup>41</sup>

Closer to home, the Viennese journal *Wiener Anzeigen* was slightly more critical; its reviewer, the Hungarian scholar Samuel ab Hortis, despite describing the work as being of interest, took slight umbrage at Born's rather negative remarks about cultural life in Hungary, claiming that 'unprejudiced readers, who have a more exact idea of the inhabitants of the kingdom, may question Herr Mining Counsellor Born's judgement.'<sup>42</sup> The *Physikalische Bibliothek* merely praised the letters for being 'very remarkable', but while recommending them to 'any lover of mineralogy', the reviewer overlooked the ethnographic and other content.<sup>43</sup>

Born's letters were translated into English amidst what was something of a heatwave for British Enlightenment historiographical and philosophical publications. Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* had appeared two years earlier, Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* and the first volumes of Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* the previous year. 1777 itself saw the publication of William Robertson's *History of America*, Voltaire's *Universal History* in English translation, David Hume's posthumous autobiography, and Georg Förster's *Voyage Round the World*, his innovative and controversial account of Captain Cook's second voyage. But Born's *Travels* – now entitled thus and not *Letters*, and accompanied by a translation of Ferber's *Mineralogical History of Bohemia* – held their own against this heady competition, and received lively comment in the reviews. The translator, Rudolph Erich Raspe, was an ambitious but impecu-

nious *littérateur* and scientist who had moved from Göttingen in Georgian Hanover to London in search of fame. He would later, having attempted to discover marble in the outer Hebrides, achieve notoriety as the author of the fantastic *Adventures of Baron Munchausen*.<sup>44</sup>

There were reasons why a book about the mineralogy of Hungary and Transylvania might prove interesting: Adam Smith, following the lead of Montesquieu, had mentioned the mines of the Banat of Temesvar as an instance of how a system of material extraction functioned more efficiently with a free labour force than it had done under the Turks with an enslaved one.<sup>45</sup> Latin-reading mineralogists could have used Köleséri's *Auraria Romano-Dacica* (Sibiu 1717) and Fridvaldszky's *Minero-logia magni Principatus Transylvaniae* (Cluj 1767). But few up-to-date accounts of Hungary were available, and none at all of the Wallachians. In English, details gleaned from the odd translation like that of Merin's *Journey* (1732), Keysler's *Travels* (1756) or Büsching's *New System of Geography* (1762), were pretty much all the mainstream public had to go on.<sup>46</sup>

The *Monthly Review* was rather circumspect, declaring that the countries described were

so little known to the rest of Europe, that this attempt to display their subterranean riches, cannot but be acceptable to persons engaged in the useful studies of mineralogy and fossilogy. To such, however, it is almost solely appropriated: since the ingenious travels are confined to his relations to the subject so exclusively, as to admit scarcely any of those observations on the manners of the people, and the general appearance of the country, which might furnish amusement for miscellaneous readers, or such who turn over books of travels, merely in search of entertainment, or with the laudable view of *killing time*.

The third letter, which is almost the only exception, describes the inhabitants of the *Bannat*, as a people sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition.<sup>47</sup>

The *Critical Review*, on the other hand, took issue with this assessment. The reviewer compared Born's work with that of his correspondent and editor Ferber, whose travels in Italy had also been translated into English by Raspe and put out by the same publisher; and whose *Mineralogical History of Bohemia* formed an appendix to this edition of Born's work.

Mr Ferber wrote in a country where every subject, except that of natural history, was exhausted by former travellers; he therefore was obliged to confine himself entirely to mineralogy, and to write a work which illiterate

and superficial readers will throw aside as tedious and unentertaining. On the contrary, Transylvania and Hungary are little known to the enlightened Western World, and Baron Born has sometimes interspersed the abstruse scientific parts of his book with accounts of the inhabitants, and their manners, dresses, and dwellings; a method which certainly deserves great commendation, as it is founded on that great Horatian rule *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci*.<sup>48</sup>

The reviewer in fact found Born's description of the Wallachians so well done that he reproduced the entire passage. This review has in its turn been cited as a model of the appreciation of travel texts in Britain according to the Horatian principles originally laid down by Addison at the beginning of the century.<sup>49</sup>

## Born Again, and Again, and Again

Contemporary rivals clearly liked it too: so much so that two periodical publications, the *Annual Register* and the *London Magazine*, carried extracts of Born's descriptions of the Wallachians.<sup>50</sup> Both these versions were edited so as to give the impression of a specially written, separate work; any personal references and first-person statements were suppressed. The *Annual Register* version is preceded by an 'Authentic account of the burning of a Gentoo woman alive with her husband, at her own request, at Azumabad' and followed by an 'Account of the savage tribes of America' (extracted from Robertson's *History*), which gives an idea of what international ethnographic inquiry had now become. Around this time, both journals carried similar extracts from the works of Fortis on the Morlachs, and Lovrich's account of Socivizca.<sup>51</sup>

However, whereas Born had been describing some Wallachians located in the Banat of Temesvar, the magazines presented his ethnography as being about the neighbouring province of Wallachia. For instance, a brief preamble was added explaining Wallachia's geographical and political position. Some cuts were also made: a part at the beginning about the Wallachians' origin and language; a part in the middle about their ablutions; and a brief passage at the end comparing the qualities of the Serbs and the Wallachians (the former is 'fierce, proud, bold, cunning, a friend of trade, fit to be a soldier. His Popes are less ignorant than those of the *Wallachians*', while the latter 'has no idea of haughtiness, is a better husbandman, a friend of ease, and abhorring military life. They agree in being born robbers and slaves to their popes and national magistrates').<sup>52</sup>

This rebranding fitted the piece into a tradition of small and eye-catching set-piece descriptions of rare, distant or wonderful things, sometimes set apart

from the main narrative. Examples of such accounts are numerous: Nicolaas Van Graaf's 1719 *Voyage aux Indes Orientales* came with a *Relation curieuse de la ville de Batavia*; Elizabeth Justice's 1739 *Voyage to Russia with A curious account of the relics which are exhibited in the Cathedral of Oviedo*; while *A curious account of the cataracts at Niagara by Mr. Peter Kalm* was annexed to John Bartram's 1751 *North American Observations*. According to Nigel Leask's excellent recent account of the aesthetics of travel writing in this period, the epistemological prestige of such 'curiosity', characterized by 'fleeting, superficial accounts of foreign lands and peoples, and the novelty, singularity, and dazzle of the traveller's "first impressions"', was on the decline towards the end of the century, but continued to be prized as a literary quality.<sup>53</sup> The elimination of first-person references, a common strategy of the period, rendered the account simultaneously more readable and more authentic.<sup>54</sup>

It is from here, then, that the anonymous London pamphleteer drew his text. The adaptation in many ways satirizes this squeezing of an individually experienced, authored and dated account into 'a consolidated body of moral perceptions expressed through a uniform aesthetic'.<sup>55</sup> The smoothness of the delivery has become comically at odds with the savageness of the object described. The interpretive environment and the information's genesis disappear from view; the description is condensed, made 'harder' and 'thinner' (and cleansed of reference to ethnic groups other than Wallachians). I will return to this generic shift in my conclusion.

## Born's *Travels* in France and Italy

The appearance of an Italian translation of Born's *Travels* in Venice in 1778 was almost certainly due to the efforts, if not the hand, of Giovanni Arduino (1714–95), the so-called Father of Italian Geology, upon whose system Ferber had based his aforementioned description of Italy. Arduino had already stood behind Born's and Ferber's election to the Siena Academy of Sciences in 1773. Ferber did the same for Born and Arduino with respect to the Society of Friends of Natural History in Berlin in the same year. Born had arranged for the translation of Arduino's *Raccolta di memorie chimico-mineralogiche* into German and would do likewise for Fortis's *Lettere geografico-fisiche sopra la Calabria e la Puglia*, as well as for the *Lettere odeporiche* of the Venetian naturalist and writer Francesco Grisellini, who had been working in the Banat in Habsburg service since 1775.<sup>56</sup> In June 1774, Arduino received Born's description of the extinct volcano at Eger in Bohemia together with a large series of mineral samples. Part of the former appeared in the *Giornale d'Italia* (3 and 10 September 1774). This paper was also

to host a serial reproduction through late 1776 and early 1777 of Born's letters to Ferber,<sup>57</sup> in addition to Grisellini's.<sup>58</sup> The publisher of the *Giornale* – Benedetto Milocco, printer of Voltaire's works in Italian, as well as of a number of Arduino's own productions – put out Born's letters in book form in 1778. The work is today extremely rare, and unfortunately did not come to the attention of Arduino's biographer, who has otherwise assiduously documented the relationship between the two men.<sup>59</sup> But it presents few peculiarities. The translator has cut passages also excised by the French and English translators (administrative details, the meal in a Wallachian village in Letter 14, the favourable reference to the Catholic faith in letter 20), which leads one to suppose that Born himself may have been in a position to have supervised, or at least recommended cuts for, all three translations. One or two other minor details present in the other versions (such as the reference to Transylvania as his 'solum natale' in Letter 17) were also cut. The treatises by Koczian on goldwashing, and Delius on softening copper, were shortened and moved to the end of the book.<sup>60</sup>

In 1780, Born's work was presented to the French public in a neat duodecimo format by Antoine Grimoald Monnet, an ambitious scientific systematizer of modest origins who had studied at Freiburg and recently published a *Nouveau système de Minéralogie* (1779). Monnet, who soon afterwards was to initiate the project of a geological map of the whole of France, clung fiercely to his specialism, and was none too keen on descriptions of peoples: Barbara Stafford's claim that 'the natural historian as Plinian traveller was instrumental in refashioning that aspect of the eighteenth-century vision seeking to recover a world purified of the human component'<sup>61</sup> applies rather better to him than it does to Born. Monnet was not afraid to defend his position in his preface:

up until now, it is as if travels have been limited to the observation of the customs, mores, and habits of Nations; . . . the soil and nature, the composition and parts of the globe have rarely attracted their attention. The time has finally come when people are starting to travel to study and meditate upon Nature.<sup>62</sup>

He remarked on how Born's researches into mines complemented Ferber's interest in minerals:

had these two friends traversed these interesting countries together, their united labours would have produced a comprehensive work in which the public would have found all the necessary details and the most useful observations . . . even if Mr de Born's mineralogical voyage does not meet these two ends precisely, we hope to have brought pleasure and satisfac-

tion to the friends of Natural History, in presenting them with this translation.<sup>63</sup>

Monnet's impatience with descriptions of mankind was slightly at odds with Born's text, which at certain points explicitly sought to justify the focus on humanity and friendship. But in fact Monnet made fewer cuts from the text than Raspe: the passage corresponding to our *Curious Account* is rendered more or less faithfully here. For instance, Born's explanations of the administrative status of a mine on the border of Transylvania; the pay and working conditions of the miners; and the terms whereupon mines are leased by the state to private companies, were omitted by Raspe but retained by Monnet.<sup>64</sup>

In 1799, the *Curious Account* was again singled out to French audiences as being of particular interest. France was in conflict with Austria throughout this year, and information about the Habsburg Empire's dominions was naturally in demand. Robert Townson's *Travels in Hungary*, out in London since 1797, was duly translated. In a long preface, the revolutionary Théophile Mandar stressed Townson's socially progressive attitude. On the other hand, he questioned his acceptance of the Hungarian élite's right to lord it over the Romanian peasants. Townson had described the Wallachians as 'the most ferocious inhabitants of Hungary' and offered a semi-pornographic account of Romanian peasant women bathing in a pond outside Grosswardein (today's Oradea, Romania), in which he used mock-Linnaean Latin tags to describe their breasts.<sup>65</sup> This passage, obviously designed for entertainment and possibly for serial excerption on the model of Born's description, was nevertheless considered by contemporaries to be in poor taste. As a counter to this, and as an implicit critique of the aristocratic regime in Hungary, Mandar presented to his readers 'what M. de Born wrote in 1780, on the inhabitants of Wallachia, and we refer to the details with which this naturalist scholar has furnished us, concerning these unfortunate and enslaved peoples'.<sup>66</sup> The third volume of this edition also carried a reprint of Monnet's translation of Born's letters 20 to 23.<sup>67</sup> This printing was re-issued in Leipzig in 1800, and again in Paris in 1803.

So, Born's view of the Romanians had been rapidly reproduced in an extraordinary range of contexts: first, as private letters between scientists, during the voyage itself; second, in book form in German in 1774; third, in an Italian journal in 1776; fourth, in English translation in 1777; fifth, sixth and seventh as newspaper extracts in the years immediately following; eighth, in book form in Italian in 1778; ninth, as part of a dubious popular brochure in 1779; tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth, in French in 1780, 1799, 1800, and 1803.<sup>68</sup>



## Later Echoes

Despite this massive and systematic process of reproduction, Born's work does not appear to have set alight the contemporary imagination. He clearly influenced the local topographical and literary tradition: echoes of his work can be found in the much better-known accounts of the Banat by the Venetian Francesco Grisellini (1780), and the Temesvar-born writer Johann Friedel (1784), among others.<sup>69</sup> In Britain, however, he appears to have been little read, despite the fact that books about mineralogy were in demand at this time.<sup>70</sup> The sole surviving set of borrowing records from English libraries of the period, namely those of the Bristol Library, shows that nobody took Born's book out for five years after publication, although three borrowings are recorded in the interval 1782–4: this compares poorly with the tens and even hundreds of borrowings of books about Cook's voyage.<sup>71</sup> Robert Townson, whose rather more lurid account of the Romanians has already been mentioned, testified to the importance of Born as mineralogist, ethnographer, and Viennese society figure. His sketch of Born's life was in turn excerpted in the *Annual Register*.<sup>72</sup> For the wealthy English antiquary Edward Daniel Clarke, passing through the Banat at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Born's *Travels* was 'a work full of valuable information, as it related to *mines* the least known', and Born himself 'the best mineralogist of his age', while his observations on funeral shrieking 'seem to prove the *Celtic* origin of the Wallachians'.<sup>73</sup> A Scottish traveller to the Banat in 1814, Richard Bright, mentioned Born regularly, and may have been inspired by him when he insisted, after having given an account of some rather wild Romanians, that 'I must not be understood as wishing to represent the whole nation under a similar form'.<sup>74</sup> Finally, large chunks of his text were reproduced as valid contemporary ethnography (with nodding reference to 'an old German author') in a work by an American surgeon, James Noyes, written at the time of the Crimean war.<sup>75</sup> Born's scientific work suffered more painful transmutations than this: the 1791 English translation of his *New Process of Amalgamation of Metals* is to be found in a list of 'Works of which all the unsold Copies were destroyed by Fire, and which will probably never be reprinted'.<sup>76</sup>

## Mapping the Account

Hayden White has remarked on how a presentation of a given idea can sometimes 'look more like an archaeologist's cabinet of artifacts than the flowing narrative of the historian'. He bemoaned the fact that this gives out 'a sense of structural stasis rather than a sense of the developmental process by which various ideas

came together and coalesced to produce the “Noble Savage” of the eighteenth century.’<sup>77</sup> The problem is perennial; but it is precisely the discordant effects of static representations, rather than a traditional history of ideas about Wallachians, that interests me here. In an attempt to recreate the distinct compartments in which Born’s was displayed in public, I summarize some of the information presented hitherto in four comparative tables. This may then ‘facilitate a more complex and nuanced articulation of the complexities of how scientific description operates within a larger cultural frame’, as the scholar Richard Nash has argued in his study of literary representations of wildness in this period.<sup>78</sup> By schematizing the contexts in which the Wallachians were selected for analysis, description, publication or consumption, I am not (or not only) travestying the juxtapositional techniques of eighteenth-century collecting, but also trying to enable a twenty-first century audience to see what Wallachians might have been compared to by audiences in different places and at different levels of 1770s society.

In Leipzig in 1774, then, readers could have chosen Born’s *Travels* alongside at least two other works: the abstruse work of philology offered by Thunmann, which nevertheless set a liberal agenda for the study of stateless nations; or the cheap fantasy comprised in the pseudo-biography of a German soldier said to have crossed Wallachia (see Table 1).

Table 1 Leipzig *Valachica*, 1774

Johann Erich Thunmann	Ignaz von Born	Anon
<i>Researches</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Adventures</i>
philology	ethnography	fantasy

Browsers through the *Annual Register* in London in 1777, in contrast, will have come across the Wallachians in different company, between the Gentoos of India and the savages of America (see Table 2).

Table 2 Intercontinental Ethnography in the London Press, 1777

1777 – <i>Annual Register</i>		
Anon	Born	William Robertson
<i>Authentic account of the burning of a Gento woman alive</i>	<i>Account of the Wallachians</i>	<i>Account of the savage tribes of America</i>
Old World	Eastern Europe	New World

The juxtaposition was a politically tantalizing one at that time: the Wallachians occupied a kind of middle ground between the colony that Britain was losing in the western hemisphere, and the one she was consolidating in the East. In anthropological theory, too, being placed between India and America meant standing between the two poles of contemporary interpretation of the manners of savages. American natives were seen as peoples without history, and could therefore be used as an object of ‘conjecture’: study of them might enable conclusions about the primitive state of European peoples. Indian culture, by contrast, was placed genealogically in relation to the European, an empirical basis for establishing Europe’s concrete pre-history, as in William Jones’s celebrated positing of Sanskrit as the ur-language of most European peoples.<sup>79</sup> The *Curious Account* is in fact not nearly so philosophically ambitious, but the idea of the Wallachians as occupying some kind of intermediary position between two major kinds of savages and two major approaches to them, clearly struck an editor as suggestive.

This in its turn sheds light on the array of titles offered by John Lever in 1779 (see Table 3).

Table 3 London Popular Pamphlets, 1779

1779 – John Lever			
Anon	Anon [Lovrich/Born]	Anon	Anon
<i>Ambrose Gwinnett</i>	<i>Socivizca/ Wallachia</i>	<i>Captain Jones</i>	<i>Domingo Gonzales</i>
London	Balkans	Patagonia	Moon

The street-level cultural producer has raided high culture for his source material, in a direct act of appropriation; and reproduced the elite’s fascination with human and geographical diversity for a new audience: the philosopher’s case study becomes the common reader’s wild-man narrative.

A fourth and final table (Table 4) enables us to return to the problem of how the Wallachians fit in in Born’s own classificatory career, in which unusual objects becomes subject to unprecedented analytical attention, description, study, satire or lucubration. In some of Born’s work (Monks, Egyptian mysteries), satirical or arcane motivations determined the selection of the object; in others (fossils, mines), its analysis is directly connected with power, stocktaking and the marshalling of material possessions, preoccupations generally considered to be upmost in the minds of the Empire’s administrators, particularly since the defeat by Prussia in the 1740s had given food for thought on the question of maximization of resources.

Table 4 Frameworks for Comparison: Ignaz von Born's Other Works

1772–5	1774	1783	1789	1785
<i>Lithophylacium Bornianum</i>	<i>Account of the Wallachians</i>	<i>Physiologia Monachorum</i>	<i>Bergbaukunde</i>	<i>Mysteries of the Egyptians</i>
Palaeontology	Ethnology	Anticlerical satire	Mineralogy	Masonic arcana
Fossils	Frontier people	Defunct social order	Mountains	Ancient civilization

Born's selection (*inventio*) of the Romanians as a discursive object may be considered to have been driven by both these factors. He was a key figure of Empire not only by virtue of his scientific work and his social exemplarity as a freemason: his success as a provincial who made it big in the centre was also emblematic for the times. Numerous scholars have noted that he sometimes referred to Bohemia as his Fatherland: Bohemia was the province into which he married and was ennobled, and whose culture he did much to promote.<sup>80</sup> His activity has also been considered potentially constitutive of a unified Austrian state consciousness (*Gesamtstaatsbewußtsein*), an interpretation which has nevertheless been criticized as motivated by a retrospective desire to provide an early and enlightened genealogy for the modern Austrian state.<sup>81</sup> But in his *Travels*, Born in fact put more stress on his Transylvanian origins than on any other loyalty.<sup>82</sup> He defended the qualities of both Wallachians and Gypsies of Transylvania as being 'more humanized' than those of the Banat, and asserted that their spoken language was much more elegant than that of those of Wallachia; while criticizing the standards of literary and scientific life in Hungary, Vienna and Prague.<sup>83</sup>

Scholars writing about Alexander von Humboldt's representations of American people and landscapes have drawn attention to the influence on his work of the problem of the German Empire: 'in all this talk of far flung and distant empires, it has perhaps been forgotten that, in central Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, the notion of Empire struck quite close to home . . . the local status of provinces was up for negotiation'.<sup>84</sup> As a provincial who both criticized and sought to improve the state of learning in the Empire, Born may also be likened to the innovative historiographers of Scotland, or those of Spain where 'perhaps the provinces were more interested in crafting a Spanish identity than the core. Valencians, Aragonese, Asturians and Catalans were at the forefront of the movement to write new, patriotic, yet critical histories of America'.<sup>85</sup>

It is this tension between province and empire that surely provides the key for

understanding the work of Born; certainly more so than the notions of Eastern and Western Europe, which he did not employ, even though the first book to contain the words 'East European' in the title – Thunmann's *Untersuchungen* – was published in the same year as his travels. German and Habsburg empire-builders invented not only schools of mining and international conferences, but also the very term 'ethnography', as recent researches have shown.<sup>86</sup> Born was just one of a number of scientist-bureaucrat-travellers who were to prove immensely influential in creating administrative systems and textual machinery for recording observations of Russian and East European peoples, systems at least as sophisticated as those set up by the British in India.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, his critique of Wallachian mores went beyond a mere lament about the barbarity of foreign customs to what Thomas Habinek in his reading of Ovid has identified as 'demonstrating and enacting the transferability of imperial institutions to an alien context'.<sup>88</sup>

German scholars using similar methods were busy defining Jews and Gypsies in the period, in ways that can without anachronism be considered racist.<sup>89</sup> Born's work bears some relation to theirs; but it would be reductive to identify him with any movement towards theories of immutable ethnic distinction. Born's account did not oblige a unitary acceptance of a Romanian identity; on the contrary, he explicitly differentiated between the character of the Romanians and Gypsies of Transylvania and those of the Banat, thus creating problems for the crudely essentialist account produced by Heinrich Moritz Grellmann in 1783, which sought to argue that Gypsies, as an oriental people, were uniformly pernicious in their behaviour and difficult to change.<sup>90</sup> Nor is his account fixated on any one characteristic of the Romanians: recourse is had to a variety of attributes.

How did this actually affect policy? As mentioned earlier, Austria entertained ambitions to take over more Romanian-inhabited territory at various stages in this period. But in the event, Maria Theresa considered that:

Unhealthy provinces, without culture, depopulated or inhabited by perfidious and ill-intentioned Greeks, would be more likely to exhaust than to augment the forces of the monarchy.<sup>91</sup>

Even her chancellor Kaunitz, who was much more keen to prosecute claims to Wallachia and Moldavia, confessed to his employer that they were 'full of the wildest people'.<sup>92</sup> These statesmen certainly didn't need intellectuals to tell them how to disparage natives, and their attitudes render somewhat questionable the view that attributes racism in travel texts to social insecurity.<sup>93</sup> But their discourses on savagery, while essentially similar to those of French and British writers outside Europe, were designed to justify not colonization but a refusal to colonize.<sup>94</sup>

In 1774, the Habsburgs, tired of war, gave up any thought of recovering Wallachia and satisfied themselves with annexing a small corner of Moldavia which they rechristened Bukovina and retained until 1918. But they went to work on the human resources available to them in these territories, subjecting Romanians to unprecedented programmes for social integration and educational improvement. In this enterprise, they sometimes commissioned reports from loyal local actors, including some who knew Born personally through Masonic circles in Vienna. Through this process, Romanians came to draw up ethnographies which share a number of features with Born's account. Their texts, initiating tropes which ran throughout early nineteenth-century Romanian culture, emphasized the brutish and animalistic behaviour of the Romanians.<sup>95</sup> They thus initiated a critique which has been associated with the domestic development of theories of identity and national character.<sup>96</sup>

## Conclusions

The history of the genesis and fate of Born's curious account is significant, then, for many reasons. As a text by an East European author representing another group of East Europeans as profoundly different, it is by no means unusual, and certainly puts paid to the idea that the portrayal of Eastern Europeans as barbarians was a purely West European pastime.<sup>97</sup>

More generally, the serial exposure of Born's text to different audiences with different expectations served a plethora of purposes. In Austria, Born's Wallachians were a symbol of a liminal barbarian people on the Ovidian model: an object of concern, but also an emblem of empire and a link in the chain of transformable human and natural resources. Intricate networks saw them reframed and re-presented to a London readership as the chief dwellers of a semi-fictional land, comparable to the moon and anticipating the phantasmagorical Ruritania and Transylvanias of a hundred years on: a vignette interposed between Britain's contrasting imperial experiences overseas. In some respects, comparability and improved understanding were enabled; in others, difference was commodified, context refused, and particularities became the object of ridicule. The *Curious Account's* metamorphosis from sombre field report to paraliterary bizarrerie was rapid, but characteristic of the times. Like so many attempts to pin down the essence of man, it ended up not as a definition but as a series of representations.<sup>98</sup> If, as Diderot suggested, '[i]t is the presence of man which makes the existence of things meaningful',<sup>99</sup> then the meanings to be deduced from the presence of Wallachians in the 1770s were various indeed.

## Notes

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1. Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London 1973); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London 1978); Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau, eds., *Exoticism and the Enlightenment* (Manchester 1990); Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, trans. R. Robertson (Cambridge 1993); Stuart Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge 1994); Anthony Pagden, ed., *Facing Each Other: The World's Perception of Europe and Europe's Perception of the World*, 2 Vols (Aldershot 2000); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Göttingen 2001), 179–239.
2. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, CA 1994). Recent work pursuing this 'West invents East' paradigm includes Wolff, 'Inventing Galicia: Messianic Josephinism and the Recasting of Partitioned Poland', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 63 (2004), 818–40; Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe. The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers* (London 2004); Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, PA 2004). Nancy Wingfield, ed., *Creating the Other* (West Lafayette, IN 2003) takes up the theme of alterity within the confines of the Habsburg Empire.
3. Michael Confino, 'Reinventing the Enlightenment: Western Images of Eastern Realities', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. 26 (1994), 505–22; Csaba Dupcsik, 'Postcolonial Studies and the Inventing of Eastern Europe', *East Central Europe*, Vol. 26 (1999), 1–14; Stefano Petrungaro, 'L'est europeo, o a l'est dell'Europa', *Novecento*, nr. 10 (2004), 77–86. Ezequiel Adamovsky, 'Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810–1880', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 77 (2005), 591–628.
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6. Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln, NE and London 1998), 155; Clemens Ruthner, 'Central Europe Goes Postcolonial. New Approaches to the Habsburg Empire Around 1900', *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 16 (2002), 877–83; Michael Herzfeld, 'The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 101 (2002), 899–926; Andrew Hammond, 'The Uses of Balkanism: Representation and Power in British Travel Writing, 1850–1914', *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 82 (2004) 601–24.
7. Domokos Kosáry, 'Les antécédents de la révolution industrielle en Hongrie. Hypothèses et réalités', *Acta historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, Vol. 21 (1975), 365–75, and Katherine Verdery, 'Internal Colonialism in Austria-Hungary', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 2 (1979), 378–99 questioned the application of the colonial paradigm to Austrian rule in

- Hungary and Transylvania. But the Banat of Temesvar was separately administered by Vienna until 1778: Sonja Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1967); Karl Roider, 'Nationalism and Colonization in the Banat of Temesvar, 1718–1778', in Ivo Banac et al., eds, *Nation and Ideology* (New York, NY 1981), 87–100; Colin Thomas, 'The Anatomy of a Colonization Frontier: The Banat of Temesvar', *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. 19–20, Part 2 (1983–4), 3–22; and Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1700–1918*, trans. C.A. Simpson (London and New York, NY 1997), 88, all stress the region's 'coloniality'.
8. Asad, op. cit., 18; Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture* (Cambridge 1994), 51; Claire Lyons and John Papadopoulos, eds, *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles, CA 2002); Stephan Velychenko, 'Postcolonialism and Ukrainian History', *Ab Imperio*, nr. 1 (2004), 391–404.
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  10. Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London 1992); Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750–1800: Authorship, Gender, and National Identity* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT 2001); Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840* (Oxford 2002).
  11. As Anglophone anthologies (most recently Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson, eds, *Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Expansion 1770–1835*, 8 Vols [London 2001–3]) ignore travel to South-Eastern Europe, and Wolff, *Inventing*, op. cit., offers no bibliography, scholars must consult the corpuses established by Romanian, Bulgarian and Greek scholars: M. Holban et al., eds, *Călători străini despre țările române*, 10 Vols (Bucharest 1968–2001); *Chuzhdi pūtepisi za balkanite*, 9 Vols (Sofia 1975–); Kyriakis Simopoulos, *Xenoi taxidiotes stin Ellada*, 4 Vols (Athens 1975–82). Ioli Vingopoulou and Rania Polycandrioti, 'Travel Literature on South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, 15th–19th Centuries', in L. Droulia, ed., *On Travel Literature and Related Subjects* (Athens 1993), 17–155 are better on Greek territory than on the more northerly lands treated here.
  12. *Osservazioni . . . sopra diversi pezzi del Viaggio in Dalmazia del Signor Abate Fortis, coll'aggiunta della vita di Socivizca* (Venice 1776); see Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs. The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA 2001).
  13. Andrei Pippidi, 'Naissance, renaissances et mort du "Bon Sauvage"', *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires*, nr. 2 (1979), 55–75; repr. in idem, *Hommes et idées du sud-est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne* (Bucharest and Paris 1980), 1–23. Like Pippidi, and in spite of the objections of, among others, Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, 5 vols (Turin 1969–90),



- vol. 4-ii, 695, I translate *Wallachen, valacchi* as 'Romanians': for as Born and many others noted, that is what they called themselves (*rumâni* or *români*). However, I use 'Wallachians' when following a contemporary source.
14. Later writers borrowed freely from the early portrait by Born's friend Ignaz de Luca, *Das gelehrte Oesterreich* (Vienna 1776), 40–6; cf. F. Schlichtegroll, 'I. Edler von Born', *Nekrolog auf des Jahr 1791*, Vol. 2 (Gotha 1793), 219–49; Robert Townson, 'Anecdotes of Baron Born, The Celebrated Bohemian Chymist', *Annual Register*, Vol. 39 (1797), 384–8; Joseph. Baron von Hormayr, *Oesterreichischer Plutarch*, 20 Vols (Vienna 1807–14), Vol. 9, 158–64. See now Dolf Lindner, *Ignaz von Born: Meister der Wahren Eintracht* (Vienna 1986) (convincingly refutes older claims that Born was born in Kapnik, Maramures); Helmut Reinalter, ed., *Die Aufklärung in Österreich. Ignaz von Born und seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt and New York, NY 1991); Mihai Mitu, 'Un fiu al Transilvaniei – geniu european: Ignaz von Born', *Zeitschrift zur Germanistik Rumänistik*, Heft 1–2 (1998), 133–40.
  15. Reprinted with English translation in Judith Eckelmayer, *The Cultural Context of Mozart's The Magic Flute*, 2 Vols (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter 1991) Vol. 2, 239–475.
  16. Mikuláš Teich, 'Born's Amalgamation Process and the International Metallurgic Gathering at Skleno in 1786', *Annals of Science*, Vol. 32 (1975), 305–40; Alberto Basso, *L'invenzione della gioia. Musica e massoneria nell'età dei lumi* (Rome 1994); Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L'Europe des franc-maçons (XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris 2002), 135–45; Derek Beales, 'Court, Government and Society in Mozart's Vienna', in S. Sadie, ed., *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart* (Oxford 1996), 3–20. Ioan Chindriș, 'Horia și masoneria?', *Anuarul institutului de istorie Cluj*, Vol. 37 (1998), 291–301, suggests Born might have been involved in the sparking of Horia's peasant uprising in Transylvania in 1785. The evidence is slim, beyond some interesting Romanian-language oaths taken at the *Zur wahren Eintracht* lodge.
  17. Peter Horwath, 'Literature in the Service of Enlightened Absolutism: The Age of Joseph II', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 56 (1967), 717; Paul Peter Bernard, *Jesuits and Jacobins* (Urbana, IL 1972), 75–7; Ernst Wangermann, 'Reform Catholicism and Political Radicalism in the Austrian Enlightenment', in R. Porter and M. Teich, eds, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge 1981), 139; R.J.W. Evans, 'Die Anfänge der Aufklärung in Österreich', *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich*, Vol. 2 (1985), 14, 21; Domokos Kosáry, *Culture and Society in Eighteenth-Century Hungary*, trans. Z. Béres (Budapest 1987), 180; Bérenger, op. cit., 123; Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms, eds, *The Austrian Enlightenment and its Aftermath* (Edinburgh 1991), 162; Éva Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs 1765–1800*, trans. T. Wilkinson (Budapest and London 1997), 272; Kurt Vocelka, 'Enlightenment in the Habsburg Monarchy', in O. Grell and R. Porter, eds, *Tolerance in Enlightenment Europe* (Oxford 2000), 207; Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c.1765–1918* (Basingstoke 2001), 31–2; Paula Sutter Fichtner, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1490–1848* (Basingstoke 2003), 164.
  18. Ignatz von Born, *Catalogus bibliothecae bornianae publica auctione vendetur die 10 novembris 1791* (Vienna 1791).
  19. Helmut Reinalter, most recently in Werner Schneiders, ed., *The Enlightenment in Europe: Unity and Diversity* (Berlin 2003).
  20. T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (London and New York, NY 1994), 164–70; Beales, op. cit.; James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge 2001), 252–72; Ute Daniel, 'How Bourgeois was the Public Sphere?', *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, Vol. 26 (2002), 9–17.

21. Helmut Reinalter, ed., *Joseph II. und die Freimaurerei* (Vienna 1987); Basso, op. cit., 488–97.
22. For example, Stefan Nicolescu, *Excursion Guide. Field trip E1, Banat and Transylvanian Gold District, Romania*. M&M 3, 3rd International Conference on Mineralogy and Museums (Budapest 1996).
23. N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, 4 Vols (Bucharest 1928); Klaus Heitmann, *Das Rumänenbild im deutschen Sprachraum, 1775–1918* (Vienna and Cologne 1986). The first Romanian scholar to treat Born was Dan Lăzărescu, *Imaginea României prin călători*, vol. 1: 1716–1789 (Bucharest 1985), 239–47; extracts translated and annotated by Maria Holban then appeared in *Călători străini*, Vol. 10-i, 92–123. Neither connected Born's text with that published by Pippidi.
24. Born, *Briefe*, 10. Joseph wrote of the inhabitants' 'indescribable ignorance and stupidity' (Jenő Szentkláray, *Száz év dél-Magyarország újabb történetéből*, Vol. 1-i [Timișoara 1879], 207). But he does not mention Born in his 1770 travel notes, published by Costin Feneșan, 'Die zweite Reise Kaiser Josephs II. ins Temeswarer Banat', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Vol. 45 (1997), 233–47.
25. Lindner, op. cit., 42–3.
26. General Splény's 1775 report on Bucovina was summarized and published as a travel account in *Canzler's Magazin* (Radu Grigorovici, ed., *Bucovina în primele descrieri geografice, istorice, economice și demografice* [Bucharest 1998], 10–14); librettist Ratschky was commissioned by Joseph to write an account of Galicia in the 1780s (Edith Rosenstrauch-Königsberg, *Zirkel und Zentren. Aufsätze zur Aufklärung in Österreich* [Vienna 1992], 103–20).
27. Ladislau Gyémánt, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania* (Bucharest 1986), 60–71; Noel Malcolm, 'Myths of Albanian National Identity', in S. Schwandner-Sievers and B. Fischer, eds., *Albanian Identities* (London 2002), 70–87.
28. Maria Holban, 'Pretinsele aventuri în Țara Românească ale unui pretins călător german din secolul XVIII', *Români în istoria universală*, Vol. 3-iii (Iași 1988), 93–110.
29. Demetria Kantemir, *Historisch-geographisch- und politische Beschreibung der Moldau* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1771); Nicolaus Kleemann, *Reisen von Wien über Belgrad bis Kilia nova* (Vienna 1771; reed. Leipzig 1773).
30. Johann Jakob Ferber, *Briefe aus Wälschland* (Prague 1773).
31. Balthasar Hacquet, 'Lettera odeporica . . . al Sig. Cavaliere di Born contenente i dettagli d'un viaggio fluviatile, fatto pel Illiria Ungarese e Turchesco', *Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze e sulle arti*, Vol. 1 (Milan 1778), 5–27; Joseph Mueller, *Lettre à M. le Chevalier de Born sur la Tourmaline du Tiroi* (Brussels and Paris 1779); Tobias Gruber, *Briefe hydrographischen und physikalischen Inhalts aus Krain, an I. von Born* (Vienna 1781).
32. Johann David Schöpf, *Beyträge zur mineralogischen Kenntniss des östlichen Theils von Nordamerika und seiner Gebürge* (Erlangen 1787), first published in Born's review *Physikalische Arbeiten* in 1785. On Haenke see *La expedición Malaspina 1789–1794*, Vol. 4: *Trabajos científicos y correspondencia de Tadio Haenke* (Barcelona and Madrid 1994).
33. Born, *Briefe*, 10.
34. Daniel Barbu, ed., *Firea românilor* (Bucharest 2000), 11–37 extracts ethnographic observations from *Călători străini*. On the medieval tradition see Adolf Armbruster, *Der Donau-Karpatenraum in den mittel- und westeuropäischen Quellen des 10.-16. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne 1990).
35. Catholic missionary accounts in *Călători străini*, Vols 5–9, passim; I.G. Tóth, ed., *Relationes*

- missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1627–1707)* (Rome and Budapest 1994). Marta Bur, 'Catholic Missionaries on Orthodoxy in the Balkans, 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Etudes balkaniques*, Vol. 29 (1993), 43–54; Cristina Codarcea, 'Rome et Byzance dans les pays roumains à travers les récits des missionnaires catholiques (1620–1660)', in S. Graciotti, ed., *Italia e Romania. Due popoli e due storie a confronto* (Florence 1998), 227–38; I. G. Tóth, 'Missionari italiani in Ungheria e Transilvania nel seicento', *Rivista storica italiana*, Vol. 116 (2004), 122–43. Aspects of this tradition may have been available to Born through his Jesuit apprenticeship.
36. Costin Feneşan, *Administrație și fiscalitate în Banatul imperial (1716–1778)* (Timișoara 1997), 7–8. Cf. Franz Szabo, 'Austrian First Impressions of Ethnic Relations in Galicia', *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 12 (1999), 49–60.
37. William E. Stewart, *Die Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorie im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn 1978); Werner Bauer, 'Journalistische Briefform und politisches Engagement in der österreichischen Aufklärung', in B.I. Krasnobaev et al., eds, *Reisen und Reisebeschreibungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1980); John Howland, *The Letter Form and the French Enlightenment* (New York 1991), 50–61; Françoise Knopper, *Le regard du voyageur en Allemagne du Sud et en Autriche (1775–1800)* (Nancy 1992); Wolfgang Griep, 'Annäherungen: Über Reisen und Aufklärung in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in C.-V. Klenke et al., eds, *Georg Förster in interdisziplinärer Perspektive* (Berlin 1994), 103–14.
38. Feneşan, op. cit., 76.
39. Ehrler, *Das Banat vom Ursprung bis jetzo (1774)*, published in Romanian as *Banatul de la origini pînă acum*, trans. C. Feneşan (Timișoara 1982); Victor Neumann, 'Cultura din Banat la începutul evului modern. Primul ziar local: *Temeswarer Nachrichten*', *Studii de istorie a Banatului*, Vol. 21–2 (1997–8), 121–7.
40. Anon, review of Born, *Briefe, in Zugabe zu den Göttingischen Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen*, Vol. 34 (10 Sep 1774), 289–94.
41. Anon, review of Born, *Briefe, in Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, Vol. 30 (1777), 278.
42. Ab H[ortis], review of Born, *Briefe, in K. K. allergnädigst privilegierte Anzeigen aus sämmtlichen kaiserl. königl. Erbländern*, Vol. 5 (29 Mar. 1775), 97–101 and (5 Apr. 1775), 107–9.
43. Anon, review of Born, *Briefe, in Physikalische Bibliothek*, Vol. 1 (1775), 309–13.
44. John Patrick Carswell, *The Prospector. Being the Life and Times of Rudolf Erich Raspe, 1737–1794* (London 1950).
45. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book 4, part ix, para. 47; cf. Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, Book 15, part viii, para. 3. Montesquieu had been in person to Upper Hungary (Balázs, op. cit., 26) but not to the Banat.
46. György Gömöri, *Angol és skót utazók a régi Magyarországon 1542–1737* (Budapest 1994) treats earlier accounts (Edmund Chishull, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Richard Pococke).
47. Anon, review of Born, *Travels, in Monthly Review*, Vol. 57 (1777), 233.
48. Anon, review of Born, *Travels, in Critical Review*, Vol. 43 (1777), 280; adapted version in *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 39 (April 1777), 207.
49. Charles Batten, Jr., *Pleasurable Instruction. Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley, CA and London 1978), 29.
50. Inigo (Baron) Born, 'Account of the Inhabitants of Wallachia', *Annual Register* (1777), 'Characters' section, 47–9; idem, 'Curious Account of Wallachia, Describing the Situation of

- the Country, and the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants', *London Magazine*, Vol. 48 (1779), 16–18.
51. Alberto Fortis, on the Morlacks, *Annual Register* (1778), 'Characters' section, 43–65; Giovanni Lovrich, 'Adventures of Captain Socivizca', *London Magazine*, Vol. 48 (1779), 5–6, 51–3, 156–8, 216–19.
  52. Inigo (Baron) Born, *Travels through the Bannat of Temeswar, Transylvania and Hungary In the Year 1770*, trans. R.E. Raspe (London 1777), 22–3.
  53. Leask, op. cit., 4–5.
  54. Turner, op. cit., 22–3; Pat Rogers, *Boswell and Johnson* (Oxford 1995), 108–38 shows how Dr Johnson third-personized his (originally epistolary) account of his tour of Scotland.
  55. Barbara Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader. Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton, NJ 1996), 165.
  56. Ezio Vaccari, *Giovanni Arduino (1714–1795)* (Florence 1993), 291–2; Žarko Muljačić, 'Su alcuni scritti sconosciuti di A. Fortis', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. 154 (1977), 261–6.
  57. Ignazio, Cavaliere di Born, 'Lettere', *Nuovo Giornale d'Italia*, Vol. 1 (1776–7), 57–63, 73–7, 81–5, 91–6, 116–20, 137–42, 149–51, 158–9, 175–6, 182–4, 227–32, 233–9, 249–56, 257–9.
  58. Francesco Griselini, 'Lettere', *Nuovo Giornale d'Italia*, Vol. 3 (1778), 34–40, 43–7, 53–6, 62–4, 68–72, 79–80, 83–9, 91–5.
  59. Vaccari, op. cit., 245–6, 252–3, 286–7, 294–5. Nor does Franco Venturi's wide-ranging overview of 'Wallachian' appearances in contemporary Italian media (op. cit., 690–712) mention Born.
  60. Ignazio, Cavaliere di Born, *Viaggio mineralogico fatto pel Bannato di Temeswar, per la Transilvania, e per l'alta e bassa Ungaria* (Venice 1778), 184–204.
  61. Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840* (Cambridge, MA and London 1984), 345.
  62. Ignaz von Born, *Voyage minéralogique fait en Hongrie et en Transylvanie*, tr. A. Monnet (Paris 1780), v–vi.
  63. *Ibid.*, viii–ix.
  64. Born, *Briefe*, 20–4; 29–30; 150; cf. Inigo (Baron) Born, *Travels*, op. cit., 27, 32, 152.
  65. Robert Townson, *Travels in Hungary* (London 1797), 257, 252–5.
  66. Townson, *Voyage en Hongrie*, trans. Cantwel, 3 Vols (Paris An 7 [1799]), Vol. 1, xxxviii–lvi. 1st reissue: Leipzig 1800; 2nd reissue: Paris 1803.
  67. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 239–312.
  68. Note also that of three copies of the German edition in the British Library, one (shelfmark 990.d.4, bearing the autograph of Sir Joseph Banks), appears to be a reissue. A list of errata appears at the end, and before the title page, which is nevertheless identical to that in other editions and bears the date 1774, an engraving of Born by Jacob Adam dated 1782.
  69. *Călători străini*, Vols 9–10 lists accounts of the Banat and its 'Wallachians' in chronological sequence to 1800 (de Feller, Friedel, Ehrler, Griselini, Steube, Sestini, Spallanzani, Sulzer, Salaberry, Lehmann, Hofmannsegg, von Goetze, Nayss, Damas).
  70. Roy Porter, *The Making of Geology: Earth Science in Britain 1660–1815* (Cambridge 1977), 98–9; Richard Hamblyn, 'Private Cabinets and Popular Geology: The British Audiences for Volcanoes in the Eighteenth Century', in C. Chard and H. Langdon, eds, *Transport: Travel, Pleasure and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (New Haven, CT and London 1996), 194.
  71. Paul Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library, 1773–1784* (Charlottesville, VA 1960), 80.

72. Townson, *Travels*, op. cit., 410–22; idem, 'Anecdotes of Baron Born'.
73. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, 4th edn. (London 1818), Vol. 8, 284, 260.
74. Richard Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary* (Edinburgh 1818), 559.
75. James Noyes, *Roumania: The Border Land of the Christian and the Turk* (New York 1858), 161–70.
76. Anon, 'Literary Intelligence', *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 78 (1808), 338.
77. Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore, MD 1978), 150.
78. Richard Nash, *Wild Enlightenment. The Borders of Human Identity in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, VA 2003), 6.
79. On America and India see the classic works of Antonello Gerbi, *La disputa del nuovo mondo* (Milan 1955) and Raymond Schwab, *La renaissance orientale* (Paris 1950), both also in English translation; on their shifting position as ideal types in the following period: Martin Thom, *Republics, Nations, Tribes* (London 1995).
80. Jaroslav Vávra, 'Ignaz von Born als führende Persönlichkeit der Aufklärungsepoche in Böhmen', in É. Balázs et al., eds, *Beförderer der Aufklärung in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Berlin 1979), 141–6; Mikuláš Teich, 'Bohemia: From Darkness into Light', in Teich and Porter, eds, op. cit., 151–2; Josef Haubelt, 'Born und Böhmen', in Reinalter, ed., *Die Aufklärung*, 99–116; Hugh Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance* (Pittsburgh, PA 1993), 30, 203–4; Jiří Kroupa, 'The Alchemy of Happiness: the Enlightenment in the Moravian context', in M. Teich, ed., *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge 1998), 174.
81. See Grete Klingenstein, 'The Meanings of "Austria" and "Austrian" in the Eighteenth Century', in G. Gibbs, R. Oresko and H. Scott, eds, *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 1996), 425.
82. Born, *Briefe*, op. cit., 7, 104, 105, 134, 150.
83. *Ibid.*, 94, 137 (more humanized); 11 (language more elegant); 202–3, 224, 228 (critique of scientific life).
84. Michael Dettelbach, 'Global Physics and Aesthetic Empire: Humboldt's Physical Portrait of the Tropics', in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill, eds, *Visions of Empire* (Cambridge 1996), 258–9; cf. Rupke, op. cit.
85. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How To Write the History of the New World. Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA 2001), 4.
86. Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel 1550–1800* (Chur and Reading 1995); H. Vermeulen and A. Alvarez Roldán, eds, *Fieldwork and Footnotes: Studies in the History of European Anthropology* (London 1995).
87. Catherine Carmichael, 'Ethnic Stereotypes in Early European Ethnographies: A Case Study of the Habsburg Adriatic, c. 1770–1815', *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 33 (1996), 197–209; Withers, op. cit.; among many recent studies on Russian imperial ethnography, see Yuri Slezkine, 'Naturalists versus Nations: Eighteenth-Century Russian Scholars Confront Ethnic Diversity', in Pagden, ed., op. cit., Vol. 2; Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca, NY 2004).
88. Thomas Habinek, *The Politics of Latin Literature* (Princeton, NJ 1998), 151–69; cf. White, op. cit., 183–96. The idea of frontier ethnology restoring a sense of imperial order had been familiar in Byzantium too: see Paul Stephenson, 'Byzantine Conceptions of Otherness after the Annexation of Bulgaria (1018)', in D. Smythe, ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (Aldershot 2000), 245–57.

89. For example, Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, trans. D. Bloch (London 1997); Jonathan Hess, 'Johann David Michaelis and the Colonial Imaginary: Orientalism and the Emergence of Racial Antisemitism', *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 6 (2000), 56–101.
90. Heinrich Moritz Grellmann, *Dissertation on the Gipsies*, trans. M. Raper (London 1787), 41–3, 206.
91. Maria Theresa, Letter to Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, 31 July 1777, cited by Hugh Ragsdale, 'Evaluating the Traditions of Russian Aggression: Catherine II and the Greek Project', *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 66 (1988), 94. 'Greeks' here could mean any Eastern Orthodox peoples (i.e. Romanians included), or particularly the governors of Wallachia and Moldavia, appointed from the Greek-speaking Orthodox of Istanbul.
92. Karl Roeder, *Austria's Eastern Question, 1700–1790* (Princeton, NJ 1982), 132.
93. For example, Margaret Hunt, 'Racism, Imperialism and the Traveller's Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 32 (1993), 332–57. On the Empress's antisemitism see Vocolka, *op. cit.*
94. Karl Roeder, 'Reform and Diplomacy in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy', in C. Ingrao, ed., *State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, IN 1994), 312–3; Robert Jones, 'Opposition to War and Expansion in Late Eighteenth-Century Russia', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Vol. 32 (1984), 48.
95. See notably the German texts by Balş and Budai-Deleanu in Grigorovici, ed., *op. cit.* On these Romanians' contacts with Born see Alexandru Duţu, 'Der Josephinismus als zivilisatorischer Prozeß und die rumänische kulturelle Tradition,' in H. Reinalter, ed., *Der Josephinismus* (Frankfurt 1993), 121–35.
96. Pratt, *op. cit.*, 143, sees Latin American authors 'transculturating elements of metropolitan discourses to create self-affirmations designed for reception in the metropolis'. For such Romanian self-affirmations, see Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania*, trans. S. Corneanu (Budapest 2001); Alex Drace-Francis, 'Cultural Currents and Political Choices: Romanian Intellectuals in the Banat to 1848', *Austrian History Yearbook*, Vol. 36 (2005), 65–93.
97. *Călători străini*, *op. cit.*, Vols. 9–10 lists other East European representers of Romanians: Boscovich, de Tott, Raicevich, Mikoscha, Wolf, etc. In earlier times too, most describers of Ottoman lands came from Venice, the Habsburg lands and points east, as Stéphane Yérasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman, XIV–XVI* (Ankara 1991) clearly showed.
98. On the allegorical qualities of Enlightenment discourse on human nature see, among others, Marie Louise Pratt, 'Scratches on the Face of the Country', *Critical Inquiry* (1985), 119–43 (repr. in Pagden, ed., *op. cit.*, Vol. 2); D.L. Macdonald, 'The Isle of Devils: the Jamaican Journal of M.J. Lewis', in T. Fulford and P. Kitson, eds, *Romanticism and Colonialism* (Cambridge 1998), 191–2; Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History* (London 2000), 14; Kathleen Wilson, 'Thinking Back: Gender Misrecognition and Polynesian Subversions Aboard the Cook Voyages', in eadem, ed., *A New Imperial History* (Cambridge 2004), 362.
99. Cited by Roger Smith, 'The Language of Human Nature', in C. Fox, R. Porter and R. Wokler, eds, *Inventing Human Science* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA and London 1995), 102.

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